THE PRINCIPAL NAVIGATIONS, VOYAGES, TRAFFIQVES AND DISCOVERIES of the *English Nation*, made by Sea or ouer-land, to the remote and farthest distant quarters of the Earth, at any time within the compasse of these 1600 yeres:

Diuided into three seuerall Volumes, according to the positions of the Regions, whereunto they were directed.

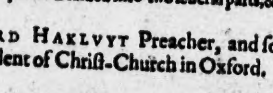
The first Volume containeth the worthy Discoueries, &c. of the *English* toward the North and Northeast by Sea, as of *Lapland, Scrikfinia, Corelia*, the Baie of *S. Nicolas*, the Isles of *Colgoieue, Vaigatz*, and *Nona Zembla*, toward the great Riuer *Ob*, with the mighty Empire of *Russia*, the *Caspian* Sea, *Georgia, Armenia, Media, Persia, Bogbar* in *Bactria*, and diuers kingdomes of *Tartaria:*

Together with many notable monuments and testimonies of the ancient forren trades, and of the warrelike and other shipping of this Realme of *England* in former ages.

Whereunto is annexed a briefe Commentary of the true state of Island, and of the Northren Seas and lands situate that way: As also the memorable defeat of the *Spanish* huge *Armada*, Anno 1588.

¶ The second Volume comprehendeth the principall Nauigations, Voyages, Traffiques, and discoueries of the *English* Nation made by Sea or ouer-land, to the South and South-east parts of the World, as well within as without the Streight of *Gibralter*, at any time within the compasse of these 1600. yeres: Diuided into two seueral parts, &c.

¶ By RICHARD HAKLVYT Preacher, and sometime Student of Christ-Church in Oxford.



Imprinted at London by *George Bishop*, *Ralph Newberie*, and *Robert Barker*.

ANNO 1599.

TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE MY SINGVLAR GOOD LORD, THE LORD CHARLES HOVVARD, Erle of Notingham, Baron of Effingham, Knight of the noble Order of the Garter, Lord high Admirall of England, Ireland, and Wales, &c. one of her Maiesties most honourable priuie Counsell.



IGht Honourable and my very good Lord, after I had long since published in Print many Nauigations and Discoueries of Strangers in diuers languages, as well here at London, as in the citie of Paris, during my fiue yeeres abode in France, with the woorthie Knight Sir *Edward Stafford* your brother in lawe, her Maiesties most prudent and carefull Ambassador ligier with the French King: and had waded on still farther and farther in the sweet studie of the historie of Cosmographie, I began at length to conceiue, that with diligent obseruation, some thing might be gathered which might commend our nation for their high courage and singular actiuitie in the Search and Discouerie of the most vnknowen quarters of the world. Howbeit, seeing no man to step forth to vndertake the recording of so many memorable actions, but euery man to follow his priuate affaires: the ardent loue of my countrey deuoured all difficulties, and as it were with a sharpe goad prouoked me and thrust me forward into this most troublesome and painfull action. And after great charges and infinite cares, after many watchings, toiles, and trauels, and wearying out of my weake body; at length I haue collected three seuerall Volumes of the English Nauigations, Traffiques, and Discoueries, to strange, remote, and farre distant countreys. Which worke of mine I haue not included within the compasse of things onely done in these latter dayes, as though litle or nothing woorthie of memorie had bene performed in former ages; but mounting aloft by the space of many hundred yeeres, haue brought to light many very rare and worthy monuments, which long haue lien miserably scattered in mistie corners, & retchlesly hidden in mistie darkenesse, and were very like for the greatest part to haue bene buried in perpetuall obliuion. The first Volume of this worke I haue thus for the present brought to light, reseruing the other two vntill the next Spring, when by Gods grace they shall come to the Presse. In the meane season bethinking my selfe of some munificent and bountifull Patrone, I called to mind your honorable Lordship, who both in regard of my particular obligation, and also in respect of the subiect and matter, might iustly chalenge the Patronage thereof. For first I remembred how much I was bound, and how deeply indebted for my yongest brother *Edmund Hackluyt*, to whom for the space of foure whole yeeres your Lordship committed the gouernment and instruction of that honorable yong noble man, your sonne & heire apparant, the lord *William*

liam Howard, of whoſe high ſpirit and wonderful towardlineſſe full many a time hath he boaſted vnto me. Secondly, the bounden duetie which I owe to your moſt deare ſiſter the lady *Sheffield*, my ſingular good lady & honorable miſtreſſe, admoniſhed me to be mindfull of the renoumed familie of the *Howards*. Thirdly, when I found in the firſt Patent graunted by Queene *Marie* to the Moſcouie companie, that my lord your father being then lord high Admirall of England, was one of the firſt fauourers and furtherers, with his purſe and countenance, of the ſtrange and wonderfull Diſcouerie of Ruſſia, the chiefe contents of this preſent Volume, then I remẽbred the ſage ſaying of ſweet *Iſocrates*, *That ſonnes ought not onely to be inheriters of their fathers ſubſtance, but alſo of their commendable vertues and honours*. But what ſpeake I of your anceſtors honors (which to ſay the trueth, are very great, and ſuch as our Chronicles haue notably blazoned) when as your owne Heroicall actions from time to time haue ſhewed themſelues ſo admirable, as no antiquitie hath affoorded greater, and the future times will not in haſte (I thinke) performe the like. To come to ſome particulars, when the Emperors ſiſter, the ſpouſe of Spaine, with a Fleete of an 130. ſailes, ſtoutly and proudly paſſed the narow Seas, your Lordſhip accompanied with ten ſhips onely of her Maieſties Nauie Roiall, enuironed their Fleet in moſt ſtrange and warrelike ſort, enforced them to ſtoope gallant, and to vaile their bonets for the Queene of England, and made them perfectly to vnderſtand that olde ſpeach of the prince of Poets;

Non illi imperium pelagi ſauimq́, tridentem,
ſed tibi ſorte datum.

Yet after they had acknowledged their dutie, your lordſhip on her Maieſties behalfe conducted her ſafely through our Engliſh chanell, and performed all good offices of honor and humanitie to that forren Princeſſe. At that time all England beholding your moſt honorable cariage of your ſelfe in that ſo weightie ſeruice, began to caſt an extraordinarie eie vpon your lordſhip, and deeply to conceiue that ſingular hope which ſince by your moſt worthie & wonderfull ſeruice, your L hath more then fully ſatiffied. I meane (among others) that glorious, triumphant, and thriſe-happy victory atchieued againſt that huge and haultie *Spaniſh Armada* (which is notably deſcribed in the ende of this volume) wherein being chiefe and ſole Commander vnder her ſacred and roiall Maieſtie, your noble gouernment and worthy behauior, your high wiſedom, diſcretion and happineſſe, accompanied with the heauenly bleſſing of the Almightie, are ſhewed moſt euidently to haue bene ſuch, as all poſteritie and ſucceeding ages ſhall neuer ceaſe to ſing and reſound your infinite prayſe and eternall commendations. As for the late renoumed expedition and honorable voyage vnto *Cadiz*, the vanquiſhing of part of the king of Spaines *Armada*, the deſtruction of the rich Weſt *Indian* Fleete, the chaſing of ſo many braue and gallant Gallies, the miraculous winning, ſacking, and burning of that almoſt impregnable citie of *Cadiz*, the ſurpriſing of the towne of *Faraon* vpon the coaſt of *Portugal*, and other rare appendances of that enterpriſe, becauſe they be hereafter ſo iudicially ſet downe, by a very graue and learned Gentleman, which was an eye witneſſe in all that action, I referre your good L. to his faithfull report, wherein I truſt (as much as in him lay) he hath wittingly depriued no man of his right. Vpon theſe and other the like conſiderations, I thought it fit and very conuenient to commend with all humilitie and reuerence this firſt part of our Engliſh Voiages & Diſcoueries vnto your Honors fauourable cenſure and patronage.

And here by the way moſt humbly crauing pardon, and alwayes ſubmitting my poore opinion to your Lordſhips moſt deep and percing inſight, eſpecially

in

in this matter, as being the father and principall fauourer of the Englisſh Nauigation, I truſt it ſhall not be impertinent in paſſing by, to point at the meanes of breeding vp of skilfull Sea-men and Mariners in this Realme. Sithence your Lordſhip is not ignorant, that ſhips are to litle purpoſe without skilfull Sea-men; and ſince Sea-men are not bred vp to perfection of skill in much leſſe time (as it is ſaid) then in the time of two prentiſhips; and ſince no kinde of men of any profeſſion in the common wealth paſſe their yeres in ſo great and continuall hazard of life; and ſince of ſo many, ſo few grow to gray heires: how needfull it is, that by way of Lectures and ſuch like inſtructions, theſe ought to haue a better education, then hitherto they haue had; all wiſe men may eaſily iudge. When I call to minde, how many noble ſhips haue bene loſt, how many worthy perſons haue bene drenched in the ſea, and how greatly this Realme hath bene impouerished by loſſe of great Ordinance and other rich commodities through the ignorance of our Sea-men, I haue greatly wiſhed there were a Lecture of Nauigation read in this Citie, for the baniſhing of our former groſſe ignorance in Marine cauſes, and for the increaſe and generall multiplying of the ſea-knowledge in this age, wherein God hath raiſed ſo generall a deſire in the youth of this Realme to diſcouer all parts of the face of the earth, to this Realme in former ages not knowen. And, that it may appeare that this is no vaine fancie nor deuiſe of mine, it may pleaſe your Lordſhip to vnderſtand, that the late Emperour *Charles* the fift, conſidering the rawneſſe of his Sea-men, and the manifolde ſhipwracks which they ſuſteyned in paſſing and repaſſing betweene *Spaine* and the Weſt *Indies*, with an high reach and great foreſight, eſtabliſhed not onely a Pilote Maior, for the examination of ſuch as ſought to take charge of ſhips in that voyage, but alſo founded a notable Lecture of the Art of Nauigation, which is read to this day in the Contractation houſe at *Siuil*. The readers of which Lecture haue not only carefully taught and inſtructed the *Spaniſh* Mariners by word of mouth, but alſo haue publiſhed ſundry exact and worthy treatiſes concerning Marine cauſes, for the direction and incouragement of poſteritie. The learned works of three of which readers, namely of *Alonſo de Chauez*, of *Hieronymo de Chauez*, and of *Roderigo Zamorano* came long ago very happily to my hands, together with the ſtraight and ſeuere examining of all ſuch Maſters as deſire to take charge for the Weſt *Indies*. Which when I firſt read and duely conſidered, it ſeemed to mee ſo excellent and ſo exact a courſe, as I greatly wiſhed, that I might be ſo happy as to ſee the like order eſtabliſhed here with vs. This matter, as it ſeemeth, tooke no light impreſſion in the royall breſt of that moſt renowmed and victorious prince King *Henry* the eight of famous memory; who for the increaſe of knowledge in his Sea-men, with princely liberalitie erected three ſeuerall Guilds or brotherhoods, the one at *Deptford* here vpon the *Thames*, the other at *Kingſton* vpon *Hull*, and the third at *Newcaſtle* vpon *Tine*: which laſt was eſtabliſhed in the 28. yeere of his reigne. The chiefe motiues which induced his princely wiſedome hereunto, himſelfe expreſſeth in maner following. *Vt magiſtri, marinarij, gubernatores, & alij officiarij nauium, iuuentutem ſuam in exercitatione gubernationis nauium tranſigentes, mutilati, aut aliquo alio caſu in paupertatem collapſi, aliquod relcuamen ad eorum ſuſtentationem habeant, quo non ſolùm illi reficiantur, verùmetiam alij iuuenes moueantur & inſtigentur ad eandem artem exercendam, ratione cuius, doctiores & aptiores fiant nauibus & alijs vaſis noſtris & aliorum quorumcunque in Mare gubernandis & manutenendis, tam pacis, quàm belli tempore, cum opus poſtulet, &c.* To deſcend a litle lower, king *Edward* the ſixt that prince of peereleſſe hope, with the aduiſe of his ſage and prudent Counſaile, before he entred into the Northeaſterne diſcouery, aduanced the worthy and excellent *Sebaſtian Cabota* to be grand Pilot of *England*, allowing

him a moſt bountifull penſion of 166.li.vj.s.viij.d. by the yeere during his life, as appeareth in his Letters Patents which are to be ſeene in the third part of my worke. And if God had granted him longer life, I doubt not but as he delt moſt royally in eſtabliſhing that office of Pilote Maior (which not long after to the great hinderance of this Common wealth was miſerably turned to other priuate vſes) ſo his princely Maieſtie would haue ſhewed himſelfe no nigard in erecting, in imitation of *Spaine*, the like profitable Lecture of the Art of Nauigation. And ſurely when I conſidered of late the memorable bountie of ſir *Thomas Greſham*, who being but a Merchant hath founded ſo many chargeable Lectures, and ſome of them alſo which are Mathematicall, tending to the aduancement of Marine cauſes; I nothing doubted of your Lordſhips forwardnes in ſettling and eſtabliſhing of this Lecture; but rather when your Lordſhip ſhall ſee the noble and rare effects thereof, you will be heartily ſory that all this while it hath not bene erected. As therefore our skill in Nauigation hath hitherto bene very much bettered and increaſed vnder the Admiraltie of your Lordſhips; ſo if this one thing be added thereunto, together with ſeuere and ſtraight diſcipline, I doubt not but with Gods good bleſſing it will ſhortly grow to the hieſt pitch and top of all perfection: which whenſoeuer it ſhall come to paſſe, I aſſure my ſelfe it will turne to the infinite wealth and honour of our Countrey, to the proſperous and ſpeedy diſcouery of many rich lands and territories of heathens and gentiles as yet vnknowen, to the honeſt employment of many thouſands of our idle people, to the great comfort and reioycing of our friends, to the terror, daunting and confuſion of our foes. To ende this matter, let mee now I beſeech you ſpeake vnto your Lordſhip, as in times paſt the elder *Scipio* ſpake to *Cornelius Scipio Africanus*: *Quò ſis, Africane, alacrior ad tutandam Rempublicam, ſic habeto: Omnibus, qui patriam conſeruauerint, adiuuerint, auxerint, certum eſſe in cœlo, ac definitum locum, vbi beati æuo ſempiterno fruantur.* It remaineth therefore, that as your Lordſhip from time to time vnder her moſt gracious and excellent Maieſtie, haue ſhewed your ſelfe a valiant protectour, a carefull conſeruer, and an happy enlarger of the honour and reputation of your Countrey; ſo at length you may enioy thoſe celeſtial bleſſings, which are prepared to ſuch as tread your ſteps, and ſeeke to aſpire to ſuch diuine and heroical vertues. And euen here I ſurceaſe, wiſhing all temporal and ſpirituall bleſſings of the life preſent and that which is to come to be powred out in moſt ample meaſure, not onely vpon your honourable Lordſhip, the noble and vertuous Lady your bedfellow, and thoſe two rare iewels, your generous off-ſprings, but alſo vpon all the reſt whereſoeuer of that your noble and renowmed family. From London the 7. day of this preſent October 1598.

Your honours moſt humble alwayes
to be commanded:

Richard Hakluyt Preacher.

¶ A preface to the Reader as touching the principall Voyages and diſcourſes in this firſt part.



HAuing for the benefit and honour of my Countrey zealouſly beſtowed ſo many yeres, ſo much traueile and coſt, to bring *Antiquities* ſmothered and buried in darke ſilence, to light, and to preſerue certaine memorable exploits of late yeeres by our Engliſh *nation* atchieued, from the greedy and deuouring iawes of oblíuion: to gather likewiſe, and as it were to incorporate into one body the torne and ſcattered limmes of our ancient and late *Nauigations* by Sea, our voyages by land, and traffiques of merchandiſe by both: and hauing (ſo much as in me lieth) reſtored ech particular member, being before diſplaced, to their true ioynts and ligaments; I meane, by the helpe of Geographie and Chronologie (which I may call the Sunne and the Moone, the right eye and the left of *Hiſtory*) referred ech particular relation to the due time and place: I do this ſecond time (friendly Reader, if not to ſatisfie, yet at leaſt for the preſent to allay and hold in ſuſpenſe thine expectation) preſume to offer vnto thy view this firſt part of my threefold diſcourſe. For the bringing of which into this homely and rough-hewen ſhape, which here thou ſeeſt; what reſtleſſe nights, what painefull dayes, what heat, what cold I haue indured; how many long & chargeable iourneys I haue traueiled; how many famous libraries I haue ſearched into; what varietie of ancient and moderne writers I haue peruſed; what a number of old records, patents, priuileges, letters, &c. I haue redeemed from obſcuritie and periſhing; into how manifold acquaintance I haue entred; what expenſes I haue not ſpared; and yet what faire opportunities of priuate gaine, preferment, and eaſe I haue neglected; albeit thy ſelfe canſt hardly imagine, yet I by daily experience do finde & feele, and ſome of my entier friends can ſufficiently teſtifie. Howbeit (as I told thee at the firſt) the honour and benefit of this Common weale wherein I liue and breathe, hath made all difficulties ſeeme eaſie, all paines and induſtrie pleaſant, and all expenſes of light value and moment vnto me.

For (to conteine my ſelfe onely within the bounds of this preſent diſcourſe, and in the midſt thereof to begin) wil it not in all poſteritie be as great a renowme vnto our Engliſh nation, to haue bene the firſt diſcouerers of a Sea beyond the North cape (neuer certainly knowen before) and of a conuenient paſſage into the huge Empire of Ruſſia by the bay of S. Nicolas and the riuer of Duina; as for the Portugales to haue found a Sea beyond the Cape of Buona Eſperanza, and ſo conſequently a paſſage by Sea into the Eaſt Indies; or for the Italians and Spaniards to haue diſcouered vnknowen landes ſo many hundred leagues Weſtward and Southweſtward of the ſtreits of Gibraltar, & of the pillers of Hercules? Be it granted that the renowmed Portugale Vaſquez de Gama trauerſed the maine Ocean Southward of Africke: Did not Richard Chanceler and his mates performe the like Northward of Europe? Suppoſe that Columbus that noble and high-ſpirited Genuois eſcried vnknowen landes to the Weſtward of Europe and Africke: Did not the valiant Engliſh knight ſir Hugh Willoughby; did not the famous Pilots Stephen Burrough, Arthur Pet, and Charles Iackman accoaſt Noua Zembla, Colgoieue, and Vaigatz to the North of Europe and Aſia? Howbeit you will ſay perhaps, not with the like golden ſucceſſe, not with ſuch deductions of Colonies, nor attaining of conqueſts. True it is, that our ſucceſſe hath not bene correſpondent vnto theirs: yet in this our attempt the vncertaintie of finding was farre greater, and the difficultie and danger of ſearching was no whit leſſe. For hath not Herodotus (a man for his time, moſt skilfull and iudicial in Coſmographie, who writ aboue 2000. yeeres ago) in his 4. booke called Melpomene,

pomene, *ſignified vnto the* Portugales *in plaine termes; that* Africa, *except the ſmall* Iſthmus *between the* Arabian *gulfe and the* Mediterran *ſea, was on all ſides enuironed with the Ocean? And for the further confirmation thereof, doth he not make mention of one* Neco *an* Ægyptian *King, who (for trials ſake) ſent a Fleet of* Phœnicians *downe the Red ſea; who ſetting forth in Autumne and ſailing Southward, till they had the Sunne at noonetide vpon their ſterbourd (that is to ſay, hauing croſſed the* Æquinoctial *and the Southerne* tropique) *after a long Nauigation, directed their courſe to the North, and in the ſpace of 3. yeeres enuironed all* Africk, *paſſing home through the* Gaditan *ſtreites, and arriuing in* Ægypt? *And doth not* ‖Plinie *tel them, that noble* Hanno, *in the flouriſhing time and eſtate of* Carthage, *ſailed from* Gades *in* Spaine *to the coaſt of* Arabia fœlix, *and put downe his whole iournall in writing? Doth he not make mention, that in the time of* Auguſtus Cæſar, *the wracke of certaine* Spaniſh *ſhips was found floating in the* Arabian *gulfe? And, not to be ouer-tedious in alleaging of teſtimonies, doth not* Strabo *in the 2. booke of his Geography, together with* Cornelius Nepos *and* Plinie *in the place beforenamed, agree all in one, that one* Eudoxus *fleeing from king* Lathyrus, *and ſayling downe the* Arabian *bay, ſailed along, doubled the Southern point of* Africk, *and at length arriued at* Gades? *And what ſhould I ſpeake of the* Spaniards? *Was not diuine* ‖Plato *(who liued ſo many ages ago, and plainely deſcribed their Weſt* Indies *vnder the name of* Atlantis) *was not he (I ſay) in ſtead of a Coſmographer vnto them? Were not thoſe* Carthaginians *mentioned by* Ariſtotle lib. ‖de admirabil. auſcult. *their forerunners? And had they not* Columbus *to ſtirre them vp, and pricke them forward vnto their Weſterne diſcoueries; yea, to be their chiefe loads-man and Pilot? Sithens therefore theſe two worthy Nations had thoſe bright lampes of learning (I meane the moſt ancient and beſt Philoſophers, Hiſtoriographers and Geographers) to ſhewe them light; and the load-ſtarre of experience (to wit thoſe great exploits and voyages layed vp in ſtore and recorded) whereby to ſhape their courſe: what great attempt might they not preſume to vndertake? But alas our* Engliſh *nation, at the firſt ſetting foorth for their Northeaſterne diſcouery, were either altogether deſtitute of ſuch cleare lights and inducements, or if they had any inkling at all, it was as miſty as they found the Northren ſeas, and ſo obſcure and ambiguous, that it was meet rather to deterre them, then to giue them encouragement.*

‖ Lib 2. nat. hiſt. cap. 67.

‖ In Timæo.

‖ περὶ θαυμασίων ἀκουσμάτων.

But beſides the foreſaid vncertaintie, into what dangers and difficulties they plunged themſelues, Animus meminiſſe horret, *I tremble to recount. For firſt they were to expoſe themſelues vnto the rigour of the ſterne and vncouth Northren ſeas, and to make triall of the ſwelling waues and boiſtrous winds which there commonly do ſurge and blow: then were they to ſaile by the ragged and perilous coaſt of* Norway, *to frequent the vnhaunted ſhoares of* Finmark, *to double the dreadfull and miſty North cape, to beare with* Willoughbies *land, to run along within kenning of the Countreys of* Lapland *and* Corelia, *and as it were to open and vnlocke the ſeuen-fold mouth of* Duina. *Moreouer, in their Northeaſterly Nauigations, vpon the ſeas and by the coaſts of* Condora, Colgoieue, Petzora, Ioughoria, Samoedia, Noua Zembla, *&c. and their paſſing and returne through the ſtreits of* Vaigatz, *vnto what drifts of ſnow and mountaines of yce euen in Iune, Iuly, and Auguſt, vnto what hideous ouerfals, vncertaine currents, darke miſtes and fogs, and diuers other fearefull inconueniences they were ſubiect and in danger of, I wiſh you rather to learne out of the voyages of ſir* Hugh Willoughbie, Stephen Burrough, Arthur Pet *and the reſt, then to expect in this place an endleſſe catalogue thereof. And here by the way I cannot but highly commend the great induſtry and magnanimity of the* Hollanders, *who within theſe few yeeres haue diſcouered to 78. yea (as themſelues affirme) to 81. degrees of Northerly latitude: yet with this prouiſo, that our* Engliſh *nation led them the dance, brake the yce before them, and gaue them good leaue to light their candle at our torch. But nowe it is high time for vs to weigh our ancre, to hoiſe vp our ſailes, to get cleare of theſe boiſtrous, froſty, and miſty ſeas, and with all ſpeede to direct our*

courſe

course for the milde, lightsome, temperate, and warme Atlantick *Ocean, ouer which the* Spaniards *and* Portugales *haue made so many pleasant prosperous and golden voyages. And albeit I cannot deny, that both of them in their East and West* Indian *Nauigations haue indured many tempests, dangers and shipwracks: yet this dare I boldly affirme; first that a great number of them haue satisfied their fame-thirsty and gold-thirsty mindes with that reputation and wealth, which made all perils and misaduentures seeme tolerable vnto them; and secondly, that their first attempts (which in this comparison I doe onely stand vpon) were no whit more difficult and dangerous, then ours to the Northeast. For admit that the way was much longer, yet was it neuer barred with yce, mist, or darknes, but was at all seasons of the yeere open and Nauigable; yea and that for the most part with fortunate and fit gales of winde. Moreouer they had no forren prince to intercept or molest them, but their owne Townes, Islands, and maine lands to succour them. The* Spaniards *had the* Canary *Isles: and so had the* Portugales *the Isles of the* Açores, *of* Porto santo, *of* Madera, *of* Cape verd, *the castle of* Mina, *the fruitfull and profitable Isle of* S. Thomas, *being all of them conueniently situated, and well fraught with commodities. And had they not continuall and yerely trade in some one part or other of* Africa, *for getting of slaues, for sugar, for Elephants teeth, graines, siluer, gold, and other precious wares, which serued as allurements to draw them on by little and little, and as proppes to stay them from giuing ouer their attempts? But nowe let vs leaue them and returne home vnto our selues.*

In this first Volume (friendly Reader) besides our Northeasterne Discoueries by sea, and the memorable voyage of M. Christopher Hodson, *and* M. William Burrough, Anno 1570. *to the* Narue, *wherein with merchants ships onely, they tooke fiue strong and warrelike ships of the* Freebooters, *which lay within the sound of* Denmark *of purpose to intercept our English Fleete: besides all these (I say) thou maiest find here recorded, to the lasting honor of our nation, all their long and dangerous voyages for the aduauncing of traffique by riuer and by land to all parts of the huge and wide Empire of* Russia: *as namely* Richard Chanceler *his first fortunate arriuall at* Newnox, *his passing vp the riuer of* Dwina *to the citie of* Vologda *for the space of 1100. verst and from thence to* Yaruslaue, Rostoue, Peraslaue, *and so to the famous citie of* Moscо, *being 1500. verst trauell in all. Moreouer, here thou hast his voiage penned by himselfe (which I hold to be very authentical, & for the which I do acknowledge my selfe beholding vnto the excellent Librarie of the right honorable my lord* Lumley) *wherein he describeth in part the state of* Russia, *the maners of the people and their religion, the magnificence of the Court, the maiestie, power, and riches of the Emperour, and the gracious entertainment of himselfe. But if he being the first man, and not hauing so perfect intelligence as they that came after him, doeth not fullie satisfie your expectation in describing the foresayd countrey and people; I then referre you to* Clement Adams *his relation next following, to* M. Ienkinsons *discourse as touching that argument, to the smooth verses of* M. George Turberuile, *and to a learned and excellent discourse set downe, pag. 475. of this volume, and the pages following. Vnto all which (if you please) you may adde* Richard Iohnsons *strange report of the* Samoeds, *pag. 283. But to returne to our voyages performed within the bounds of* Russia, *I suppose (among the rest) that difficult iourney of* Southam *and* Sparke, *from* Colmogro *and* S. Nicholas *Baie, vp the great riuer of* Onega, *and so by other riuers and lakes to the citie of* Nouogrod velica *vpon the West frontier of* Russia, *to be right woorthy of obseruation; as likewise that of* Thomas Alcock *from* Mosco *to* Smolensko, *and thence to* Tirwill *in* Polonia, *pag. 304. & that also of* M. Hierome Horsey *from* Mosco *to* Vobsko, *and so through* Liefland *to* Riga, *thence by the chiefe townes of* Prussia *and* Pomerland *to* Rostok, *and so to* Hamburg, Breme, Emden, &c. *Neither hath our nation bene contented onely throughly to search into all parts of the Inland, and to view the Northren, Southerne, and Westerne frontiers, but also by the riuers*

of Moſcua, Occa and Volga, to viſite Cazan and Aſtracan, the fartheſt Eaſterne and Southeaſterne bounds of that huge Empire. And yet not containing themſelues within all that maine circumference, they haue aduentured their perſons, ſhippes, and goods, homewards and outwards, foureteene times ouer the vnknowen and dangerous Caſpian ſea; that valiant, wiſe, and perſonable gentleman M. Anthonie Ienkinſon being their firſt ring-leader: who in Anno 1558. ſailing from Aſtracan towards the Eaſt ſhore of the Caſpian ſea, and there arriuing at the port of Manguſla, trauelled thence by Vrgence and Sheliſur, and by the riuers of Oxus and Ardok, 40. dayes iourney ouer deſert and waſt countreys, to Boghar a principall citie of Bactria, being there & by the way friendly entertained, diſmiſſed, and ſafely conducted by certaine Tartarian kings and Murſes. Then haue you a ſecond Nauigation of his performance to the South ſhore of the foreſayd Caſpian ſea, together with his landing at Derbent, his arriuall at Shabran, his proceeding vnto Shamaky, the great curteſie vouchſafed on him by Obdolowcan king of Hircan, his iourney after of 30. dayes Southward, by Yauate, Ardouil, and other townes and cities to Casben, being as then the ſeate imperiall of Shaugh Thamas the great Sophy of Perſia, with diuers other notable accidents in his going foorth, in his abode there, and in his returne home. Immediately after you haue ſet downe in fiue ſeuerall voiages the ſucceſſe of M. Ienkinſons laudable and well-begun enterpriſe, vnder the foreſayd Shaugh Thamas, vnder Shally Murzey the new king of Hircan, and laſtly our traffique with Oſman Baſha the great Turkes lieutenant at Derbent. Moreouer, as in M. Ienkinſons trauel to Boghar the Tartars, with their territories, habitations, maner of liuing, apparell, food, armour, &c. are moſt liuely repreſented vnto you: ſo likewiſe in the ſixe Perſian Iournals you may here and there obſerue the ſtate of that countrey, of the great Shaugh and of his ſubiects, together with their religion, lawes, cuſtomes, & maner of gouernment, their coines, weights and meaſures, the diſtances of places, the temperature of the climate and region, and the natural commodities and diſcommodities of the ſame.

Furthermore in this firſt Volume, all the Ambaſſages and Negotiations from her Maieſtie to the Ruſſian Emperor, or from him vnto her Maieſtie, ſeemed by good right to challenge their due places of Record. As namely, firſt that of M. Randolph, 1568. then the emploiment of M. Ienkinſon 1571. thirdly, Sir Ierome Bowes his honorable commiſſion and ambaſſage 1582. and laſt of all the Ambaſſage of M. Doct. Fletcher 1588. Neither do we forget the Emperours firſt Ambaſſador Oſep Napea, his arriuall in Scotland, his moſt honourable entertainment and abode in England, and his diſmiſſion into Ruſſeland. In the ſecond place we doe make mention of Stephen Tuerdico, and Pheodata Pogorella; thirdly, of Andrea Sauin; and laſtly, of Pheodor Andrewich Phiſemski. And to be briefe, I haue not omitted the Commiſſions, Letters, Priuileges, Inſtructions, Obſeruations, or any other Particulars which might ſerue both in this age, and with all poſteritie, either for preſidents in ſuch like princely and weightie actions to bee imitated, or as woorthy monuments in no wiſe to bee buried in ſilence. Finally, that nothing ſhould be wanting which might adde any grace or ſhew of perfection vnto this diſcourſe of Ruſſia; I haue prefixed before the beginning thereof, the petigree and genealogie of the Ruſſian Emperors and Dukes, gathered out of their owne Chronicles by a Polonian, containing in briefe many notable antiquities and much knowledge of thoſe partes: as likewiſe about the concluſion, I haue ſignified in the branch of a letter, the laſt Emperour Pheodor Iuanowich his death, and the inauguration of Boris Pheodorowich vnto the Empire.

But that no man ſhould imagine that our forren trades of merchandiſe haue bene compriſed within ſome few yeeres, or at leaſt wiſe haue not bene of any long continuance; let vs now withdraw our ſelues from our affaires in Ruſſia, and aſcending ſomewhat higher, let vs take a ſleight ſuruey of our traffiques and negotiations in former ages. Firſt therefore the Reader may haue recourſe vnto the 124 page of this Volume, & there with great

delight

delight and admiration, consider out of the iudicial Historiographer Cornelius Tacitus, that the Citie of London fifteene hundred yeeres agoe in the time of Nero the Emperour, was most famous for multitude of merchants and concourse of people. In the pages folowing he may learne out of Venerable Beda, that almost 900. yeeres past, in the time of the Saxons, the said citie of London was multorum emporium populorum, a Mart-towne for many nations. There he may behold, out of William of Malmesburie, a league concluded betweene the most renoumed and victorious Germane Emperour Carolus Magnus, and the Saxon king Offa, together with the sayd Charles his patronage and protection granted vnto all English merchants which in those dayes frequented his dominions. There may hee plainly see in an auncient testimonie translated out of the Saxon tongue, how our merchants were often woont for traffiques sake, so many hundred yeeres since, to crosse the wide Seas, and how their in[illegible]y in so doing was recompensed. Yea, there mayest thou obserue (friendly Reader) w[illegible] priuileges the Danish king Canutus obtained at Rome of Pope Iohn, of Conradus the Emperour, and of king Rudolphus for our English merchants Aduenturers of those times. Then if you shall thinke good to descend vnto the times and ages succeeding the conquest, there may you partly see what our state of merchandise was in the time of king Stephen and of his predecessor, and how the Citie of Bristol (which may seeme somewhat strange) was then greatly resorted vnto with ships from Norway and from Ireland. There may you see the friendly league betweene king Henry the second, and the famous Germane Emperour Friderick Barbarossa, and the gracious authorizing of both their merchãts to traffique in either of their dominions. And what need I to put you in mind of king Iohn his fauourable safe-conduct, whereby all forren merchants were to haue the same priuileges here in England, which our English merchants enioied abroad in their seuerall countreys. Or what should I signifie vnto you the entercourse of league and of other curteses betweene king Henry the third, and Haquinus king of Norway; and likewise of the free trade of merchandise between their subiects: or tell you what fauours the citizens of Colen, of Lubek, and of all the Hanse-townes obtained of king Edward the first; or to what high endes and purposes the generall, large, and stately Charter concerning all outlandish merchants whatsoeuer was by the same prince most graciously published? You are of your owne industry sufficiently able to conceiue of the letters & negotiatiõs which passed between K. Edward the 2. & Haquinus the Noruagian king; of our English merchants and their goods detained vpon arrest at Bergen in Norway; and also of the first ordination of a Staple, or of one onely setled Mart-towne for the vttering of English woolls & woollen fells, instituted by the sayd K. Edward last before named. All which (Reader) being throughly considered, I referre you then to the Ambassages, Letters, Traffiques, and prohibition of Traffiques, concluding and repealing of leagues, damages, reprisals, arrests, complaints, supplications, compositions and restitutions which happened in the time of king Richard the 2. and king Henry the 4. between the said kings and their subiects on the one partie; and Conradus de Zolner, Conradus de Iungingen, and Vlricus de Iungingen, three of the great masters of Prussia, and their subiects, with the common societie of the Hanse-townes on the other partie. In all which discourse you may note very many memorable things; as namely first the wise, discreet, and cautelous dealing of the Ambassadors and Commissioners of both parts, then the wealth of the foresaid nations, and their manifold and most vsuall kinds of wares vttered in those dayes, as likewise the qualitie, burthen, and strength of their shipping, the number of their Mariners, the maner of their combates at sea, the number and names of the English townes which traded that way, with the particular places as well vpon the coast of Norway, as euery where within the sound of Denmark which they frequented; together with the inueterate malice and craftie crueltie of the Hanse. And because the name, office, and dignitie of the masters generall, or great Masters of Prussia would otherwise haue bene vtterly darke and vnknowen to the

greater

greater part of Readers, I haue set downe immediatly before the first Prussian ambassage, pagina 144 a briefe and orderly Catalogue of them all, contayning the first originall and institution of themselues and of their whole knightly order and brotherhood, with the increase of reuenues and wealth which befell them afterwardin Italy and Germany and the great conquests which they atchieued vpon the infidels of Prussia, Samogitia, Curland, Liefland, Lituania, &c. also their decay and finall ouerthrow, partly by the reuolt of diuers Townes and Castles vnder their iurisdiction, and partly by the meanes of their next mightie neighbour the King of Poland.

After all these, out of 2. branches of 2 ancient statutes, is partly shewed our trade and the successe thereof with diuers forren Nations in the time of K. Henry the sixt.

Then followeth the true processe of English policie, I meane that excellent and pithy treatise de politia conseruatiua maris: which I cannot to any thing more fitly compare, then to the Emperour of Russia his palace called the golden Castle, and described by Richard Chanceller pag. 238. of this volume: whereof albeit the outward apparance was but homely and no whit correspondent to the name, yet was it within so beautified and adorned with the Emperour his maiesticall presence, with the honourable and great assembly of his rich-attired Peers and Senatours, with an inualuable and huge masse of gold and siluer plate, & with other princely magnificence; that well might the eyes of the beholders be dazeled, and their cogitations astonished thereat. For indeed the exteriour habit of this our English politician, to wit, the harsh and vnaffected stile of his substantiall verses and the olde dialect of his wordes is such; as the first may seeme to haue bene whistled of Pans oaten pipe, and the second to haue proceeded from the mother of Euander: but take you off his vtmost weed, and beholde the comelinesse, beautie, and riches which lie hid within his inward sense and sentence; and you shall finde (I wisse) so much true and sound policy, so much delightfull and pertinent history, so many liuely descriptions of the shipping and wares in his time of all the nations almost in Christendome, and such a subtile discouery of outlandish merchants fraud, and of the sophistication of their wares; that needes you must acknowledge, that more matter and substance could in no wise be comprised in so little a roome. And notwithstanding (as I said) his stile be vnpolished, and his phrases somewhat out of vse; yet, so neere as the written copies would giue me leaue, I haue most religiously without alteration obserued the same: thinking it farre more conuenient that himselfe should speake, then that I should bee his spokesman; and that the Readers should enioy his true verses, then mine or any other mans fained prose.

Next after the conclusion of the last mentioned discourse, the Reader may in some sort take a view of our state of merchandise vnder K. Edward the fourth, as likewise of the establishing of an English company in the Netherlands, and of all the discreet prouisoes, iust ordinations, & gratious priuileges conteined in the large Charter which was granted for the same purpose.

Now besides our voyages and trades of late yeeres to the North and Northeast regions of the world, and our ancient traffique also to those parts; I haue not bene vnmindefull (so farre as the histories of England and of other Countreys would giue me direction) to place in the fore-front of this booke those forren conquests, exploits, and trauels of four English nation, which haue bene atchieued of old. Where in the first place (as I am credibly informed out of Galfridus Monumetensis, and out of M. Lambert his Ἀρχαιονομία) I haue published vnto the world the noble actes of Arthur and Malgo two British Kings. Then followeth in the Saxons time K. Edwin his conquest of Man and Anglesey, and the expedition of Bertus into Ireland. Next succeedeth Other making relation of his doings, and describing the North Countreys, vnto his soueraigne Lord K. Ecfrid. After whom Wolstans Nauigation within the Sound of Denmark is mentioned, the voyage of the yong Princes Edmund and Edward into Sweden and Hungarie is recorded, as likewise the mariage of Harald his daughter vnto the Russian duke Ieruslaus. Neither is

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that Englishman forgotten, who was forced to traueile with the cruel Tartars into their Countrey, and from thence to beare them company into Hungary and Poland. And because those Northeasterne Regions beyond Volga, by reason of the huge deserts, the colde climate, and the barbarous inciuilitie of the people there inhabiting, were neuer yet throughly traueiled by any of our Nation, nor sufficiently knowen vnto vs; I haue here annexed vnto the said Englishmans traueile, the rare & memorable iournals of 2. Friers, who were some of the first Christians that trauailed farthest that way, and brought home most particular intelligence & knowledge of all things which they had seene. These Friers were sent as Ambassadours vnto the sauage Tartars (who had as then wasted and ouerrunne a great part of Asia, and had pierced farre into Europe with fire and sword) to mitigate their fury, and to offer the glad tidings of the Gospel vnto them. The former, namely Iohannes de Plano Carpini (whose iourney, because he road sixe moneths poste directly beyond Boristhenes, did, I thinke, both for length and difficultie farre surpasse that of Alexander the great, vnto the riuer of Indus) was in the yeere 1240. sent with the authoritie and commission of a Legate from Pope Innocentius the fourth: who passed through more garisons of the Tartars, and wandered ouer more vast, barren, and cold deserts, then (I suppose) an army of an hundred thousand good souldiers could haue done. The other, to wit, William de Rubricis, was 1253. by the way of Constantinople, of the Euxin sea, and of Taurica Chersonesus imployed in an ambassage from Lewis the French King (waging warre as then against the Saracens in the Holy land) vnto one Sartach a great duke of the Tartars, which Sartach sent him forthwith vnto his father Baatu, and from Baatu he was conducted ouer many large territories vnto the Court of Mangu-Can their Emperour. Both of them haue so well played their parts, in declaring what befell them before they came at the Tartars, what a terrible and vnmanerly welcomming they had at their first arriuall, what cold intertainment they felt in traueiling towards the great Can, and what slender cheere they found at his Court; that they seeme no lesse worthy of praise then of pitie. But in describing of the Tartars Countrey, and of the Regions adiacent, in setting downe the base and sillie beginnings of that huge and ouerspreading Empire, in registring their manifolde warres and bloody conquests, in making relation of their hords and moueable Townes, as likewise of their food, apparell and armour, and in setting downe their vnmercifull lawes, their fond superstitions, their bestiall liues, their vicious maners, their slauish subiection to their owne superiours, and their disdainfull and brutish inhumanitie vnto strangers, they deserue most exceeding and high commendation. Howbeit if any man shall obiect that they haue certaine incredible relations: I answere, first, that many true things may to the ignorant seeme incredible. But suppose there be some particulars which hardly will be credited; yet thus much I will boldly say for the Friers, that those particulars are but few, and that they doe not auouch them vnder their owne names, but from the report of others. Yet farther imagine that they did auouch them, were they not to be pardoned as well as Herodotus, Strabo, Plutarch, Plinie, Solinus, yea & a great many of our new principall writers, whose names you may see about the end of this Preface; euery one of which hath reported more strange things then the Friers betweene the both? Nay, there is not any history in the world (the most Holy writ excepted) whereof we are precisely bound to beleeue ech word and syllable. Moreouer sithens these two iournals are so rare, that Mercator and Ortelius (as their letters vnto me do testifie) were many yeeres very inquisitiue, and could not for all that attaine vnto them; and sithens they haue bene of so great accompt with those two famous Cosmographers, that according to some fragments of them they haue described in their Mappes a great part of those Northeastern Regions; sith also that these two relations containe in some respect more exact history of those vnknowen parts, then all the ancient and newe writers that euer I could set mine eyes on: I thought it good, if the translation should chance to swerue in ought from the originals (both for the preseruation of the originals

themselues, and the satisfying of the Reader) to put them downe word for word in that homely stile wherein they were first penned. And for these two rare iewels, as likewise for many other extraordinary courtesies, I must here acknowledge my selfe most deepely bounden vnto the right reuerend, graue, and learned Prelate, my very good lord the Bishop of Chicheſter, and L. high Almner vnto her Maiestie, by whose friendship and meanes I had free accesse vnto the right honor. my L. Lumley his stately library, and was permitted to copy out of ancient manuscripts, these two iournals and some others also.

After these Friers (though not in the next place) foloweth a testimonie of Gerardus Mercator, and another of M. Dee, concerning one Nicholas de Linna an English Franciscan Frier.

Then succeedeth the long iourney of Henry Earle of Derbie, and afterward king of England into Prussia & Lithuania, with a briefe remembrance of his valiant exploits against the Infidels there; as namely, that with the help of certaine his Associates, he vanquished the king of Letto his armie, put the sayd king to flight, tooke and slew diuers of his captains, aduanced his English colours vpon the wall of Vilna, & made the citie it selfe to yeeld. Then mention is made also of Tho. of Woodstock his trauel into Pruis, and of his returne home. And lastly, our old English father Ennius, I meane, the learned, wittie, and profound Geffrey Chaucer, vnder the person of his knight, doeth full iudicially and like a cunning Cosmographer, make report of the long voiages and woorthy exploits of our English Nobles, Knights, & Gentlemen, to the Northren, and to other partes of the world in his dayes.

Neither haue we comprehended in this Volume, onely our Trades and Voiages both new and old; but also haue scattered here and there (as the circumstance of times would giue vs leaue) certaine fragments concerning the beginnings, antiquities, and growth of the classical and warrelike shipping of this Iland: as namely, first of the great nauie of that victorious Saxon prince king Edgar, mentioned by Florentius Wigornienſis, Roger Houeden, Rainulph of Chester, Matthew of Westminster, Flores historiarum, & in the libel of English policie, pag. 202. and 203. of this present volume. Of which Authors some affirme the sayd Fleet to haue consisted of 4800. others of 4000. some others of 3600. ships: howbeit (if I may presume to gloze vpon the text) I verily thinke that they were not comparable, either for burthen, strength, building, or nimble stirrage vnto the ships of later times, and specially of this age. But howsoeuer it be, they all agree in this, that by meanes of the sayd huge Fleet he was a most puissant prince; yea, and some of them affirme together with William of Malmesbury, that he was not onely soueraigne lord of all the British seas and of the whole Isle of Britaine it selfe, but also that he brought vnder his yoke of subiection, most of the Isles and some of the maine lands adiacent. And for that most of our Nauigators at this [illegible] bee (for want of trade and practise that way) either vtterly ignorant, or but meane[illegible] full, in the true state of the Seas, Shoulds, and Islands, lying between the North part of Ireland and of Scotland; I haue for their better encouragement (if any weightie action shall hereafter chance to drawe them into those quarters) translated into English a briefe treatise called, A Chronicle of the Kings of Man. Wherein they may behold as well the tragical and dolefull historie of those parts, for the space almost of 300. yeeres, as also the most ordinarie and accustomed nauigations, through those very seas, and amidst those Northwesterne Isles called the Hebrides, so many hundred yeeres agoe. For they shall there read, that euen then (when men were but rude in sea-causes in regard of the great knowledge which we now haue) first Godredus Croüan with a whole Fleet of ships, throughly haunted some places in that sea: secondly, that one Ingemundus setting saile out of Norway, arriued vpon the Isle of Lewis: then, that Magnus the king of Norway came into the same seas with 160. sailes, and hauing subdued the Orkney Isles in his way, passed on in like conquering maner, directing his course (as it should seeme) euen through the very midst, and on all sides of the Hebrides,

who

who ſailing thence to Man, conquered it alſo, proceeding afterward as farre as Angleſey; and laſtly croſſing ouer from the Iſle of Man to the Eaſt part of Ireland. Yea, there they ſhall read of Godredus the ſonne of Olauus his voiage to the king of Norway, of his expeditson with 80. ſhips againſt Sumerledus, of Sumerled his expedition with 53. ſhips againſt him; of Godred his flight and ſecond iourney into Norway; of Sumerled his ſecond arriual with 160. ſhippes at Rhinfrin vpon the coaſt of Man, and of many other ſuch combates, aſſaults, & voyages which were performed onely vpon thoſe ſeas & Iſlands. And for the bringing of this woorthy monument to light, we doe owe great thanks vnto the iudiciall and famous Antiquarie M. Camden. But ſithens we are entred into a diſcourſe of the ancient warrelike ſhipping of this land, the Reader ſhall giue me leaue to borrow one principall note out of this litle hiſtorie, before I quite take my leaue thereof: and that is in few words, that K. Iohn paſſed into Ireland with a Fleet of 500. ſailes; ſo great were our ſea-forces euen in his time. Neither did our ſhipping for the warres firſt begin to flouriſh with king Iohn, but long before his dayes in the reign of K. Edward the Confeſſor, of William the Conqueror, of William Rufus and the reſt, there were diuers men of warre which did valiant ſeruice at ſea, and for their paines were roially rewarded. All this and more then this you may ſee recorded, pag. 17. out of the learned Gentleman M. Lambert his Perambulation of Kent; namely, the antiquitie of the Kentiſh Cinque ports, which of the ſea-townes they were, how they were infranchiſed, what gracious priuileges and high prerogatiues were by diuers kings vouchſafed vpon them, and what ſeruices they were tied vnto in regard thereof; to wit, how many ſhips, how many ſouldiers, mariners, Garſons, and for how many dayes each of them, and all of them were to furniſh for the kings vſe; and laſtly, what great exploits they performed vnder the conduct of Hubert of Burrough, as likewiſe againſt the Welſh men, vpon 200. French ſhips, and vnder the commaund of captaine Henry Pay. Then haue you, pag. 117. the franke and bountifull Charter granted by king Edward the firſt, vpon the foreſayd Cinque portes: & next thereunto a Roll of the mightie fleet of ſeuen hundred ſhips which K. Edward the third had with him vnto the ſiege of Caleis: out of which Roll (before I proceed any further) let me giue you a double obſeruation. Firſt, that theſe ſhips, according to the number of the mariners which were in all 14151. perſons, ſeeme to haue bene of great burthen; and ſecondly, that Yarmouth an hauen towne in Northfolke (which I much wonder at) ſet foorth almoſt twiſe as many ſhips and mariners, as either the king did at his owne coſts and charges, or as any one citie or towne in England beſides. Howbeit Tho. Walſingham maketh plaine and euident mention of a farre greater Fleete of the ſame king; namely, of 1100. ſhippes lying before Sandwich, being all of them ſufficiently well furniſhed. Moreouer, the Reader may behold, pag. 186. a notable teſtimonie of the mightie ſhips of that valiant prince king Henry the 5. who (when after his great victory at Agincourt the Frenchmen to recouer Harflew had hired certaine Spaniſh and Italian ſhips and forces, & had vnited their owne ſtrength vnto them) ſent his brother Iohn duke of Bedford to encounter them, who bidding them battell, got the victory, taking ſome of their ſhips, and ſinking others, and putting the reſidue to diſhonorable flight. Likewiſe comming the next yeere with ſtronger powers, and being then alſo ouercome, they were glad to conclude a perpetuall league with K. Henry; & propter eorum naues (ſaieth mine Author) that is, for the reſiſtance of their ſhips, the ſayd king cauſed ſuch huge ſhips to be built, quales non erant in mundo, as the like were not to be found in the whole world beſides.

But to leaue our ancient ſhipping, and deſcend vnto later times; I thinke that neuer was any nation bleſſed of IEHOVAH, with a more glorious and wonderfull victory vpon the Seas, then our vanquiſhing of the dreadfull Spaniſh Armada, 1588. But why ſhould I preſume to call it our vanquiſhing; when as the greateſt part of them eſcaped vs, and were oncly by Gods out-ſtretched arme ouerwhelmed in the Seas, daſhed in pieces againſt the Rockes, and made fearefull ſpectacles and examples of his iudgements vnto all

Chriſtendome?

Christendome. An excellent discourse whereof, as likewise of the honourable expedition vnder two of the most noble and valiant peeres of this Realme, I meane the renoumed Erle of Essex, *and the right honorable the lord* Charles Howard, *lord high Admirall of* England, *made 1596. vnto the strong citie of* Cadiz, *I haue set downe as a double* epiphonema *to conclude this my first volume withall. Both of which, albeit they ought of right to haue bene placed among the Southerne voyages of our nation: yet partly to satisfie the importunitie of some of my special friends, and partly, not longer to depriue the diligent Reader of two such woorthy and long-expected discourses; I haue made bold to straine a little curtesie with that methode which I first propounded vnto my selfe.*

And here had I almost forgotten to put the Reader in mind of that learned and Philosophical treatise of the true state of Iseland, *and so consequently of the Northren Seas & regions lying that way: wherein a great number of none of the meanest Historiographers and Cosmographers of later times, as namely,* Munster, Gemma Frisius, Zieglerus, Krantzius, Saxo Grammaticus, Olaus Magnus, Peucerus *and others, are by euident arguments conuinced of manifold errors: that is to say, as touching the true situation and Northerly latitude of that Island, and of the distance thereof from other places; touching the length of dayes in Sommer and of nights in Winter, of the temperature of the land and sea, of the time and maner of the congealing, continuance, and thawing of the Ice in those Seas, of the first Discouerie and inhabiting of that Island, of the first planting of Christianitie there, as likewise of the continuall flaming of mountains, strange qualities of fountains, of hel-mouth, and of purgatorie which those authors haue fondly written and imagined to be there. All which treatise ought to bee the more acceptable; first in that it hath brought sound trueth with it; and secondly, in that it commeth from that farre Northren climate which most men would suppose could not affoord any one so learned a Patrone for it selfe.*

And thus (friendly Reader) thou seest the briefe summe and scope of all my labours for the common-wealths sake, and thy sake, bestowed vpon this first Volume: which if thou shalt as thankefully accept, as I haue willingly and freely imparted with thee, I shall bee the better encouraged speedily to acquaint thee with those rare, delightfull and profitable histories, which I purpose (God willing) to publish concerning the Southerne and Westerne partes of the World.

* *
*

¶ *Postscriptum.*

Not knowing any other place so conuenient, I am here to aduertise the friendly Reader of certaine faultes escaped in the printing of this booke, and to request him that in the Page 54. and in the last line saue two, hee would in stead of Kine, read Swine, and he shall thereby auoid a great contradiction: likewise pag. 187. that hee would vnto the ende of the second verse of the Prologue to the English Policy, make supply of the word Rest, which is there wanting: also pag. 221. lin. 29. for woorthinesse read woorthies, &c. Other faults (if there bee any) are (I doubt not) easily corrigible.

Εἰς Ἀποδημίας Βρεττανῶν

ΠΟΝΗΜΑ ΡΙΧΑΡΔΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΑΚΑΤΙΟΥ,
Τῦραν ὁ Βεργιδανὸς.

Ὅσσοι χθὼν ἔχουσι βερυπλ ἰλὺν ἐκτὸς ἐσσὶ
αἰὲν θυελλαίοισιν ὕδασι χάλκια φέρειν.
Οἵ ἦ ῥ' ἐ[illegible] ἠπείρου μετακλαδὸν ὕδατα πλεῖστα,
ἔμπαι μεσσάτιον ἀξιάγαστος ἰδεῖν.
Ἔξοχα Βρεττανοὶ δ', ἐπεὶ μάλα χαλκὸν ἔχοντες,
ἰθὺ μάλα πλωτοῖσιν ἐπὶ πτύλα πολυκαμπῆ.
Γνήσιοι ἐκπρεπέες τε ἰδεῖν, Ἀθάνατόν τι,
ἠΰ Μάχης, ἠΰ πάντ' ἐχατόγκαρπον ἄρουρα.
Τόσσον δ' ἔμπεδον ἐστὶ κλυτὸν, κλυτὸν Ἀκλύτοιο
γόνον ἀείσεσθαι, μᾶλλ' αἰὲν ἐπερχόμενον.

In nauales Richardi Haklvyti Commentarios.

Anglia magnarum fœcunda puerpera rerum,
siue solum spectes nobile, siue salum;
Quæ quantum sumptis se nobilitauerit armis,
siue domi gessit prælia, siue foris;
Multorum celebrant matura volumina: tanta
Insula materiem parvula laudis alit.
At se in quos; qualesq;, & quando effuderit oras,
qua fidit ignotum peruia classis iter,
Solius Hakluyti *decus est, prædiuite penna*
ostendisse suis ciuibus ausa mari.
Quæcunque idcirco celeri gens Anglica naui,
Oceani tristes spernere docta minas,
A prima generisq; & gentis origine gessit,
qua via per fluctus vlla patere potest,
Siue decus, laudemq; secuta, vti & hostibus alas
demeret, atque suis læta pararet opes:
Hoc opus Hakluyti; *cui debet patria multum,*
cui multum, patriæ quisquis amicus erit.
Quare namque magis se nostra Britannia iactat,
quàm quod sit prater cætera classe potens?
Quam prius obsessam tenebris sic liberat, vt nunc
quisque sciat, quàm sit nobile classis opus.
Quam si Dædalicè vtemur, surgemus in altum,
sin autem tutiùs, quod vehat, æquor habet.

RICH. MVLCASTER.

Ejusdem in eundem.

Qvi grauis primus cecinit camœna
Aureum vellus, procerésque Græcos,
quos sibi adiunxit comites Iason
Vectus in Argo
Naue, quam primùm secuisse fluctus
prædicant salsos, sibi comparauit

Inde non vnquam moritura magnæ
præmia famæ.
Tanta si merces calamum secuta
Vnica nauis referentis acta,
Quanta Richardum *manet* Hakluytum
gloria? cuius
Penna descripsit freta mille, mille
Insulas nostræ celeres carinæ,
Quæ per immensi loca peruolarunt
omnia mundi.
Senties gratam patriam, tuæq;
Laudis æternùm memorem, & laboris:
Quæ tua cura, calamóque totum
ibit in orbem:
Quam doces omni studio fouere
Nauticum robur, validámq; classem.
Hac luet quisquis violentus Anglos
vsserit hostis.

In eximium opus R. HAKLVYTI de Anglorum ad disiunctissimas regiones nauigationibus GVLIELMI CAMDENI *Hexastichon.*

ANglia quæ penitùs toto discluditur orbe,
Angulus orbis erat, paruus & orbis erat.
Nunc cùm sepositos alios detexerit orbes,
Maximus orbis honos, Orbis & orbis erit.
At quid *Haklute* tibi monstranti hæc debeat orbis?
Laus tua, crede mihi, non erit orbe minor.

DI MARC' ANTONIO PIGAfeta Gentilhuomo Vicentino.

IGnota mi starei, con poco honore
Sepolta nell' oscure, antiche carte,
S'alcun de figli miei con spesa & arte
Non hauesse hor scoperto il mio splendore.
Ramusio pria pieno d'ardente amore
Manifesto le mie piu riche parte,
Che son là doue il Maragnon diparte,
E doue il Negro allaga, e'l Gange scorre.
Hakluyto poi senza verun riguardo
Di fatica o di danno accolt' hà insieme,
Ciò c' hà potuto hauer da typhi Inglesi.
Onde vedrassi e doue bella sguardo,
E la Dwina agghiaccia, e l'Obi freme,
Et altri membri miei non ben palesi.

¶ A

¶ A Catalogue of the Voyages of this first volume, made to the North and Northeast quarters.

1 THe voyage of *Arthur* K. of *Britaine* to *Island* and the most Northeastern parts of Europe, Anno 517.

2 The voyage of *Malgo* king of *Britaine* to *Island*, *Gotland*, *Orkney*, *Denmark* and *Norway*, Anno 580. pag. 1.

3 The conquest of the Isles of *Anglesey* and *Man* by *Edwin* the *Saxon* king of Northumberland, Anno 624. pag. 3.

4 The voyage of *Bertus* into *Ireland*, Anno 684. 3.

5 The voyage of *Other* to the North parts beyond *Norway* about the yeere 890. 4.

6 The second voyage of *Other* into the Sound of *Denmarke*. 4.

7 Wolstans Nauigation into the East sea, or the Sound of *Denmarke*. 5.

8 The voyage of King *Edgar* with 4000. shippes round about his large Monarchie, Anno 973. 6.

9 The voyage of *Edmund* and *Edward* the sonnes of King *Edmund Ironside*, into *Hungary*, Anno 1017. 6.

10 The mariage of the daughter of *Harald* vnto *Ieruslaus* duke of *Russia* in his owne Countrey, Anno 1067. 9.

11 The voyage of a certaine *Englishman* into *Tartaria*, and from thence into *Poland* and *Hungary*, Anno 1243. 16.

12 The long and wonderfull voyage of Frier *Iohn de Plano Carpini*, Anno 1246. 20.

13 The iournall of Frier *William de Rubricis*, Anno 1253. 21, 37, 53.

14 The voyage of *Nicolaus de Linna* a *Franciscan* Frier, and an excellent Mathematician of *Oxford* to all the Regions situate vnder the North-pole, Anno 1360. 71, 93.

15 The voyage of *Henry* Earle of *Derby*, afterward King of *England*, into *Prussia* and *Letto*, Anno 1390. 121.

16 The voyage of *Thomas* of *Woodstock* duke of *Glocester* into *Prussia*, Anno 1391. 122.

17 The voyage of sir *Hugh Willoughby* knight, wherein he vnfortunately perished at *Arzina Rega* in *Lapland*, Anno 1553. 123.

18 The voyage of *Richard Chancellor* Pilote *maior*, the first discouerer by sea of the kingdome of *Moscouia*, Anno 1553. 232.

19 The voyage of *Stephen Burrough* toward the Riuer of *Ob*, intending the discouery of the Northeast passage, Anno 1556. 237, 243.

20 The landing of *Richard Iohnson* among the *Samoeds*, Anno 1556. 274.

21 The voyage of the aforesaide *Stephen Burrough* from *Colmogro* in *Russia* to *Wardhouse*, in search of certaine *English* ships not heard-of the yeere before, Anno 1557. 283.

22 The voyage of *M. Anthony Ienkinson* into *Russia*, wherein *Osep Napea*, first Ambassadour from the Emperour of *Moscouia* to Queene *Mary*, was transported into his Countrey, Anno 1557. 290.

23 The voyage of *M. Anthony Ienkinson* from the Citie of *Mosco* in *Russia* to *Boghar* in *Bactria*, Anno 1558. 310, 314.

24 The voyage of *M. Anthony Ienkinson* through *Russia*, and ouer the *Caspian* sea into *Persia*, Anno 1561. 324.

25 The voyage of *Thomas Alcock*, *George Wrenne*, and *Richard Cheyney*, seruants vnto the Company of *Moscouy* Merchants in *London*, into *Persia*, Anno 1563. 343.

26 The voyage of *Richard Iohnson*, *Alexander Kitchin*, and *Arthur Edwards* seruants to the foresaid company into *Persia*, Anno 1565. 353.

27 The voyage of *Thomas Southam* and *Iohn Sparke* by land and riuer from *Colmogro* to *Nouogrod* in *Russia*, Anno 1566. 354.

28 The voyage of *M. Anthony Ienkinson* into *Russia* the third time, Anno 1566. 365.

29 The voyage of *Arthur Edwards* Agent for the *Moſcouy* company, *John Sparke*, *Laurence Chapman*, *Chriſtopher Fancet*, and *Richard Pingle*, ſeruants, into *Perſia*, An. 1568. 389.
30 The voyage of *Thomas Baniſter* and *Geffrey Ducket*, Agents for the *Moſcouy* Company, into *Perſia* the fift time, Anno 1569. 394.
31 The voyage of *William Burrough* Captaine of 13. *Engliſh* ſhips to the *Narue* in *Liefland*, Anno 1570. 401.
32 The voyage of *M. Anthony Ienkinſon* into *Ruſſia* the fourth time, Anno 1571. 402.
33 The voyage of *Chriſtopher Burrough* into *Perſia* the ſixt time, Anno 1579. 419.
34 The voyage of *Arthur Pet* and *Charles Iackman*, ſent to diſcouer the Northeaſt ſeas beyond the *Iland* of *Vaigats*, Anno 1580. 443.
35 The voyage of Maſter *Ierome Horſey* ouer land from *Moſco* in *Ruſſia* to *England*, Anno 1584. 469, 470.
36 A voyage to the Northeaſt, performed by certaine *Ruſſes*, and tranſlated out of *Sigiſmundus ab Herberſtein*. 492.
37 A voyage to *Sibier* and the Riuer of Ob, by land, declared in a letter written to *Gerardus Mercator*. 510, 511, & 512.
38 The vanquiſhing of the *Spaniſh Armada*, Anno 1588. 591.
39 The honourable voyage to *Cadiz*, Anno 1596. 607.

¶ The Ambaſſages, Treatiſes, Priuiledges, Letters, and other obſeruations, depending vpon the Voyages of this firſt Volume.

1 TWo teſtimonies of Galfridus Monumetenſis *in his hiſtory of the Kings of* Britteine, *concerning the conqueſts of* King Arthur. pagina. 1.
2 *A teſtimony of* M. Lambard *in his* Αρχαιονομια, *touching the right and appendances of the Crowne of the kingdome of* Britaine. pag. 2.
3 *A Chronicle of the Kings of* Man, *taken out of* M. Camdens *Chorographie*. 10.
4 *The ancient ſtate of the ſhipping of the* Cinque Ports. 17.
5 Libellus hiſtoricus Iohannis de Plano Carpini. 21.
6 *Part of the great Charter graunted by* King Edward *the firſt, to the Barons of the* Cinque Ports. 117.
7 *The rolle of the huge Fleete of* Edward *the third before* Caleis. 118.
8 *The ſumme of expences layde out in the ſiege of* Caleis. 121.
9 *A note of* Thomas Walſingham *touching* King Edward *the third his huge Fleete of* 1100. *ſhippes, wherewith he paſſed ouer vnto* Caleis, *Anno* 13[illegible]9. 121.
10 *Certaine verſes of* Geffrey Chaucer, *concerning the long Voyages, and valiant exploits of the* Engliſh *knights in his dayes*. 124.
11 *A teſtimonie out of* Cornelius Tacitus, *proouing* London *to haue bene a famous Mart-towne in the raigne of* Nero *the Emperour*. 124.
12 *A teſtimony out of venerable* Beda, *prouing* London *to haue bene a Citie of great traffique in his time*. 125.
13 *The league betweene* Carolus Magnus *and* Offa *King of* Mercia, *concerning the ſafe trade of* Engliſh *Merchants*. 125.
14 *An ancient teſtimony tranſlated out of the olde* Saxon *Lawes, conteyning the aduancement of Merchants, for their thrice croſſing the wide ſeas*. 126.
15 *A teſtimony of certaine Priuileges obteined for the* Engliſh *and* Daniſh *Merchants by* Canutus *the King of* England. 126.
16 *The flouriſhing ſtate of Merchandiſe in the City of* London *in the dayes of* Wilhelmus Malmesburienſis. 127.
17 *A teſtimony of the ſaid* Wil. *of* Malmesbury *concerning traffique to* Briſtow *in his time*. 127.
18 *The league betweene* Henry *the ſecond, and* Frederick Barbaroſſa *Emperour of Germany, partly touching trade of Merchandiſe*. 128.
19 *A generall ſafe conduct granted by King* Iohn *to all forreine Merchants*. 129.
20 *The letters of King* Henry *the third, vnto* Haquinus *king of* Norwey. 129, 130.
21 *A mandate for the king of* Norway *his ſhip called, The* Cog. 130.

22 *A Char-*

22 *A Charter granted for the behalfe of the Merchants of* Colen, *in the 20. yeere of* Henry *the third.* 131.

23 *The Charter of* Lubeck *granted for ſeuen yeeres in the time of* Henry *the third.* 131, 132.

24 *A Charter of the Merchants of* Almaine, *or the* Stilyard-*merchants.* 132.

25 *A mandate of King* Edward *the firſt concerning outlandiſh Merchants.* 133.

26 *King* Edw. *the firſt his great Charter granted to forreine Merchants, Anno Dom.* 1303. 133.

27 *The letters of* Edward *the ſecond vnto* Haquinus *King of* Norway, *concerning certain Engliſh Merchants arreſted in* Norway. 138.

28 *Another letter of* Edw. *the ſecond vnto the ſaid* Haquinus *for the merchants aforeſaid* 139.

29 *A third letter of King* Edward *the ſecond to the ſaid* Haquinus *in the behalfe of our* Engliſh *merchants.* 140.

30 *An Ordinance for the Staple to be holden at one certaine place.* 141.

31 *A Catalogue of the great Maſters of* Pruſſia. 142, 143.

32 *The Oration or ſpeach of the Ambaſſadours ſent from* Conradus de Zolner, *Maſter generall of the land of* Pruſſia, *vnto* Richard *the ſecond king of* England. 144.

33 *An agreement made by the Ambaſſadours of* England *and* Pruſſia, *confirmed by king* Richard *the ſecond.* 148.

34 *The letters of* Conradus de Iungingen, *Maſter generall of* Pruſſia, *vnto* Rich. *the ſecond.* 150.

35 *A briefe relation of* William Eſturmy *and* Iohn Kington, *concerning their Ambaſſages into* Pruſsia *and to the* Hans-*townes.* 153.

36 *Certaine Articles of complaint exhibited by the* Liuonians. 154.

37 *Other complaints exhibited by the Cities of the* Hans. 156.

38 *Compoſitions and Ordinances concluded betweene the Ambaſſadours of* Pruſsia, *and the Chancellor and Treaſurer of* England, *Anno* 1403. 156.

39 *The letters of the Chancellor and Treaſurer of* England *vnto* Conradus de Iungingen, *maſter generall of* Pruſsia. 157.

40 *The letters of king* Henry *the fourth vnto* Conradus de Iungingen, *the maſter generall of* Pruſsia *for entercourſe of traffique.* 158.

41 *The letters of* Conradus de Iungingen *vnto king* Henry *the fourth.* 159.

42 *An agreement made betweene king* Henry *the fourth, and* Conradus de Iungingen. 160.

43 *An agreement betweene king* Henry *the fourth, and the* Hans-*townes.* 161.

44 *A teſtimonie out of* Albertus Krantzius *concerning the ſurpriſe of* Bergen *in* Norway, *wherein 21. houſes of the* Engliſh *merchants were burnt.* 164.

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THE

THE FIRST VOLVME OF THE principall Nauigations, Voyages, Traffiques, and Diſcoueries of the Engliſh nation, made to the North and Northeaſt quarters of the World,

with the directions, letters, priuiledges, diſcourſes, and obſeruations incident to the ſame.

Certeine teſtimonies concerning K. *Arthur* and his conqueſts of the North regions, taken out of the hiſtorie of the Kings of *Britaine*, written by *Galfridus Monumetenſis*, and newly printed at Heidelberge, *Anno 1587*.

Lib. 9. cap. 10.

ANno Chriſti, 517. Arthurus, ſecundo regni ſui anno, ſubiugatis totius Hyberniæ partibus, claſſem ſuam direxit in Iſlandiam, eámque debellato populo ſubiugauit. Exin diuulgato per cæteras inſulas rumore, quòd ei nulla Prouincia reſiſtere poterat, Doldauius rex Gotlandiæ, & Gunfacius rex Orcadum vltrò venerunt, promiſſóque vectigali ſubiectionem fecerunt. Emenſa deinde hyeme, reuerſus eſt in Britanniam, ſtatúmque regni in firmam pacem renouans, quoram duodecim annis ibidem fecit.

The ſame in Engliſh.

IN the yere of Chriſt, 517. king Arthur in the ſecond yeere of his reigne, hauing ſubdued all parts of Ireland, ſailed with his fleet into Iſland, and brought it and the people thereof vnder his ſubiection. The rumour afterwards being ſpread throughout all the other Iſlands, that no countrey was able to withſtand him, Doldauius the king of Gotland, and Gunfacius the king of Orkney, came voluntarily vnto him, and yeelded him their obedience, promiſing to pay him tribute. The Winter being ſpent, he returned into Britaine, and eſtabliſhing his kingdome in perfect peace, he continued there for the ſpace of twelue yeres.

Lib. 9 cap. 12.

MIſſis deinde in diuerſa regna Legatis, inuitantur tam ex Gallijs, quàm ex collateralibus Inſulis Oceani, qui ad curiam venire deberent, &c. Et paulò poſt: Ex collateralibus autem Inſulis, Guillaumurius rex Hyberniæ, Maluaſius rex Iſlandiæ, Doldauius rex Gotlandiæ, Gunnaſius rex Orchadum, Lot rex Noruegiæ, Aſchilius rex Danorum.

The ſame in Engliſh.

AFter that king Arthur ſending his meſſengers into diuers kingdomes, he ſummoned ſuch as were to come to his Court, aſwell out of France, as out of the adiacent Iſlands of the ſea, &c. and a little after: From thoſe adiacent Iſlands came Guillaumurius king of Ireland, Maluaſius king of Iſland, Doldauius king of Gotland, Gunnaſius king of Orkney, Lot the king of Norway, and Aſchilius the king of Denmarke.

Lib. 9 cap. 19.

ATreges cæterarum Inſularum, quoniam non duxerant in morem equites habere, pedites quot quiſque debebat, promittunt, ita vt ex ſex Inſulis, videlicet, Hyberniæ, Iſlandiæ, Gotlandiæ, Orcadum, Noruegiæ, atque Daciæ, ſexies viginti millia eſſent annumerata.

The ſame in Engliſh.

BUt the kings of the other Iſlands, becauſe it was not their cuſtome to breed vp horſes, promiſed the king as many footmen, as euery man was bound to ſend: ſo that out of the ſix Iſlands, namely, of Ireland, Iſland, Gotland, Orkney, Norway, and Denmarke, the king had ſixe ſcore thouſand ſouldiers ſent him.

A teſtimonie of the right and appendances of the crowne of the kingdome of *Britaine*, taken out of M. *Lambard* his *Archaionomia*, fol. 137. pag. 2.

ARthurus qui fuit quondam inclytiſſimus Rex Britonum, vir magnus fuit & animoſus, & miles illuſtris. Parum fuit ei regnum iſtud, non fuit animus eius contentus regno Britanniæ. Subiugauit igitur ſibi ſtrenuè Scantiam totam, quæ modo Norweia vocatur, & omnes inſulas vltra Scantiam, ſcz. Iſlandiam, & Grenlandiam, quæ ſunt de appendicijs Norweiæ, & Suechordam, & Hyberniam, & Gutlandiam, & Daciam, Semelandiam, Winlandiam, Curlandiam, Roe, Femelandiam, Wirelandiam, Flandriam, Cherelam, Lappam, & omnes alias terras & inſulas Orientalis Oceani vſque Ruſſiam (in Lappa ſcilicet poſuit Orientalem metam regni Britanniæ) & multas inſulas vltra Scantiam, vſque dum ſub Septentrione, quæ ſunt de appendicibus Scantiæ, quæ modo Norweia vocatur. Fuerunt autem ibi Chriſtiani occultè. Arthurus autem Chriſtianus optimus fuit, & fecit eos baptizari, & vnum Deum per totam Norweiam venerari, & vnam fidem Chriſti ſemper inuiolatam cuſtodire, & ſuſcipere. Ceperunt vniuerſi proceres Norweiæ vxores ſuas de nobili gente Britonum tempore illo, vnde Norwegienſes dicunt ſe exiiſſe de gente & ſanguine regni huius. Impetrauit enim temporibus illis Arthurus rex à domino Papa, & à Curia Romana, quod confirmata ſit Norweia, in perpetuum coronæ Britanniæ in augmentum regni huius, vocauſtque illam dictus Arthurus Cameram Britanniæ. Hac verò de cauſa dicunt Norwegienſes, ſe debere in regno iſto cohabitare & dicunt ſe eſſe de corpore regni huius, ſcilicet de corona Britanniæ. Maluerunt enim manere in regno iſto, quàm in terra eorum propria. Terra enim eorum arida eſt, & montuoſa, & ſterilis, & non ſunt ibi ſegetes niſi per loca. Iſta verò opulenta eſt, & fertilis, & creſcunt hic ſegetes, & cætera vniuerſa. Qua ex cauſa ſæpius per vices geſta ſunt bella atrociſſima inter Anglos & Norwegienſes, & interfecti ſunt innumerabiles. Occupauerunt verò Norwegienſes terras multas & inſulas regni huius, quas adhuc detinent occuparas, nec potuerunt vnquam poſtea penitus euelli. Tandem modò confederati ſunt nobis fide, & ſacramento, & per vxores ſuas, quas poſtea ceperunt de ſanguine noſtro, & per affinitates, & coniugia. Ita demum conſtituit, & eis conceſſit bonus rex Edouardus propinquus noſter (qui fuit optimus filius pacis) per commune conſilium totius regni. Qua de cauſa poſſent, & debent prædicti de cætero nobiſcum cohabitare, & remanere in regno, ſicut coniurati fratres noſtri.

The ſame in Engliſh.

ARthur which was ſometimes the moſt renowmed king of the Britains, was a mightie, and valiant man, and a famous warriour. This kingdome was too litle for him, & his minde was not contented with it. He therefore valiantly ſubdued all Scantia, which is now called Norway, and all the Iſlands beyond Norway, to wit, Iſland and Greenland, which are apperteining vnto Norway, Sweueland, Ireland, Gotland, Denmarke, Semeland, Windland, Curland, Roe, Femeland, Wireland, Flanders, Cherilland, Lapland, and all the other lands & Iſlands of the Eaſt ſea, euen vnto Ruſſia (in which Lapland he placed the Eaſterly bounds of his Britiſh Empire) and many other Iſlands beyond Norway, euen vnder the Northpole, which are appendances of Scantia, now called Norway. Theſe people were wild and ſauage, and had not in them the loue of God nor of their neighbors, becauſe all euill commeth from the North, yet there were among them certeine Chriſtians liuing in ſecret. But king Arthur was an exceeding good Chriſtian, and cauſed them to be baptized, and throughout all Norway to worſhip one God, and to receiue and keepe inuiolably for euer, faith in Chriſt onely. At that time all the noble men of Norway tooke wiues of the noble nation of the Britaines, whereupon the Norſes ſay, that they are deſcended of the race and blood of this kingdome. The aforeſayd king Arthur obteined alſo in thoſe dayes of the Pope & court of Rome, that Norway ſhould be for euer annexed to the crowne of Britaine for the inlargement of this kingdome, and he called it the chamber of Britaine. For this cauſe the Norſes ſay, that they ought to dwell with vs in this kingdome, to wit, that they belong to the crowne of Britaine: for they had rather dwell here then in their owne native country, which is drie and full of

mountaines,

mountaines, and barren, and no graine growing there, but in certeine places. But this countrey of Britaine is fruitfull, wherein corne and all other good things do grow and increaſe: for which cauſe many cruell battels haue bene oftentimes fought betwixt the Engliſhmen and the people of Norway, and infinite numbers of people haue bene ſlaine, & the Norſes haue poſſeſſed many lands and Iſlands of this Empire, which vnto this day they doe poſſeſſe, neither could they euer afterwards be fully expelled. But now at length they are incorporated with vs by the receiuing of our religion and ſacraments, and by taking wiues of our nation, and by affinitie, and mariages. For ſo the good king Edward (who was a notable maintainer of peace) ordeined and granted vnto them by the generall conſent of the whole kingdome, ſo that the people may, and ought from hencefoorth dwell and remaine in this kingdome with vs as our louing ſworne brethren.

A teſtimonie out of the foreſayd *Galfridus Monumetenſis*, concerning the conqueſts of *Malgo*, king of *England*. *Lib. 11. cap. 7.*

VOrtiporio ſucceſſit Malgo, omnium ferè Britanniæ pulcherrimus, multorum tyrannorum depulſor, robuſtus armis, largior cæteris, & vltra modum probitate præclarus. Hic etiam totam Inſulam obtinuit, & ſex conprouinciales Oceani Inſulas: Hyberniam videlicet, atque Iſlandiam, Gotlandiam, Orcades, Noruegiam, Daciam, adiecit diriſſimis prælijs poteſtati ſuæ.

The ſame in Engliſh.

MAlgo ſucceeded Vortiporius which was the goodlieſt man in perſon of all Britaine, a prince that expulſed many tyrants. He was ſtrong and valiant in warre, taller then moſt men that then liued, and exceeding famous for his vertues. This king alſo obteined the gouernment of the whole Iſland of Britaine, and by moſt charpe battailes he recouered to his Empire the fiue Iſlands of the Ocean ſea, which before had bene made tributaries by king Arthur, namely Ireland, Iſland, Gotland, Orkney, Norway, and Denmarke.

The conqueſt of the Iſles of *Angleſey* and *Man* by *Edwin* the *Saxon* king of *Northumberland* written in the ſecond Booke and fift Chapter of *Beda* his Eccleſiaſticall hiſtorie of the Engliſh nation.

EDuinus Nordanhumbrorum gentis, id eſt, eius quæ ad borealem Humbri fluminis plagam inhabitat, maiore potentia cunctis qui Britanniam incolunt, Anglorum pariter & Britonum populis præfuit, præter Cantuarios tantùm, necnon & Menauias Britonum inſulas, quæ inter Hiberniam & Britanniam ſitæ ſunt, Anglorum ſubiecit poteſtati.

The ſame in Engliſh.

EDwin king of the people of Northumberland, that is to ſay, of them which inhabit to the North of the riuer Humber, being of greater authoritie then any other potentate in the whole Iſle of Britaine, bare rule as well ouer the Engliſh as the Britiſh nation, except onely the people of Kent: who alſo brought in ſubiection vnder the Engliſh, the Iſles of Man and Angleſey, and the other Northweſterne Iſles of the Britons, which are ſituate betweene Britaine and Ireland.

Another teſtimonie alledged by *Beda* to the ſame purpoſe. *Lib. 2. cap. 9.*

ANno ab incarnatione Domini ſexcenteſimo viceſimo quarto, gens Nordanhumbrorum, hoc eſt, ea natio Anglorum quæ ad aquilonarem Humbri fluminis plagam habitat, cum rege ſuo Eduino, verbum fidei (prædicante Paulino, cuius ſupra meminimus) ſuſcepit: cui videlicet regi in auſpicium ſuſcipiendæ fidei, & regni cœleſtis poteſtas, & terreni creuerat imperij: ita vt (quod nemo Anglorum ante eum fecit) omnes Britanniæ fines, qua vel ipſorum vel Britonum Prouinciæ habitabantur, ſub ditione acceperit. Quin & Menauias inſulas (ſicut & ſupra docuimus) imperio ſubiugauit Anglorum, Quarum prior quæ ad auſtrum eſt, & ſitu amplior, & frugum prouentu atque vbertate fœlicior, nongentarum ſexaginta familiarum menſuram, iuxta æſtimationem Anglorum, ſecunda trecentarum & vltrà ſpatium tenet.

The ſame in Engliſh.

IN the yeere from the incarnation of our Lord, fiue hundreth twentie and foure, the people of Northumberland, to wit, thoſe Engliſh people which inhabit on the North ſide of the riuer of Humber, together with their king Edwin, at the Chriſtian preaching and perſwaſion of Paulinus aboue mentioned, embraced the Goſpel. Vnder which king, after he had once accepted of the Chriſtian faith, the power both of the heauenly & of his earthly kingdome was inlarged; inſomuch, that he (which no Engliſh king had done before him) brought vnder his ſubiection all the prouinces of Britaine, which were inhabited either by the Engliſh men themſelues, or by the Britons. Moreouer, he ſubdued vnto the crowne of England (as we haue aboue ſignified) the Hebrides, commonly called the Weſterne Iſlands. The principall whereof being more commodiouſly and pleaſantly ſeated towards the South, and more abounding with corne then the reſt, conteineth according to the eſtimation of the Engliſh, roome enough for 960. families, and the ſecond for 300. and aboue.

The voyage of *Bertus*, generall of an armie ſent into *Ireland* by *Ecfridus* king of *Northumberland*, in the yere of our Lord 684, out of the 4. Booke and 26. Chapter of *Beda* his Eccleſiaſticall Hyſtorie.

ANno Dominicæ incarnationis ſexcenteſimo octogeſimo quarto, Ecfridus rex Nordanhumbrorum, miſſo Hiberniam cum exercitu duce Berto, vaſtauit miſerè gentem innoxiam, & nationi Anglorum ſemper amiciſſimam, ita vt nec eccleſijs quidem aut monaſterijs manus parceret hoſtilis. At inſulani & quantum valuere armis arma repellebant, & inuocantes diuinæ auxilium pietatis cœlitus ſe vindicari continuis diù imprecationibus poſtulabant. Et quamuis maledici regnum Dei poſſidere non poſſint, creditum tamen eſt, quòd hi qui merito impietatis ſuæ maledicebantur, ocyùs Domino vindice, pœnas ſui reatus luerent.

The ſame in Engliſh.

IN the yeere of our Lord 684, Ecfrid the king of Northumberland ſent captaine Bert into Ireland with an armie, which Bert miſerably waſted that innocent nation being alwayes moſt friendly vnto the people of England, inſomuch that the fury of the enemy ſpared neither churches nor monaſteries. Howbeit the Iſlanders to their power repelled armes with armes, and craued Gods aid from heauen with continuall imprecations and curſes, they pleaded for reuenge. And albeit curſed ſpeakers can by no meanes inherit the kingdome of God, it was thought notwithſtanding, that they which were accurſed for their impiety did not long eſcape the vengeance of God imminent for their offences.

The voyage of *Other* made to the Northeaſt parts beyond *Norway*, reported by himſelfe vnto *Alfred* the famous king of *England*, about the yere 890.

OTher ſaid, that the countrey wherein he dwelt was called Helgoland. Other tolde his lord king Alfred that he dwelt furtheſt North of any other Norman. He ſayd that he dwelt towards the North part of the land toward the Weſt coaſt: and affirmed that the land, notwithſtanding it ſtretcheth marueilous farre towards the North, yet it is all deſert and not inhabited, vnleſſe it be very few places, here and there, where certeine Finnes dwell vpon the coaſt, who liue by hunting all the Winter, and by fiſhing in Summer. He ſaid that vpon a certeine time he fell into a fantaſie and deſire to proone and know how farre that land ſtretched Northward, and whether there were any habitation of men North beyond the deſert. Whereupon he tooke his voyage directly North along the coaſt, hauing vpon his ſteereboord alwayes the deſert land, and vpon the leereboord the maine Ocean: and continued his courſe for the ſpace of 3. dayes. In which ſpace he was come as far towards the North, as commonly the whale hunters vſe to trauell. Whence he proceeded in his courſe ſtill towards the North ſo farre as he was able to ſaile in other 3. dayes. At the end whereof he perceiued that the coaſt turned towards the Eaſt, or els the ſea opened with a maine gulfe into the land, he knew not how farre. Well he wiſt and remembred, that he was faine to ſtay till he had a Weſterne winde, and ſomewhat Northerly: and thence he ſailed plaine Eaſt along the coaſt ſtill ſo far as he was able in the ſpace of 4. dayes. At the end of which time he

Finnes liue by hunting & fiſhing.

The place whither the whale hunters trauell.

was

was compelled againe to stay till ye had a full Northerly winde, forsomuch as the coast bowed thence directly towards the South, or at least wise the sea opened into the land he could not tell how farre: so that he sailed thence along the coast continually full South, so farre as he could trauaile in 5. dayes; and at the fifth dayes end he discouered a mightie riuer which opened very farre into the land. At the entrie of which riuer he staied his course, and in conclusion turned backe againe, for he durst not enter thereinto for feare of the inhabitants of the land: perceiuing that on the other side of the riuer the countrey was thorowly inhabited: which was the first peopled land that he had found since his departure from his owne dwelling: whereas continually thorowout all his voyage, he had euermore on his steereboord, a wildernesse and desert countrey, except that in some places, he saw a few fishers, fowlers, and hunters, which were all Fynnes: and all the way vpon his leereboord was the maine ocean. The Biarmes had inhabited and tilled their countrey indifferent well, notwithstanding he was afrayed to go vpon shore. But the countrey of the Terfynnes lay all waste, and not inhabited, except it were, as we haue sayd, whereas dwelled certeine hunters, fowlers, and fishers. The Biarmes tolde him a number of stories both of their owne countrey, and of the countreyes adioyning. Howbeit, he knew not, nor could affirme any thing for certeine trueth: forsomuch as he was not vpon land, nor saw any himselfe. This onely he iudged, that the Fynnes and Biarmes speake but one language. The principall purpose of his trauaile this way, was to encrease the knowledge and discouerie of these coasts and countreyes, for the more commoditie of filling of ꝑ horsewhales, which haue in their teeth bones of great price and excellencie: whereof he brought some at his returne vnto the king. Their skinnes are also very good to make cables for shippes, and so vsed. This kinde of whale is much lesse in quantitie then other kindes, hauing not in length aboue seuen elles. And as for the common kind of whales, the place of most and best hunting of them is in his owne countrey: whereof some be 48. elles of length, and some 50. of which sort he affirmed that he himselfe was one of the sixe, which in the space of 3. dayes killed threescore. He was a man of exceeding wealth in such riches, wherein the wealth of that countrey doth consist. At the same time that he came to the king, he had of his owne breed 600. tame Deere, of that kinde which they call Rane Deere: of the which number 6. were tall Rane Deere, a beast of great value, and marueilously esteemed among the Fynnes, for that with them they catch the wilde Rane Deere. He was among the chiefe men of his countrey one: and yet he had but 20. kine, and 20. swine, and that little which he tilled, he tilled it all with horses. Their principall wealth consisteth in the tribute which the Fynnes pay them, which is all in skinnes of wilde beasts, feathers of birds, whale bones, and cables, and tacklings for shippes made of Whales or Seales skinnes. Euery man payeth according to his abilitie. The richest pay ordinarily 15. sables of Marterns, 5. Rane Deere skinnes, and one Beare, ten bushels of feathers, a coat of a Beares skinne, two cables threescore elles long a piece, the one made of Whales skin, the other of Seales.

The riuer of Duna of like bignesse.

A Desert countrey.

Fynnes. Biarmia. Terfynnes.

The Fynnes and Biarmies speake one language.

Oyle, woolles, their teeth commended.

Vse of ꝑ Morses skinne for cables.

Sixe hundreth tame Deere.

The Fynnes tribute.

Note.

Cables of Whales and Seales skins.

He sayd, that the countrey of Norway was very long and small. So much of it as either beareth any good pasture, or may be tilled, lieth vpon the Sea coast, which notwithstanding in some places is very rockie and stonie: and all Eastward, all along against the inhabited land, lie wilde and huge hilles and mountaines, which are in some places inhabited by the Fynnes. The inhabited land is broadest toward the South, & the further it stretcheth towards the North, it groweth euermore smaller and smaller. Towards the South it is peraduenture threescore miles in breadth or broader in some places: about the middest, 30. miles or aboue, and towards the North where it is smallest, he affirmeth that it proueth not three miles from the Sea to the mountaines. The mountaines be in breadth of such quantitie, as a man is able to trauelle ouer in a fortnight, and in some places no more then may be trauelled in fiue dayes. Right ouer against this land, in the other side of the mountaines, somewhat towards the South, lieth Swethland, and against the same towards the North, lieth Queeneland, The Queenes sometimes passing the mountaines, inuade and spoile the Normans: and on the contrary part, the Normans likewise sometimes spoile their countrey. Among the mountaines be many and great lakes in sundry places of fresh water, into the which the Queenes vse to carie their boats vpon their backs ouer land, and thereby inuade and spoile the countrey of the Normans. These boats of theirs be very little and very light.

A description of Norway.

The breadth of the mountaines of Norway.

Swethland.

Queeneland.

Boats carried on mens backs.

The voyage of *Other* out of his countrey of *Halgoland* into the sound of *Denmarke* vnto a port called *Hetha*, which seemeth to be *Wismer* or *Rostocke*.

Other sayd that the countrey wherein he dwelled, was called Halgoland: and affirmed that there was no man dwelling towards the North from him. From this countrey towards the

South, there is a certeine ‖ port called Scirings hall, whether, he sayth, that a man was not able to saile in a moneths space, if he lay still by night, although he had euery day a full winde. And he shall saile all the way along the coast, hauing on his steereboord, first Iutland and the Ilands which lie betwixt this countrey & Iutland, still along the coast of this countrey, till he come to Scirings hall, hauing it on his larboord. At Scirings hall there entreth into the land a maine guilfe of the Sea, which is so broad, that a man cannot see ouer it: and on the other side against the same, is Gotland, and then Silland. This sea stretcheth many hundreth miles vp into the land. From Scirings hall he sayd that he sailed in 5. dayes to the port which is called Hetha, which lieth betwixt the countries of ‖ Wendels, Saxons, and Angles, whereunto it is subiect. And as he sailed thitherward from Scirings hall, he had vpon his steereboord Denmarke, and on his leereboord the maine sea, for the space of 3. dayes: and 2. dayes before, he arriued in Hetha, he had Gotland on leereboord, and Silland, with diuers other Ilands. In that countrey dwelt English men, before they came into this land. And these 2. dayes he had vpon his leereboord the Ilands that are subiect to Denmarke.

‖ Ol, streight. It seemeth to be about Elsenborg.

The description of the sound of Denmarke.

Gotland.

Vandals.

Hetha but two dayes sayling from Scland. It seemeth to be Wismer or Rostocke.

‖ Within the sound of Denmarke.

Wolstans nauigation in the ‖ East sea, from *Hetha* to *Trusco*, which is about *Dantzig*.

WOlstan sayd, that he departed from Hetha, and arriued at Trusco, in the space of 7. dayes, and 7. nights: during which time, his shippe kept her course continually vnder saile. All this voyage Wenedland was still vpon his steereboord, and on his leereboord was Langland Layland, Falster, and Sconie: all which countreys are subiect to Denmarke. Vpon his leereboord also, was Bargenland, which hath a priuate king, vnto whom it is subiect. Hauing left Bargenland, he passed by Blekingie, Meere, Eland and Gotland, hauing them on his leereboord: all which countreys are subiect to Sweden: and Wenedland was all the way vpon his steereboord, vntil he came to Wixel mouth. Wixel is a very great riuer which runneth along betwixt Witland and Wenedland. Witland is apperteining to the Esterlings: and the riuer of Wixel runneth out of ‖ Wenedland into Eastmeere, which Eastmeere is at the least 15. miles in breadth. There runneth also another riuer called Ilsing from the East, and falleth into Eastmeere, out of another lake vpon the banke, whereupon is situated Fruso. So that Ilsing comming out of ‖ Eastland, and Wixel out of Wenedland, fall both together into Eastmeere, and there Wixel depriueth Ilsing of his name, and runneth thence West & North into the sea; whereof the place is called Wixelmouth.

Bargenland, or Bornholme.

Wixel is the riuer that falleth into the sea by Dantzig.

‖ Ol, Prussia.

Fruso.

‖ Ol, Liuonia.

Eastland is a very large land, and there be many cities and townes within it, and in euery one of them is a king: whereby there is continually among them great strife and contention. There is great plentie of hony and fish.

The description of Eastland.

Mares milke a theefs drinke.

The wealthiest men drinke commonly Mares milke, and the poore people and slaues meade. There is no ale brewed among the Esterlings, but of mead there is plentie.

The nauigation of King *Edgar*, taken out of *Florentius Wigornensis*, *Houeden*, and M. *Dee* his discourse of the Britisth Monarchie, pag. 54, 55, &c.

I Haue often times (sayd he) and many wayes looked into the state of earthly kingdomes, generally the whole world ouer (as farre as it may be yet knowen to Christian men commonly) being a studie of no great difficultie, but rather a purpose somewhat answerable to a perfect Cosmographer, to finde himselfe Cosmopolites, a citizen and member of the whole and onely one mysticall citie vniuersall, and so consequently to meditate of the Cosmopoliticall gouernment thereof, vnder the King almightie, passing on very swiftly toward the most dreadfull and most comfortable terme prefixed.

And I finde (sayd he) that if this Britisth Monarchie would heretofore haue followed the aduantages which they haue had onward, they might very well, per this, haue surpassed by iustice, and godly sort, any particular Monarchie els, that euer was on earth since mans creation: and that to all such purposes as to God are most acceptable, and to all perfect common wealths, most honorable, profitable, and comfortable.

But yet (sayd he) there is a little locke of Lady Occasion flickering in the aire, by our hands to catch hold on, whereby we may yet once more (before all be vterly past, and for euer) discreetly and valiantly recouer and enioy, if not all our ancient & due appurtenances to this Imperiall Britisth monarchie, yet at the least some such notable portion thereof, as (al circumstances duely and iustly

apperteining

appertaining to peace & amitie with forrein princes being offred & vſed) this may become the moſt peaceable, moſt rich, moſt puiſſant, & moſt flouriſhing monarchie of al els (this day) in chriſtendome, peaceable, I ſay, euen with the moſt part of the ſelfe ſame reſpects that good king Edgar had (being but a Saxon) and by ſundry ſuch meanes, as he chiefly in this Empire did put in proofe and vſe triumphantly, whereupon his ſirname was Pacificus, moſt aptly and iuſtly. This peaceable king Edgar had in his minde about ſix hundred yeeres paſt, the repreſentation of a great part of the ſelfe ſame Idæa, whith from aboue onely, & by no mans deuiſe hath ſtreamed downe into my imagination, being as it becommeth a ſubiect carefull for the godly proſperitie of this Britiſh Empire vnder our moſt peaceable Queene Elizabeth.

Flores Hiſtoriarum.

For, Ædgarus pacificus, Regni ſui proſpiciens vtilitati, pariter & quieti, quatuor millia octingentas ſibi robuſtas cõgregauit naues è quibus mille ducentas, in plaga Angliæ Orientali, mille ducentas in Occidentali, mille ducentas in Auſtrali, mille ducentas in Septentrionali pelago cõſtituit, vt ad defenſionem regni ſui, contra exteras nationes, bellorũ diſcrimina ſuſtinerent.

O wiſedome imperiall, moſt diligently to be imitated, videlicet, proſpicere, to foreſee. O charitable kingly parent, that was touched with ardent zeale, for procuring the publike profite of his kingdome, yea and alſo the peaceable enioying therof. O, of an incredible maſſe of treaſure, a kingly portion, yet, in his coffers remayning: if then he had, (or late before) any warres, ſeeing no notable care, or contribution publike is hiſtorically mentioned to haue bene for the charges leuied: if in peace he himſelfe flouriſhed ſo wealthily: O marueilous politicall, & princely prudencie, in time of peace to foreſee, and preuent, (and that moſt puiſſantly, and inuincibly) all poſſible malice, fraude, force, and miſchiefe forrain. O moſt diſcreet liberalitie to ſuch excellent vſes, powring out his treaſure ſo abundantly. O faithfull Engliſh people (then,) and worthy ſubiects, of ſuch an Imperiall and godly Gouernour. O your true, and willing hearts, and bleſſed ready hands (then,) ſo to impart ſuch abundance of victuals for thoſe huge Nauies maintenance: ſo (I ſay) as neither dearth of famine, ſeemed (fondly) to be feared of you, for any intolerable want likely to enſue thereby, nor prices of victuals complained of to be vnreaſonable enhaunſed by you, finding for their great ſales ſo good, and rare opportunitie.

This peaceable king Edgar, was one of the perfect Imperiall Monarches of this Britiſh Empire, and therefore thus his fame remaineth (for euer) recorded.

Anglici orbis Baſileus, flos, & Decus Ædgarus, non minus memorabilis Anglis, quàm Cyrus Perſis, Romulus Romanis, Alexander Macedonibus, Arſaces Parthis, Carolus Francis, Anno vitæ 37. Regni ſui cum fratre, & poſt 21. Idibus Iulij obijt, & apud Glaſcon ſepelitur.

Charta Regis, Henrici ſecundi.

O Glaſtonbury, Glaſtonbury, the treaſuries of the carcaſes of ſo famous, and ſo many perſons (Quæ olim mater ſanctorum dicta es, & ab alijs, tumulus ſanctorum, quam ab ipſis diſcipulis Domini, ædificatam fuiſſe venerabilis habet Antiquorum authoritas) how lamentable is thy caſe now? howe hath hypocriſie and pride wrought thy deſolation? though I omit here the names of very many other, both excellent holy men, and mighty princes, whoſe carcaſes are committed to thy cuſtody, yet that Apoſtolike Ioſeph, that triumphant Britiſh Arthur, and now this peaceable and prouident Saxon king Edgar, doe force me with a certaine ſorowful reuerence, here to celebrate thy memorie.

This peaceable king Edgar (as by ancient Recordes may appeare) his Sommer progreſſes, and yerely chiefe paſtimes were, the ſailing round about this whole Ile of Albion, garded with his grand naule of 4000. ſaile at the leaſt, parted into 4. equall parts of petie Nauies, eche one being of 1000. ſhips, for ſo it is anciently recorded.

Ranulphus Ceſtrenſis.

Idem quoque Ædgarus, 4000. naues congregauit, ex quibus omni anno, poſt feſtum Paſchale, 1000. naues ad quamlibet Angliæ partem ſtatuit, ſic, æſtate Inſulam circumnauigauit: hyeme verò, iudicia in Prouincia exercuit: & hæc omnia ad ſui exercitium, & ad hoſtium fecit terrorem.

C Ould, and would that peaceable & wiſe king Edgar, before need, as being in peace and quiet with all nations about him, and notwithſtanding miſtruſting his poſſible enemies, make his paſtimes ſo rotally, politically, and triumphantly, with ſo many thouſand ſhips, and at the leaſt with ten times ſo many men as ſhips, and that yerely: and ſhall we being not allured of ſuch neighbors friendſhip, as may become to vs as cruel and tyrannicall enemies as neuer king Edgar needed to dread the like, and they as many and mighty princes, as neuer king Edgar coped with the like, ſhall we (ſaid he) not iudge it ſome part of wiſdome, to imitate carefully in ſome litle proportion (though not with ſo many thouſands) the proſperous paſtimes of peaceable king Edgar, that Saxonicall Alexander? yea, proſperous paſtimes theſe may bee iuſtly counted, by which he alſo made euident to the whole world, that as he wiſely knew the ancient bounds and limits of this Britiſh Empire,

ſo

ſo that he could and would royally, iuſtly, and triumphantly enioy the ſame, ſpite of the deuil, and maugre the force of any forreine potentate. And al that, ſo highly and faithfully to the glory of God finally intended and brought to paſſe, as the wiſeſt and godlieſt Prelates and counſellors of thoſe dayes (ſo counted of and recorded) couldo beſt aduiſe and direct him, or perchance, but ſincerely commend and diuerſifully incourage him in, he being of himſelfe ſo bent, as purpoſing firſt inuincible to fortifie the chiefe and vttermoſt walles of his Iſlandiſh Monarchie, againſt all forreine encombrance poſſible. And in that fortification furthering and aſſuring to truſt beſt his owne ouerſight and iudgement, in peerely viewing the ſame in euery quarter thereof, and that as it were for his parkine Imperiall, alſo in Sommer time, to the ende that afterward in all ſecuritie, hee might in Winter time (vacare) be at conuenient leiſure on land, chiefly to ſet forth Gods due honour, and ſecondly to vnderſtand, and diligently to liſten to the cauſes and complaints of his commons. For as Matthæus Weſtmonaſterienſis of him to his Imperiall commendation hath left vs a remembrance.

Habebat autem præterea conſuetudinem, per omnes Regni prouincias tranſire, vt intelligeret quomodo legum iura, & ſuorum ſtatuta decretorum, à principibus obſeruarentur, & ne pauperes à potentibus præiudicium paſſi, opprimerentur, diligenter inueſtigare ſolebat: in vno fortitudini, in altero Iuſtitiæ ſtudens, & Reipub. regníque vtilitati conſulens in vtroque. Hinc hoſtibus circumquáque timor, & amor omnium erga eum exercuerat ſubditorum.

Thus we ſee how in oppoꝛtunitie, this peaceable Edgar pꝛocured to this Empire ſuch pꝛoſperous ſecuritie, that his true and faithfull ſubiects, all maner of wayes (that is at home and alſo at ſea, both outward and inward) might peaceably, ſafely and ſecurely employ their wits and trauels foꝛ the marueilous enriching of this kingdome, and pleaſuring very many other, carying foꝛth the naturall commodities of this land, abounding here aboue our neceſſary vſes (and due foꝛ reſerued) and likewiſe againe furniſhing the ſame with all neceſſary and not ſuperfluous foꝛreine commodities, fet from farre oꝛ foꝛrein countreys. This was in deed (as befoꝛe is recoꝛded) a kingly pꝛouidence, Reipub. Regníq; vtilitati conſulens, &c. beſides with great vtilitie and pꝛofite publique foꝛeſeene, and by his meanes enioyed, he himſelfe vſed moſt gladly the aduantage of that ſecuritie, in miniſtring of iuſtice, oꝛ cauſing the ſame to be executed all his kingdome ouer, not ſquemiſhly, frowningly oꝛ ſkoꝛnefully ſhunning the ragged and tattered ſleeue of any ſuppliant, holding vp to hi ꝛa ſimple ſoiled bill of complaint oꝛ petition, and that homely contriued, oꝛ afrayde at, and timeroully halking from the ſickly pale face oꝛ feeble limmed ſuter, extreemely conſtrained ſo to ſpeake foꝛ himſelfe, noꝛ parcially ſmoothering his owne conſcience, to fauour oꝛ mainteine the foule fault and treſpaſſe vnlawfull of any his ſubiects, how mightie oꝛ neceſſary ſoeuer, they (els) were, but diligently made ſearch, leaſt Pauperes à potentibus pꝛeiudicium paſſi, opprimerentur.

Thus did publique ſecuritie frō foꝛrein foe abꝛoad, and true laue of his owne ſubiects, garding him at home, and the heauenly ſpirit directing all his good purpoſes, cauſe iuſtice and equitie in all quarters of this Albion to flouriſh. For which his peaceable and pꝛoſperous benefits at the eternall king his hand obteined, hee became not inſolent oꝛ declined to tyrannicall regiment (as ſome princes in other countreis haue made their liues Comicotragical) but with all his foꝛeſaide inuincible Sea foꝛce, aboundant wealth, triumphant peace, with ſecuritie and Iuſtice ouer all his Monarchie pꝛeuailing, his heart was continually, and moſt zealouſly bent to ſet foꝛth the glory, laude and honour of the Almightie Creatoꝛ, the heauenly and euerlaſting king, by ſuch pꝛincipall and princely meanes, as (then) were deemed to God moſt acceptable, as many monuments yet to our dayes remaining, do of him vndoubtedly teſtifie: As this, foꝛ one.

Ex charta fundationis Eccleſiæ Cathedralis Wigorniæ.

Altitonantis Dei largiflua clementia, qui eſt rex Regum, Ego Ædgarus Anglorum Baſileus omnúmq; Regum, Inſularum, Oceaníq; Britanniam circumiacentis, cunctarúmq; nationum quę infra eam includuntur, Imperator, & Dominus, gratias ago ipſi Deo omnipotenti, Regi meo, qui meum Imperium ſic ampliauit, & exaltauit ſuper regnum patrū meorum: qui licet Monarchiam totius Angliæ adepti ſunt à tempore Athelſtani (qui primus regnum Anglorum, & omnes Nationes, quę Britanniam incolunt, ſibi Armis ſubegit) nullus tamen eorū vltra eius fines imperium ſuum dilatare aggreſſus eſt. Mihi autem conceſſit propitia Diuinitas, cum Anglorum Imperio, omnia regna Inſularum Oceani, cum ſuis ferociſſimis Regibus, vſq; Noruegiam, maximámq; partem Hyberniæ, cum ſua nobiliſſima Ciuitate Dublinia, Anglorum regno ſubiugare: Quos etiam omnes, meis Imperijs colla ſubdere (Dei fauente gratia) coegi. Quapropter & ego Chriſti gloriam, & laudem exaltare, & eius ſeruitium amplificare deuotus diſpoſui, & per meos fideles Fautores, Dunſtanum viz. Archiepiſcopum, Athelwoldum, & Oſwaldum epiſcopos (quos mihi patres ſpirituales, & Conſiliatores elegi) magna ex parte, ſecundum quod diſpoſui, effeci, &c.

And

And againe this in another Monument.

OMnipotentis Dei, &c. Ipſius nutu & gratia ſuffultus, Ego Ædgarus Baſileus dilectæ Inſulæ Albionis, ſubditis nobis ſceptris Scotorum, Cumbrorum, ac Brytonum, & omnium circumcirca Regionum, quieta pace perfruens, ſtudioſus ſollicitè de laudibus creatoris omnium occupor addendis: Ne nunc inertia, noſtriſq; diebus (plus æquo) ſeruitus eius tepeſcere videatur, &c. 18. mei terreni Imperij anno, &c. Anno Incarnationis Dominicæ, 973. Fundatio ſiue Cathedralis Elienſis.

Ego Ædgarus totius Albionis Baſileus hoc priuilegium (tanta roboratum authoritate) crucis Thaumate confirmaui.

So that by all theſe rehearſed Records, it is moſt euident that the peaceable king Edgar, was one of thoſe Monarchs, in whoſe handes (if like had ſuffiſed) the incredible value and priuiledge granted by God and nature vnto this Britiſh monarchie, might haue bene peaceably purchaſed in ſuch ſort, as the very bleſſing and fauour of the diuine Trinitie hath laid meanes for our induſtrie to attaine to, and enioye the ſame by.

And though ſundry other valiant princes and kings of this land I could recite, which in times paſt haue either by intent gone about, or by wiſe and valiant exploit, haue meetely well proſpered towards this Iſlandiſh appropriate ſuppremacie attaining, yet neuer any other reaſonable meanes was vſed, or by humane wit, or induſtrie can be contriued, to al purpoſes ſufficient, but only by our ſea forces preuailing, and ſo by our inuincible enioying al within the ſea limites of our Britiſh royalties contained.

To which incredible political myſterie attaining, no eaſier, readier, or perfecter plat and introduction, is (as yet) come to my imagination, then is the preſent and continuall ſeruice of three ſcore good and tall warlike ſhips, with twentie ſmaller barkes, and thoſe 80. ſhips (great and ſmal) with 6660. apt men furniſhed, and all ſingularly well appointed for ſeruice both on ſea and land, faithfully and diligently to be done in ſuch circumſpect and diſcreet order, as partly I haue in other places declared, and further (vpon good occaſion offered) may declare.

This grand naule of peaceable king Edgar, of ſo many thouſand ſhips, and they furniſhed with an hundred thouſand men at the leaſt, with all the ſmall intenes of thoſe ſea forces, ſo inuincible, continually maintained, the order of the execution of their ſeruice, the godly and Imperial ſucceſſe thereof, are in a maner kingly leſſons and prophetical incouragements to vs left, euen now to bee as prouident for publique ſecuritie as he was, to be as ſkilful of our ſea right and royal limits, and withal to finde our ſelues as able to recouer and enioy the ſame as he was, who could not chuſe, but with the paſſing and peerely ſayling about this Britiſh Albion, with all the leſſer Iſles nert adiacent round about it, he could not chuſe I ſay, but by ſuch ful and peaceable poſſeſſion, find himſelfe (according to right, and his hearts deſire) the true and ſoueraigne Monarch of all the Britiſh Ocean, enuironing any way his empire of Albion and Ireland, with the leſſer Iſlands nert adiacent: with memorial whereof, as with one very precious iewel Imperial, hee adorned the title and crowne of his regalitie, as with the teſtimonie annexed of the ſtates and nobles of his Empire, to commit to perpetuall memorie, the ſtile of his chiefe worldly dignitie, in this very tenor of words before alſo remembred.

Ego Ædgarus Anglorum Baſileus, omniúmque Regum, Inſularum, Oceaniſque Britanniam circumiacentis, cunctarúmq; nationum, quæ infra eam includuntur, Imperator, & Dominus. Note the Queenes Maieſties royalties ouer the Britiſh Ocean ſea, round about the Britiſh Empire.

The voyage of *Edmund* and *Edward* the ſonnes of King *Edmund Ironſide* into *Hungarie*, Anno D. 1017. Recorded by *Florentius Wigornienſis* pag. 391.

DEdit conſilium Edricus Canuto regi, vt clitunculos Eadwardum & Eadmundum regis Eadmundi filios necaret. Sed quia magnum dedecus ſibi videbatur, vt in Anglia perimerentur, paruo elapſo tempore, ad regem Suauorum occidendos miſit. Qui, licèt fœdus eſſet inter eos, precibus illius nullatenùs voluit acquieſcere, ſed illos ad regem Hungarorum Salomonem nomine miſit nutriendos vitæque reſeruandos. Quorum vnus ſcilicet Eadmundus proceſſu temporis ibidem vitam finiuit. Eadwardus verò Agatham filiam Germani Imperatoris Henricii in matrimonium accepit, ex qua Margaretam Scotorum reginam, & Chriſtinam Sanctimonialem, & Clitonem Eadgarum ſuſcepit. An. Dom. 1017.

The

The ſame in Engliſh.

EDric counſelled king Kanutus to murther the yong princes Edward and Edmund the ſonnes of King Edmund. But becauſe it ſeemed a thing very diſhonourable vnto him to haue them put to death in England, hee ſent them, after a ſhort ſpace, vnto the king of Sweden to be ſlaine. Who, albeit there was a league betweene them, would in no caſe condeſcend vnto Canutus his bloody requeſt, but ſent them vnto Salomon the king of Hungarie to be nouriſhed and preſerued aliue. The one whereof namely Edmund in proceſſe of time there deceaſed. But Edward receiued to wife Agatha daughter vnto the Germane Emperour Henry, of whom he begot Margaret the Queene of the Scots, and Chriſtina a Nunne, and Cleto Edgar.

A Chronicle of the Kings of *Man*, taken out of M. *Camdens* Chorographie.

IN the yeere of our Lord 1066. Edward King of England, of famous memory deceaſed, whom Harald ſonne of Godwin ſucceeded in his kingdome; againſt which Harald the king of Norwaie called Harald Harſager fought a battel at Stainford bridge, where the Engliſh winning the fielde put all the Norwegians to flight: out of which flight one Godredus ſirnamed Crouan (the ſonne of Harald the blacke, who had before time fled out of Iſland) repaired vnto Godred ſonne of Syrric, who then reigned in Man, and was right friendly and honourably entertained by him.

Fingal. In the very ſame yeere William the Conquerour ſubdued England, and Godred the ſonne of Syrric, king of Man, deceaſed, after whom ſucceeded his ſonne Fingal.

In the yeere 1066. Godredus Crouan gathered a fleete of ſhips, and ſailed vnto Man, and giuing battell vnto the people of the countrey, was vanquiſhed and put to flight. The ſecond time alſo hauing gathered his armie and ſhips together, hee came vnto Man, fought with the inhabitants, loſt the victorie, and was chaced away. Yea, the third time he aſſembled a great multitude, and comming by night vnto the port which is called Ramſa, hid 300. of his men in a wood ſtanding vpon the ſide of the hill called Scacaſel. The Sunne was no ſooner vp, but the Mannians arranged themſelues and with great furie ſet vpon Godred. And in the midſt of the ſkirmiſh, the foreſaid 300. men riſing out of their ambuſh, and comming vpon the backes of the Mannians, moleſted them ſo ſore, that they were enforced to flie. But when they ſaw ỳthey were ouercome and had no place of refuge to retire vnto (for the tide of the ſea had filled the chanel of the riuer of Ramſa) and ſeeing the enemie ſo fiercely purſuing them on the other ſide, they which remained, with lamentable outcries beſeeched Godred to ſpare their liues. Then hee being moued with compaſſion, and pitying their extreme calamitie, becauſe hee had bene of late ſuſtained and nouriſhed among them, ſounded a retreat and forbad his ſouldiers to make any longer purſuit. The day following Godred put his ſouldiers to their choice, whether they would diuide Man among themſelues and inhabite it, or whether they would take the wealth of the countrey, and ſo returne vnto their owne home. Howbeit, it pleaſed them better to walle the whole Iſland and to enrich themſelues with the commodities thereof, and ſo to returne from whence they came. Nowe Godred himſelfe with a fewe Iſlanders which had remained with him, tooke poſſeſſion of the South part of the Iſland, and vnto the remnant of the Mannians he granted the North part thereof, vpon condition, that none of them ſhould at any time afterward dare once to chalenge any parcell of the ſaid ground by title of inheritance. Whereupon it commeth to paſſe, that vnto this day the whole Iſland is the kings owne Fee-ſimple, and that all the reuenues thereof pertaine vnto him. Alſo Godredus ſubdued Dublin vnto himſelfe, & a great part of Laineſtir. And he ſo tamed the Scots, that none of them durſt build a ſhip or a boate, with aboue three yron nailes in it. Hee reigned 16. yeeres and died in the Iſland called Yle. He left behinde him three ſonnes, Lagman, Harald, and Olauus. Lagman being the eldeſt chalenged the kingdome and reigned ſeuen yeeres. Howbeit Harald his brother rebelled againſt him a long time, but being at length taken by Lagman, hee was gelt and had his eyes put out. Afterward Lagman repenting him that he had put out the eyes of his brother, did of his owne accord relinquiſh his kingdome, and taking vpon him the badge of the croſſe, he went on pilgrimage to Ieruſalem, in which iourney alſo he died.

Boats hauing not paſt three yron nailes in them.

In the yeere 1075. all the principall men of the Iſlands hauing intelligence of the death of Lagman, ſent meſſengers vnto Murecardus O-Brien King of Irland, requeſting him that hee would ſend ſome well-diſpoſed perſon of his owne kinred and blood royall, vntill Olauus ſonne of

Godred

Godred were come to full age. The king moſt willingly condeſcended vnto their requeſt, and ſent vnto them one Dopnald the ſonne of Tade, charging and commaunding him that with all meekenelle and modeſtie, hee ſhould gouerne that kingdome, which of right belonged not vnto him. Howbeit he, after he had once attained vnto the kingdome, neglecting the commaundement of his lord, vſurped the gouernment with great tyrannie, committing many heinous crimes, and ſo he reigned very diſorderly for the ſpace of three yeeres. Then all the princes of the Illands making a generall conſpiracie, banded themſelues againſt him, and expelled him out of their dominions. And he flying into Irland returned no more vnto them.

In the yeere 1077. one Ingemundus was ſent from the king of Norway, to take poſſeſſion of the kingdome of the Illands. And being come vnto the Iſland of Leodus, hee ſent meſſengers vnto all the princes of the Illands to come vnto him, commaunding them to aſſemble themſelues, and to appoint him to be their King. In the meane ſeaſon he and his companions ſpent their time in robbing and rioting, rauiſhed women and virgines, and addicted themſelues to filthy pleaſures and to the luſtes of the fleſh. And when theſe things were reported vnto the princes of the Illands, who had aſſembled themſelues to chuſe him king, being mightely incenſed thereat, they made haſte towards him, and comming vpon him in the night, they burnt the houſe wherein hee was, and ſlue both him and the reſt of his company, partly with ſword, and partly with fire. Lewis.

In the yeere 1098. the abbey of S. Maries at Ciſtertium was founded. In the ſame yeere alſo Antiochia was taken by the Chriſtians, and a Comet appeared.

Moreouer, the ſame yeere there was a battell fought betweene the inhabitants of Man, at Santwar, and they of the North obtained the victory. In which battell were ſlaine Earle Othor and Mac-Maras, chieftaines of both parts.

The ſame yeere Magnus king of Norway, ſonne of Olauus, ſonne of Harald Harfagre, being deſirous to view the corps of S. Olauus king and Martyr, gaue commaundement that his monument ſhould be opened. But the Biſhop and the Clergie withſtanding this his attempt, the king went very boldly and by his kingly authoritie, cauſed the cophin to be opened. And when hee had ſeene with his eyes, and handled with his hands the incorrupt body of the foreſaid King and Martyr, a ſudden feare came vpon him, and he departed with great haſte. The night following Olauus king and Martyr appeared vnto him in a viſion, ſaying: Chuſe (I ſay) vnto your ſelfe one of theſe two, either within 30. dayes to loſe your life with your kingdome, or elſe to depart from Norway and neuer to ſee it againe. The King ſo ſoone as he was awaked out of ſleepe, called his Princes and Senatours, and expounded the foreſaide viſion vnto them. And they alſo being aſtoniſhed thereat gaue him this counſell, that with all ſpeed he ſhould depart out of Norway. Then he without any further delay cauſed a Naule of 160. ſhips to be prouided, and ſo ſailed vnto the Illands of Orkney, which hee preſently ſubdued, and paſſing along through all the Illands and conquering them, at length he came vnto the Iſle of Man, where he was no ſooner arriued, but hee went vnto the Iſle of S. Patric to ſee the place of battell, where the inhabitants of Man had of late fought, becauſe many of the dead bodies were as yet vnburied. And ſeeing that it was a moſt beautifull Iſland, it pleaſed him exceeding well, and therefore hee made choice to inhabite therein his owne ſelfe, and built forts there which are at this day called by his owne name. He had the people of Galloway in ſuch awe, that he conſtrained them to cut downe their owne timber, and to bring it vnto his ſhore for the building of his fortes. Hee ſailed on further vnto the Iſle of Angleſey neere vnto Wales, and finding two Earles therein (either of them being called by the name of Hugo) he ſlue the one, and the other hee put to flight, and ſo ſubdued the Iſland. But the Welſhmen preſented many gifts vnto him, and ſo bidding them farewell he returned vnto Man. Vnto Murecard king of Irland he ſent his ſhooes, commaunding him that he ſhould carry them on his ſhoulders, vpon the birth-day of our Lord though the midſt of his Palace, in the ſight of his Embaſſadours, that thereby it might appeare vnto them, that he was ſubiect vnto king Magnus. Which when the Iriſhmen heard, they tooke it grieuously and diſdeined much thereat. But the King being better aduiſed, I had rather (ſaid he) not only beare his ſhooes, but eate his ſhooes, then that king Magnus ſhould deſtroy any one prouince in Irland. Wherefore he fulfilled his commaundement, and honourably entertained his Embaſſadours. Many gifts alſo he ſent vnto king Magnus by them, and concluded a league. But the meſſengers returning vnto their lord, tolde him of the ſituation of Irland, of the beautie thereof, of the fruitfulneſſe of the ſoile, and of the holeſomneſſe of the aire. Magnus hearing theſe things was fully reſolued to conquer all Irland vnto himſelfe. And for the ſame purpoſe he commaunded that a Fleet ſhould be made ready. But he taking his voyage with ſixteene ſhips, & being deſirous to view the land, when he had vndiſcreetly departed from his Nauie, he was ſuddenly inuironed by the Iriſh, and was himſelfe ſlaine, together with all that were with him almoſt. Hee was interred neere vnto the Church of S. Patric in Armagh. Hee reigned

ſixe

lure peeres. After his death the Pzinces of the Illands sent foz Olauus the sonne of Godredus Crouan, who liued in the Court of Henry King of England son vnto William the Conquerour.

In the yeere 1102. Olauus sonne of Godredus Crouan beganne his reigne and reigned fourtie yeeres: he was a peaceable man being in league with all the Kings of Scotland and Irland in his time. He tooke to wife Affrica the daughter of Fergusius of Galway, of whom he begat Godredus. Of his concubines he begat Regnaldus, Lagmannus, and Haraldus, and many daughters,
‖ Argile. whereof one married vnto Sumerledus king of ‖ Herergaidel, which afterward occalioned the ouerthzow of the whole kingdome of the Illands. He begat foure sonnes by her, namely Dulgallus, Raignaldus, Engus, and Olauus.

In the yeere 1134. Olauus gaue vnto Yuo the Abbat of Furnes a pozcion of his owne ground in Man to build an Abbey in the place which is called Russin. Also hee inriched with reuenues and indued with pziuiledges al places of religion within his Illands.

In the yere 1142. Godredus ꝑ son of Olauus sailed vnto the K. of Norway called Hinge, and doing his homage vnto him he remained with him, & was by him honozably entertained. The same yere the 3. sonnes of Harald bzother vnto Olauus, who were bzought vp at the citie of Dublin, gathering together a great multitude of people, and all the fugitiues and vagabonds of the kingdome relozted vnto Man, and demaunded of the said king the one halfe of al the kingdome of the Illands. Which thing when the king heard, being desirous to pacifie them, he answered that he would consult about that matter. And a day and place being appointed, where the consultation should bee kept, in the meane time those miscreants cõspired together, about the murthering of the King. And when the day appointed was come, both companies assembled themselues vnto the hauen towne called Ramsa, and they sate in ozder, the king with his nobilitie on the one side, and they with their confederates on the other side. Howbeit Regnaldus who had an intention to slay the king, stoode a-side in the midst of the house talking with one of the Pzinces of the lande. And being called to come vnto the king he turned himselfe about as if hee would haue saluted him, and lifting vp his
1143. glittering axe, he chopt the kings head quite off at a blow. Nowe hauing committed this outragious vilanie, within a shozt space they diuided the Illand betweene themselues, and gathering an armie together sailed vnto Galway, intending to subdue that also; howbeit the people of Galway assembled themselues, and with great furie encountred with them. Then they immediately turning their backs with great confusion fled vnto Man. And as touching all the Galwedians which inhabited in the said Illand, some of them they slue, and the residue they banished.

In the yeere 1143. Godredus sonne of Olauus returning out of Norway was created king of Man; who in reuenge of his fathers death, put out the eyes of two of Haralds sonnes and slue the third.

In the yeere 1144. Godredus began his reigne, and hee reigned thirtie yeeres. In the third yeere of his reigne the citizens of Dublin sent foz him and created him king of Dublin, against whom Murecardus king of Irland made warre, and encamping himself at the citie called Coridelis, he sent his bzother Osibel with 3000. hozsemen vnto Dublin, who was slaine by Godred and the Dubliners, the rest of his company being put to flight. These things being thus finished, Godredus returned vnto Man, and began to exercise tyrannie, disinheriting certaine of his nobles, of whom one called Thorfinus the sonne of Oter, being mightier then the rest, went vnto Sumerledus, and named Dubgal the sonne of Sumerledus, king of the Illands, and subdued many of the said Illands on his behalfe. Whereof when Godred had intelligence by one Paulus, pzouiding a Nauie, hee went to meete Sumerledus comming against him with 80. ships: and in the yeere
1156. 1156. vpon the night of the feast of Epiphanie, there was a Sea-battell fought, and many being slaine on both parts, the day folowing they were pacified, and diuided the kingdome of the Illands among themselues, and it continued two kingdomes from that day vnto this present time. And this was the cause of the ruine of the monarchie of the Illands, from which time the sonnes of Sumerled inioyed the one halfe thereof.

In the yeere 1158. Sumerled came vnto Man with 53. ships, putting Godred to flight and wasting the Illand: and Godred sailed vnto Norway to seeke foz aide against Sumerled. In the yere 1164. Sumerled gathered a fleete of 160. ships together; and arriued at Rhintrin, intending to subdue all Scotland vnto himselfe: howbeit, by Gods iust iudgement being ouercome by a few, together with his sonne, and an innumerable multitude of people, he was slaine. The very same yere there was a battel fought at Ramsa, betweene Reginald the bzother of Godred, and the inhabitants of Man, but by the stratageme of a certaine Earle the Mannians were put to flight. Then begã Reginald to vsurpe the kingly authozitie. Howbeit his bzother Godred within foure dayes after, comming out of Norway with a great power of armed men, apprehended his bzother Reginald, gelt him, and put out his eyes. The same yeere deceased Malcolme the king of Scots, and

his

his brother William succeeded in the kingdome.

In the yeere 1166. two Comets appeared in the moneth of August, before the rising of the Sunne, one to the South and another to the North.

In the yeere 1171. Richard earle of Penbroke sailed into Irland, and subdued Dublin with a great part of Irland.

In the yere 1176. Iohn Curcy conquered Vlster vnto himselfe. And at the same time also Viuianus legate frō the sea of Rome came into Man, & caused king Godred to bee lawfully wedded vnto his wife Phingola, daughter of Maclotlen son of Murkartac king of Irlād, mother of Olauus, who was then 3. yeeres old. Siluanus the abbat married them, vnto whom the very same day, king Godred gaue a portion of ground in Mirescoge, where he built a Monastery: howbeit, in processe of time, the said land with the monkes, was granted vnto the abbey of Russin.

In the yere 1172. Reginaldus the son of Eacmarcat (a man descended of the blood royal) comming into Man with a great multitude of people, in the absence of the king, at the first conflict hee put to flighe certaine watchmen which kept the shoare, & slue about 30. persons. Whereupon the very same day the Mannians arranging themselues put him, & almost al his followers to the sworv.

In the yere 1183. O-Fogolt was vicount of Man.

In the yere 1185. the Sunne was eclipsed vpon the feast of S. Philip and Iacob.

In the yere 1187. deceased Godred king of the Illands, vpō the 4. of the Ides of Nouember, and the next sommer his body was translated vnto the iland of Hy. He left 3. sonnes behinde him, Reginaldus, Olauus, and Yuarus. In his life time he ordeined his sonne Olauus to be his heire apparant, because he onely was borne legitimate. But the Mannians, when Olauus was scarce ten yeeres olde, sent vnto the illands for Reginald and created him king.

In the yeere 1187. began Reginald the sonne of Godred to reigne ouer the illands: and Murchardus a man of great power throughout all the kingdome of the illands was put to death.

In the yere 1192. there was a battel fought betweene Reginald and Engus the two sonnes of Sumerled: but Engus obtained the victory. The same yere was the abbey of Russin remooued vnto Dufglas, howbeit within foure yeeres after the monkes returned vnto Russin.

In the yere 1203. Michael bishop of the illands deceased at Fontanas, and Nicholas succeeded in his roome.

In the yere 1204. Hugo de Lacy inuaded Vlster with an armie and encountered with Iohn de Curcy, tooke him prisoner & subdued Vlster vnto himselfe. Afterward he permitted the said Iohn to goe at libertie, who comming vnto king Reginald was honourably enterteined by him, because he was his sonne in lawe, for Iohn de Curcy had taken to wife Affrica the daughter of Godredus, which founded the abbey of S. Mary de iugo domini, and was there buried.

In the yeere 1205. Iohn de Curcy & Reginald king of the illands inuading Vlster with a hundreth ships at the port which is called Stranfeord did negligently besiege the castle of Rath: but Walter de Lacy cōming vpō them with his armie, put them to flight, & from that time Curcy neuer recouered his land. In the yere 1210. Engus the son of Sumerled & his 3. sonnes were slaine.

At the same time Iohn king of England conducted a fleet of 500. ships into Irland, and subdued it vnto himselfe: and sending a certaine earle named Fulco, vnto the isle of Man, his souldiers almost vterly wasted it in the space of 15. dayes, and hauing taken pledges they returned home into their owne countrey. King Reginald and his nobles were at this time absent from Man.

King Iohn passed into Irland with 500. sailes.

In the yere 1217. deceased Nicolas bishop of the illands, and was buried in Vlster, in the house of Benchor, whom Reginald succeeded.

I thinke it not amisse to report somewhat more concerning the two foresaid brethren *Reginaldus* and *Olauus*.

REginald gaue vnto his brother Olauus, the iland called Lodhus or Lewes, which is saide to be larger then the rest of the illands, but almost destitute of inhabitants, because it is so ful of mountaines & quarreis, being almost no where fit for tillage. Howbeit the inhabitants thereof do liue for the most part vpon hunting and fishing. Olauus therefore went to take possession of this Iland, and dwelt therein leading a poore life: and when he saw that it would by no meanes suffice for the sustentacion of himselfe & his followers, hee went boldly vnto his brother Reginald, who as then remained in the illands, & spake on this wise vnto him. My brother (said he) and my lord and king, you know that the kingdom of the illands pertained vnto me by right of inheritance, howbeit because the Lord had chosen you to beare the sceptre, I doe not enuie that honour vnto you, neither doeth it any whit grieue mee that you are exalted vnto this royall dignitie. Now therefore I beseech you to prouide mee some portion of land in the illands, whereby I may honestly liue.

For the Iſland of Lewis which you gaue me is not ſufficient for my maintenance. Which his brother Reginald hearing ſaid that he would conſult about the premiſſes. And on the morow, when Olauus was ſent for to parle, Reginald cõmanded him to be attached, and to be caried vnto William king of Scotland, and with him to remaine priſoner: and Olauus remained in priſon almoſt for the ſpace of 7. yeres. But at the 7. yeres end William king of Scots deceaſed, and Alexander his ſonne reigned in his ſtead. The foreſaid William, before his death, commanded that all priſoners ſhould be ſet at libertie. Olauus therefore being at libertie came vnto Man, and immediatly with a great company of nobles tooke his iourney vnto S. Iames: and his brother Reginald cauſed the ſaid Olauus to take vnto wife, the daughter of a certaine noble man of Kentyre, couſine german vnto his owne wife, & by name being called Lauon, and he granted vnto him the poſſeſſion of Lewis. After a few dayes Reginald the biſhop of the Iſlands hauing gathered a Synod, ſeparated Olauus and Godred his ſonne, and Lauon his wife, namely becauſe ſhee was couſin german vnto his former wife. After ward Olauus maried Scriſtina daughter vnto Ferkarus earle of Roſſe.

Hereupon the wife of Reginald Queene of the Iſlands being incenſed, ſent letters vnto the Iſland of Sky in K. Reginald his name to her ſonne Godred willing him to take Olauus. Which cõmandement Godred putting in practiſe, & entring the iſle of Lewis for ỹ ſame purpoſe, Olauus fled in a litle ſkiffe vnto his father in law the earle of Roſſe, & in the meane time Godred waſted the iſle of Lewis. At the very ſame time Pol the ſon of Boke vicount of Sky, being a man of power in al the Iſlands, becauſe he would not conſent vnto Godred, fled, & dwelt together with Olauus in the dominions of the earle of Roſſe, & making a league with Olauus, they went both in a ſhip vnto Sky. To be ſhort, ſending certaine ſpies, they were informed that Godred remained ſecure with a ſmal company in a certaine Iſle called ỹ iſle of S. Columba. And uniting vnto themſelues their friends and acquaintance, & others that would goe voluntarily with them, in the dead of the night, hauing lanched 5. ſhips from the next ſea-ſhore, which was diſtant about the ſpace of 2. furlongs from the foreſaid Iſland, they enuironed the ſaid Iſland on all ſides. Now Godred and his company riſing early in the morning, and ſeeing themſelues beſet with their enemies on all ſides, they were vtterly aſtonied. Howbeit arming themſelues they began ſtoutly to make reſiſtance, but altogether in vaine. For about 9. of the clocke in the morning, Olauus and the foreſaid vicount Pol, with al their ſouldiers, entred the Iſland, and hauing ſlaine all whom they found without the precincts of the Church, they apprehended Godred, gelding him, and putting out his eyes. Unto which action Olauus gaue not his conſent, neither could he withſtand it, by reaſon of the forenamed vicount the ſon of Boke. This was done in the yere of Chriſt 1223. The next ſommer following Olauus hauing receiued pledges from all the chiefe men of the Iſlands, with a fleet of 32. ſhips ſailed vnto Man, and arriued at Rognolfwahr. At the ſame time Reginald and Olauus diuided the kingdome of the Iſlands betweene themſelues, Man being granted vnto Reginald, & beſides his portion the name of a king alſo. Olauus hauing receiued certaine victuals of the people of Man, returned, together with his company, vnto his owne portion of Iſlands. The yeere following Reginald taking vnto him Alanus lord of Galway, together with his ſubiects of Man, ſailed vnto the Iſlands, that hee might take away that portion of ground from his brother Olauus, which he had granted vnto him, and ſubdue it vnto himſelfe. Howbeit, by reaſon that the people of Man had no liſt to fight againſt Olauus or the Iſlanders, becauſe they bare good will towards them, Reginald and Alanus lord of Galway being defeated of their purpoſe, returned home vnto their owne. Within a ſhort ſpace after Reginald, vnder pretenſe of going vnto the Court of his lord the king of England, receiued an 100. markes of the people of Man, and tooke his iourney vnto Alanus lord of Galway. Which the people of Man hearing tooke great indignation thereat, inſomuch that they ſent for Olauus, and appointed him to be their king.

The Iſle of Man aduaunced to a kingdome.

In the yeere 1226. Olauus recouered his inheritance, that is to ſay the kingdome of Man and of the Iſlands, which Reginald his brother had gouerned for the ſpace of 38. yeeres, and he reigned two yeeres in ſaketie.

In the yeere 1228. Olauus with all his nobles of Man, and the ſtronger part of his people, ſailed vnto the Iſlands. A ſhort ſpace after Alanus lord of Galway, Thomas earle of Athol, & king Reginald came vnto Man with a mightie army, and waſted all the South part of Man, ſpoiled the Churches, and ſlue all the men whom they could take, inſomuch, that the South part of the ſaide Iſland was brought almoſt into deſolation. And then Alanus returned with his army into his owne land, leauing behind him bailiffes and ſubſtitutes in Man, which ſhould gather vp and render vnto him the tribute of the countrey. Howbeit king Olauus came ſuddenly vpon them, chaced them away and recouered his kingdome. And the Mannians which of late were diſperſed and ſcattered abroad, began to vnite themſelues, and to inhabite without feare. The ſame yeere, in the time of Winter, vpon the ſudden, and in the very dead of the night came king Reginald out of Galway with

with fiue ships, and burnt all the ships of his brother Olauus, and of the nobles of Man, at the Ile of S. Patric, & concluding a peace with his brother, remained at the port of Ragnolwath 40. dayes: in the meane while hee allured vnto himselfe all the Illanders vpon the South part of Man, who ſware, that they would aduenture their liues, vntill hee had gotten the one halfe of his kingdome: contrarywise Olauus ioyned vnto himselfe them of the North part, & vpon the 14. of Februarp in the place called Tingualla, a field was fought betweene the two brothers, wherein Olauus got the victory, and Reginald the king was by certaine ſouldiers ſlaine without the knowledge of his brother. Also certaine pirates comming to the south part of Man, walled & ſpoiled it. The monkes of Ruſſin conueyed the body of K. Reginald, vnto the abbey of S. Mary of Fournes, & there he was interred in the place, which his owne ſelfe had choſen for the purpoſe. After theſe things Olauus trauelled vnto the king of Norway, but before he was arriued there, Haco king of Norway appointed a certaine noble man named Husbac the ſon of Owmund, to be king of the Illands of the Hebrides & called his name Haco. Then came the ſaid Haco with Olauus & Godred Don the ſon of Reginald, and a multitude of Noruegians, vnto the illands: and while they were giuing an aſſaule vnto a caſtle in the iſland of Both, Haco being hit with a ſtone died, and was buried in Iona.

In the yere 1230. came Olauus, with Godredus Don, & certeine Noruegians vnto Man, and they parted the kingdome among themſelues, Olauus ſtil reteining Man. Godred as he was going vnto the illands, was ſlaine in the iſle of Lewis, & Olauus inioyed the kingdome of the illands alſo.

In the yere 1237. vpon the 12. of the Kalends of June, Olauus ſonne of Godred king of Man deceaſed in the iſle of S. Patric, and was interred in the abbey of Ruſſin. He reigned 11. yeres, two while his brother was aliue, and nine after his death.

Haraldus his ſonne being of the age of 14. yeres, ſucceeded, and he reigned 12. yeeres. The firſt yere of his reigne taking his iourney vnto the illands, he appointed one Loglen his kinſman to be his deputie in Man. The Autumne following Haraldus ſent the three ſonnes of Nel, namely Dufgaldus, Torquellus, & Molmore, and his friend Ioſeph vnto Man, that they might enter into conſultation together. Wherefore the 25. day they aſſembled themſelues at Tingualla: and malice growing betweene the ſonnes of Nel, and Loglen, they fell to blowes and ſkirmiſhed ſore on both parts, Molmore, Dufgald, and the foreſaid Ioſeph being all ſlaine in the fray. The Spring following, king Harald came into the iſle of Man, and Loglen fleeing into Wales, was himſelfe, together with Godred the ſonne of Olauus his pupil, and 40. others, drowned by ſhipwracke.

In the yere 1238. Goſpatricius and Gilleſcriſt ſonne of Mac-Kerthac came from the king of Norway vnto Man, expelling Harald out of the ſaid iſland, and taking tribute on the behalfe of the Noruegian king, becauſe the ſaid Harald refuſed to come vnto his Court.

In the yere 1240. Goſpatricius deceaſed and was buried in the abbey of Ruſſin.

In the yere 1239. Haraldus went vnto the king of Norway, who within two yeres confirmed vnto him, his heires and ſucceſſors, vnder ſeale, all the illands which his predeceſſors enioyed.

In the yeere 1242. Haraldus returned out of Norway vnto Man, and being honourably receiued by the inhabitants, he liued in peace with the kings of England and Scotland.

In the yeere 1247. Haraldus (like as his father alſo before him) was knighted by the king of England, and ſo being rewarded with many gifts, he returned home. The ſame yere he was ſent for by the king of Norway, and he maried his daughter. And in the yere 1249. as he was returning home with his wife, with Laurence the elect of Man, and with many other nobles, neere vnto the confines of Radland, he was drowned in a tempeſt.

In the yere 1249. Reginald the ſonne of Olauus, and brother vnto Harald began to reigne the day next before the Nones of May: and vpon the 30. day of the ſame moneth he was ſlaine by Yuarus a ſouldier, and other of his complices, in the South part of a certaine meadow, neere vnto the Church of the holy Trinitie, and he was buried at the Church of S. Marie at Ruſſin.

The ſame yere Alexander king of Scots prouided a great naule of ſhips, that he might conquere the illands vnto himſelfe: howbeit falling into an ague at the iſle of Kerwary, he decea-ſed.

Then Haraldus the ſonne of Godred Don vſurped the name of a king ouer the illands, hee baniſhed alſo all the princes of Harald the ſonne of Olauus, and ordeined his fugitiues to bee princes and nobles in their ſtead.

In the yere 1250, Haraldus the ſon of Godred Don being ſummoned by letters went vnto the king of Norway, who deteined him in priſon becauſe he had vniuſtly poſſeſſed the kingdome. The ſame yeere Magnus the ſonne of Olauus, and Iohn the ſonne of Dugale arriued at Roghalwathe, which Iohn named himſelfe king, but the Mannians taking it grieuouſly, that Magnus was not nominated, driue them from their ſhoare, and many of the company periſhed by ſhipwracke.

In the yeere 1252. came Magnus the ſonne of Olauus vnto Man, and was ordeined king. The yere following he tooke his iourney vnto the king of Norway, & there he remained one whole yere.

In the yeere 1254. Haco king of Norway ordeined Magnus the ſonne of Olauus king of the Iſlands, confirming them to him and to his heires, and by name vnto Harald his brother.

In the yere 1256. Magnus tooke his iourney into England, and was by the king of England created knight.

In ỹ yere 1257. the Church of S. Maries of Ruſſin was dedicated by Richard biſhop of Soder.

In the yeere 1260. Haco king of Norway came into the parts of Scotland, and without atchieuing ought, turning his courſe towards the Orcades he there deceaſed at Kirwas, and was buried at Bergen.

In the yeere 1265. Magnus the ſonne of Olauus king of Man and of the Iſlands died at the caſtle of Ruſſin, and was buried at the Church of S. Mary at Ruſſin.

In the yere 1266. the kingdome of the Iſlands was tranſlated vnto Alexander king of Scots.

That which followeth was written in a new character or letter, and of a diuers kinde from the former.

IN the yeere 1270. vpon the ſeuenth day of October the Fleete of Alexander king of Scots arriued at Roghalwath, and the next day before the Sunne riſing there was a battell fought betweene the Mannians and the Scots, in the which conflict there were ſlaine 535. Mannians: whereupon a certaine verſifier writeth to this effect:

Fiue hundreth fourtie men are ſlaine:
against ill haps,
Yee Mannians arme your ſelues, for feare
of afterclaps.

In the yeere 1313. Robert king of Scots beſieged the caſtle of Ruſſin, which Dingawy Dowil held againſt him, howbeit at the laſt the king tooke the caſtle.

In the yeere 1316. vpon the feaſt of Aſcenſion, Richard le Mandeuile and his brethren, with diuers great perſonages of Iſland arriued at Ramaldwath, demaunding to haue victuals and money miniſtred vnto them, becauſe they had bene ſpoyled by their enemies, which made continuall warre vpon them. But when the whole company of the Mannians anſwered that they would giue nothing, they proceeded againſt them in warlike maner with two bands, till they were come vnder the ſide of the hill called Warthfel, in the fielde where Iohn Mandeuile remained, and there hauing fought a battell, the Iriſh ouercame the people of Man, and ſpoiled the Iſland and the Abbey of Ruſſin alſo: and when they had reueled a whole moneth in the Iſland, lading their ſhips they returned home.

The mariage of the daughter of *Harald*, ſlaine by *VVilliam* the Conquerour, vnto *Ieruſlaus* duke of *Ruſſia*, taken out of the 9. Booke of the *Daniſh* hiſtorie written by *Saxo Grammaticus*. An. D. 1067.

1067. HAraldo cæſo, filij eius duo confeſtim in Daniam cum ſorore migrarunt. Quos Swenо, paterni illorum meriti oblitus conſanguineæ pietatis more accepit, puellamque Ruthenorum regi Waldemaro, (qui & ipſe Iariſlaus a ſuis eſt appellatus) nuptum dedit. Eidem poſtmodùm noſtri temporis dux, vt ſanguinis, ita & nominis hæres, ex filia nepos obuenit. Itaque hinc Britannicus, indè Eous ſanguis in ſalutarem noſtri principis ortum confluens communem ſtirpem duarum gentium ornamentum effecit.

The ſame in Engliſh.

HArald being ſlaine his two ſonnes with their ſiſter ſped themſelues immediatly into Denmarke. Whom Sweno forgetting their fathers deſerts receiued in moſt kinde and friendly maner, and beſtowed the yong damoſell in mariage vpon Waldemarus king of Ruſſia who was alſo called by his ſubiects Iariſlaus. Afterward the ſaid Waldemarus had by his daughter a nephew being duke at this preſent, who ſucceeded his predeceſſour both in lineal deſcent and in name alſo. Wherefore the Engliſh blood on the one ſide and the Ruſſian on the other ſide concurring to the ioyful' birth of our prince, cauſed that mutual kinred to be an ornament vnto both nations.

The

The ſtate of the ſhipping of the *Cinque ports* from *Edward* the Confeſſour and *William* the Conquerour, and ſo downe to *Edward* the firſt, faithfully gathered by the learned Gentleman M. *William Lambert* in his Perambulation of Kent, out of the moſt ancient Records of England.

I Finde in the booke of the generall ſurucy of the Realme, which William the Conquerour cauſed to bee made in the fourth yeere of his reigne, and to be called Domeſday, becauſe (as Matthew Pariſe ſaith) it ſpared no man but iudged all men indifferently, as the Lord in that great day wil do, that Douer, Sandwich, and Rumney, were in the time of K. Edward the Confeſſour, diſcharged almoſt of all maner of impoſitions and burdens (which other townes did beare) in conſideration of ſuch ſeruice to bee done by them vpon the Sea, as in their ſpecial titles ſhall hereafter appeare. The antiquitie of the Ports. 1070.

Whereupon, although I might ground reaſonable coniecture, that the immunitie of the hauen Townes (which we nowe call by a certaine number, the Cinque Ports) might take their beginning from the ſame Edward: yet for as much as I read in the Chartre of K. Edward the firſt after the conqueſt (which is reported in our booke of Entries) A recitall of the graunts of ſundry kings to the Fiue Ports, the ſame reaching no higher then to William the Conquerour, I will leaue my coniecture, and leane to his Chartre: contenting my ſelfe to yeelde to the Conquerour, the thankes of other mens benefits, ſeeing thoſe which were benefited, were wilely contented (as the caſe then ſtood) to like better of his confirmation (or ſecond gift) then of K. Edwards firſt graunt, and endowment.

And to the ende that I may proceed in ſome maner of array, I will firſt ſhewe, which Townes were at the beginning taken for the Fiue Ports, and what others be now reputed in the ſame number: ſecondly, what ſeruice they ought, and did in times paſſed: and laſtly, what priuiledges they haue thereforе, and by what perſons they haue bene gouerned.

If I ſhould iudge by the common, and rude verſe,

Douer, Sandwicus, Ry, Rum, Frigmare ventus, Which be the Fiue Ports.

I muſt ſay, that Douer, Sandwich, Rie, Rumney, and Winchelſey, (for that is, Frigmare ventus) be the Fiue Ports: Againe, if I ſhould be ruled by the Rolle which reciteth the Ports that ſend Barons to the Parliament, I muſt then adde to theſe, Haſtings and Hyde, for they alſo haue their Barons as well as the other: and ſo ſhould I not onely, not ſhew which were the firſt Fiue, but alſo (by addition of two others) increaſe both the number, and doubtfulneſſe. Leauing the verſe therefore, for ignorance of the authour and ſuſpition of his authoritie, and forſaking the Rolle (as not aſſured of the antiquitie) I will flee to Henry Bracton, a man both ancient, learned, and credible, which liued vnder K. Henry the thirde, and wrote (aboue three hundreth yeeres ſince) learnedly of the lawes of this Realme. 1250.

He (I ſay) in the third booke of his worke, and treatiſe of the Crowne, taking in hand to ſhewe the articles inquirable before the Iuſtice in Eire, (or Itinerent, as we called them, becauſe they vſed to ride from place to place throughout the Realme, for adminiſtration of iuſtice) ſetteth forth a ſpecial fourme of writs, to be directed ſeuerally to the Bailifes of Haſtings, Hithe, Rumney, Douer, and Sandwich, commanding them, that they ſhould cauſe twentie & foure of their Barons (for ſo their Burgeſſes, or townſmen, and the citizens of London likewiſe, were wont to be termed) to appeare before the Kings Iuſtices at Shipwey in Kene (as they accuſtomed to do) there to enquire of ſuch points, as ſhould be giuen in charge. Which done, hee addeth moreouer, that forſomuch as there was oftentimes cõtention betweene them of the Fiue Ports, & the inhabitants of Yarmouth in Norfolke, and Donwich in Suffolke, there ſhould be ſeuerall writs directed to them alſo, returnable before the ſame Iuſtices at the ſame day and place, reciting, that where the King had by his former writs ſommoned the Pleas of the Fiue Ports to bee holden at Shipwey, if any of the ſame townes had cauſe to complaine of any (being within the liberties of the ſaid Ports) he ſhould be at Shipwey to propound againſt him, and there to receiue according to law and Iuſtice. Citizens were called Barons in old time. Contention betweene Yarmouth, and the Fiue Ports. 1250. Antiquitie of Yarmouth filling.

Thus much I recite out of Bracton, partly to ſhew that Shipwey was before K. Edward the firſts time, the place of aſſembly for the Pleas of the Fiue Ports: partly to notifie the difference, and controuerſie that long time ſince was betweene theſe Ports, and thoſe other townes: But purpoſely, and chiefly, to proue, that Haſtings, and Hithe, Douer, Rumney, and Sandwich, were in Bractons time accompted the Fiue principall hauens or Ports, which were endowed with priuiledge, and had the ſame ratified by the great Chartre of England.

Neither yet will I deny, but that ſoone after, Winchelſey and Rie might be added to the number. 1268.

ber. For I find in an old Recorde, that king Henry the third tooke into his owne hands (for the better defence of the Realme) the townes of Winchelsey, and Rie, which belonged before to the Monasterie of Fescampe in Normandie, and gaue therefore in exchange, the Manor of Chilthorn in Glouceſterſhire, & diuers other lands in Lincolneſhire. This he did, partly to conceale from the Priors Aliens the intelligence of the ſecret affaires of his Realme, and partly becauſe of a great diſobedience & exceſſe, that was committed by the inhabitants of Winceleſey, againſt Prince Edward his eldeſt ſonne. And therefore, although I can eaſily be led to thinke, that he ſubmitted them for their correction to the order, and gouernance of the Fiue ports, yet I ſtand doubtfull whether hee made them partners of their priuiledges, or no, for that had bene a preferment, and no puniſhment vnto them: but I ſuſpect rather, that his ſonne king Edward the firſt, (by whoſe encouragement and aide, olde Winchelsey was afterward abandoned, and the newe towne builded) was the firſt that apparelled them with that preeminence.

Winchelſey firſt builded. 1277.

By this therefore let it appeare, that Haſtings, Douer, Hithe, Rumney, and Sandwich, were the firſt Ports of priuiledge: which (becauſe they were 5. in number) both at the firſt gaue, and yet continue, to all the reſidue, the name of Cinque Ports, although not onely Winchelsey and Rie, be (ſince that time) incorporated with them as principals, but diuers other places alſo (for the eaſe of their charge) be crept in, as parcels, limbs, and members of the ſame.

Now therefore, ſomewhat ſhalbe ſaid, as touching the ſeruices that theſe Ports of duetie owe, and in deed haue done, to the Princes: whereof the one (I meane with what number of veſſels, in what maner of furniture, and for how long ſeaſon, they ought to wait on the king at the Sea, vpon their owne charges) ſhall partly appeare by that which we ſhall preſently ſay, and partly by that which ſhall followe in Sandwich, and Rumney: The other ſhall bee made manifeſt by examples, drawne out of good hiſtories: and they both ſhall be teſtified by the words of king Edward the firſt in his owne Charter.

The booke of Domeſday before remembred, chargeth Douer with twentie veſſels at the ſea, whereof eche to be furniſhed with one and twentie men for fifteene dayes together: and ſaith further, that Rumney and Sandwich anſwered the like ſeruice. But now whether this (like) ought to be vnderſtoode of the like altogether, both in reſpect of the number and ſeruice, or of the (like) in reſpect of ſeruice, according to the proportion of their abilitie onely, I may not hereby take vpon me to determine. For on the one ſide, if Rumney, Sandwich, and the reſidue, ſhould likewiſe finde twentie veſſels a piece, then (as you ſhall anone ſee) the fiue Ports were ſubiect to a greater charge at that time, then King Edward the firſt layd vpon them: And on the other ſide, if they were onely chargeable after their proportion, then know I not how farre to burthen them, ſeeing the Record of Domeſday it ſelfe, bindeth them to no certeintie. And therefore leauing this as I find it, I muſt elſewhere make inquiſition for more light ſome whoſe. And firſt I will haue recourſe to king Edward the firſt his Charter in which I read, that At eech time that the King paſſeth ouer the ſea, the Ports ought to rigge vp fiftie and ſeuen ſhips, (whereof euery one to haue twentie armed ſouldiers) and to maintaine them at their owne coſtes, by the ſpace of fifteene dayes together.

1278. And thus it ſtoode with the Ports for their generall charge, in the firſt yeere of his reigne, for then was this Charter ſealed. But as touching the particular burthen of eche one, I haue ſeene two diuers teſtimonies, of which the firſt is a note in French (bearing the countenance of a Record) and is intituled, to haue bene renued in the two and twentie yeere of the Reigne of the ſame king, by Stephan Peneheſter, then Conſtable of Douer Caſtle, in which the particular charge is ſet downe in this maner.

The Port of Haſtings ought to finde three ſhips.
The lowie of Peuenſey, one
Bulwerhithe and Petit Iahn, one,
Bekesborne in Kent, ſeuen.
Grenche at Gillingham in Kent, two men and armour, with the ſhips of Haſtings.
The towne of Rie, fiue.
To it was Tenterdene annexed, in the time of King Henrie the firſt.
The towne of Winchelſey, tenne.
The Port of Rumney, foure.
Lydde, ſeuen.
The Port of Hythe, fiue.
The Port of Douer, nineteene.
The towne of Folkeſtone, ſeuen.
The towne of Feuerſham, ſeuen.
The Port of Sandwich, with Stonor, Fordwich, Dale, &c. fiue.

Theſe

Theſe ſhips they ought to finde vpon fortie dayes ſummons, armed and arrayed at their owne charge, and in ech of them twentie men, beſides the Maſter of the Mariners: all which they ſhall likewiſe maintaine fiue dayes together at their owne coſts, giuing to the Maiſter fiue pence by the day, to the Conſtable fiue pence, and to ech other Mariner three pence. And after theſe fiue dayes ended, the King ſhall defray the charges.

The other is a Latine Cuſtumall of the towne of Hyde, the which although it pretend not ſo great antiquity as the firſt, yet ſeemeth it to me to impoꝛt as much oꝛ moꝛe likelihood and credit: It ſtandeth thus,

Theſe be the Fiue Ports of our ſouereigne Lord the King hauing liberties, which other Ports haue not: Haſting, Romenal, Heth, Douer, Sandwich, the chiefe Townes.

The ſeruices due by the ſame.

Haſting ſhall finde 21. ſhips, in euery ſhip 21. men, and a Garcion, oꝛ Boy, which is called a Gromet. To it perteine (as the members of one towne) the Sealhoꝛe in Seford, Peuenſhey, Hodeney, Winchelſey, Rie, Ihame, Bekesbourne, Grenge, Northie, Bulwerheth.

Romenal 5. ſhips, in euery ſhip 21. men, and a Garcion: To it perteine, as members thereof, Promhell, Lede, Eaſtweſtone, Dengemareys, olde Rumney.

Hethe 5. ſhips, as Romenal beſoꝛe. To it perteineth the Weſthethe.

Douer 21. ſhips, as Haſting beſoꝛe. To it perteine, Folkſtane, Feuerſham, and S. Margarets, not concerning the land, but foꝛ the goods and cattels.

Sandwich 5. ſhips, as Romenal, and Hethe. To it perteine Fordwich, Reculuer, Serre, and Dele, not foꝛ the ſoile, but foꝛ the goods.

Summe of ſhips 57.
Summe of the men 1187. and 57. Garcions.

This ſeruice, the Barons of the Fiue Ports doe acknowledge to owe to the King, vpon ſummons yerely (if it happen) by the ſpace of 15. dayes together, at their owne coſts and charges, accounting that foꝛ the firſt day of the 15. in which they ſhall ſpread their ſailes to goe towards thoſe parts that the King intendeth: and to ſerue ſo long after 15. dayes, as the King will, at his owne pay and wages.

Thus much out of theſe ancient notes, whereby your ſelfe may eaſily diſcerne the difference: but whether the one oꝛ the other, oꝛ (by reaſon of ſome latter diſpenſation) neither of theſe, haue place at this day, I muſt referre it to them that be priuie, and of counſell with the Ports: and ſo leauing this alſo vndecided, holde on the way, wherein I am entred.

This duetie of attendance therefoꝛe (being deuiſed foꝛ the honourable tranſpoꝛtation, and ſafe conduct of the Kings owne perſon oꝛ his armie ouer the narrow Seas) the Ports haue not onely moſt diligently euer ſince that time perfoꝛmed, but furthermoꝛe alſo valiantly behaued themſelues againſt the enemie from time to time, in ſundꝛie exploits by water, as occaſion hath bene profeꝛred, oꝛ the neceſſitie of the Realme required.

And amongſt other feats not vnwoꝛthy perpetuall remembꝛance, after ſuch time as Lewes (the eldeſt ſonne of the French King) had entred the Realme to aide Stephan Langton the Archbiſhop, and the Nobilitie, in the life of King Iohn, and had ſent into France foꝛ new ſupply of ſouldiers after his death, Hubert of Borough (then captaine of Douer) following the opinion of Themiſtocles in the expoſition of the oꝛacle of the woodden walles, by the aide of the Poꝛt townes, armed foꝛtie tall ſhips, and meeting with eightie ſailes of French men vpon the high ſeas, gaue them a moſt couragious encounter, in which he tooke ſome, ſunke others, and diſcomfited the reſt. The good ſeruice of the fiue Ports. 1217.

King Henrie the third alſo, after that he came to riper age, had great benefit by the ſeruice of the Cinque Ports: And king Edward the firſt in his Charter, maketh their continuall faithfull ſeruice (and eſpecially their good endeuour, then lately ſhewed againſt the Welſhmen) the principall cauſe, and motiue of that his liberall grant. 1278.

Furthermoꝛe, about the midſt of the reigne of the ſame king, an hundꝛeth ſaile of the Nauie of the Ports fought at the Sea with a fleet of 200. French men, all which (notwithſtanding the great odds of the number) they tooke, and ſlew, and ſunke ſo many of the Mariners, that France was thereby (foꝛ a long ſeaſon after) in maner de Iitute, both of Seamen, and ſhipping. 1293.

Finally, and to conclude this part, in the dayes of king Henrie the fourth, the nauie of the Fiue Ports, vnder the conduct of one Henrie Paye, ſurpꝛiſed one hundꝛeth and twentie French ſhips, all laden with Salt, Iron, Oile, and no woolſe merchandize. 1406.

The priuiledges of theſe Poꝛts, being firſt granted by Edward the Confeſſour, and William the Conquerour, and then confirmed and increaſed by William Rufus, Henrie the ſecond, Richard The priuiledges of the fiue Ports.

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the firſt, Henrie the third, and king Edward the firſt, be very great, conſidering either the honour and eaſe, or the freedome and exemption, that the inhabitants haue by reaſon of the ſame.

Part of an Epiſtle written by one *Yuo* of *Narbon*: vnto the Archbiſhop of *Burdeaux*, conteining the confeſſion of an Engliſhman as touching the barbarous demeanour of the *Tartars*, which had liued long among them, and was drawen along perforce with them in their expedition againſt *Hungarie*: Recorded by *Mathew Paris* in the yere of our Lord 1243.

THe Lord therefore being prouoked to indignation, by reaſon of this and other ſinnes committed among vs Chriſtians, is become, as it were, a deſtroying enemie, and a dreadfull auenger. This I may iuſtly affirme to be true, becauſe an huge nation, and a barbarous and inhumane people, whoſe law is lawleſſe, whoſe wrath is furious, euen the rod of Gods anger, ouerrunneth, and vtterly waſteth infinite countreyes, cruelly aboliſhing all things where they come, with fire and ſword. And this preſent Summer, the foreſayd nation, being called Tartars, departing out
Neuſtat. of Hungarie, which they had ſurpriſed by treaſon, layd ſiege vnto the very ſame ‖ towne, wherein I my ſelfe abode, with many thouſands of ſouldiers: neither were there in the ſayd towne on our part aboue 50. men of warre, whom, together with 20. croſbowes, the captaine had left in garriſon. All theſe, out of certeine high places, beholding the enemies vaſte armie, and abhorring the beaſtly crueltie of Antichriſt his complices, ſignified forthwith vnto their gouernour, the hideous lamentations of his Chriſtian ſubiects, who ſuddenly being ſurpriſed in all the prouince adioyning, without any difference or reſpect of condition, fortune, ſexe, or age, were by manifolde cruelties, all of them deſtroyed: with whoſe carkeiſes, the Tartarian chieftains, and their brutiſh and ſauage followers, glutting themſelues, as with delicious cates, left nothing for vultures but the bare bones. And a ſtrange thing it is to conſider, that the greedie and rauenous vultures diſdained to prey vpon any of the reliques, which remained. Olde, and deformed women they gaue, as it were, for daily ſuſtenance, vnto their Canibals: the beautifull deuoured they not, but ſmothered them lamenting and ſcritching, with forced and vnnaturall rauiſhments. Like barbarous miſcreants, they quelled virgins vnto death, and cutting off their tender paps to preſent for deinties vnto their magiſtrates, they engorged themſelues with their bodies.

Howbeit, their ſpials in the meane time diſcrying from the top of an high mountaine the Duke of Auſtria, the King of Bohemia, the Patriarch of Aquileia, the Duke of Carinthia, and (as ſome report) the Earle of Baden, with a mightie power, and in battell aray, approching towards them, that accurſed crew immediatly vaniſhed, and all thoſe Tartarian vagabonds retired themſelues into the diſtreſſed and vanquiſhed land of Hungarie; who as they came ſuddenly, ſo they departed alſo on the ſudden: which their celeritie cauſed all men to ſtand in horrour and aſtoniſhment of them. But of the ſayd fugitiues, the prince of Dalmatia tooke eight: one of which number the Duke of Auſtria knew to be an Engliſh man, who was perpetually baniſhed out of the Realme of England, in regard of certaine notorious crimes by him committed. This fellow, on the behalfe of the moſt tyrannicall king of the Tartars, had bene twiſe, as a meſſenger and interpreter, with the king of Hungarie, menacing and plainely foretelling thoſe miſchiefes which afterward happened, vnleſſe he would ſubmit himſelfe and his kingdome vnto the Tartars yoke. Well, being allured by our Princes to confeſſe the trueth, he made ſuch oathes and proteſtations, as (I thinke) the deuill himſelfe would haue beene truſted for. Firſt therefore he reported of himſelfe, that preſently after the time of his baniſhment, namely about the 30. yere of his age, hauing loſt all that he had in the citie of *Acon* at dice, euen in the midſt of Winter, being compelled by ignominious hunger, wearing nothing about him but a ſhirt of ſacke, a paire of ſhooes, and a haire cappe onely, being ſhauen like a foole, and vttering an vncouth noiſe as if he had bene dumbe, he tooke his iourney, and ſo trauelling many countreyes, and finding in diuers places friendly enterteinment, he prolonged his life in this maner for a ſeaſon, albeit euery day by raſhneſſe of ſpeech, and inconſtancie of heart, he endangered himſelfe to the deuill. At length, by reaſon of extreame trauaile, and continuall change of aire and of meats in *Caldea*, he fell into a grieuous ſickeneſſe, inſomuch that he was wearie of his life. Not being able therefore to go forward or backeward, and ſtaying there a while to refreſh himſelfe, he began (being ſomewhat learned) to commend to writing thoſe wordes which hee heard ſpoken, and within a ſhort ſpace, ſo aptly to pronounce, and to vtter them himſelfe, that he was reputed for a natiue member of that countrey: and by the ſame dexteritie he attained to manie languages. This man the *Tartars* hauing intelligence of by their ſpies, drew him perforce into their ſocietie: and being admoniſhed by an oracle or viſion, to challenge dominion ouer

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the whole earth, they allured him by many rewards to their faithfull ſeruice, by reaſon that they wanted Interpreters. But concerning their maners and ſuperſtitions, of the diſpoſition and ſtature of their bodies, of their countrey and maner of fighting &c, he proteſted the particulars to..owing to be true: namely, that they were aboue all men, couetous, haſty, deceitfull, and mercileſſe: notwithſtanding, by reaſon of the rigour and extremitie of puniſhments to be inflicted vpon them by their ſuperiours, they are reſtreined from brawlings, and from mutuall ſtrife and contention. The ancient founders and fathers of their tribes, they call by the name of gods, and at certaine ſet times they doe celebrate ſolemne feaſts vnto them, many of them being particular, & but foure onely generall. They thinke that all things are created for themſelues alone. They eſteeme it none offence to exerciſe cruelty againſt rebels. They be hardie and ſtrong in the breaſt, leane and pale-faced, rough and huf-ſhouldred, hauing flatte and ſhort noſes, long and ſharpe chinnes, the vpper iawes are low and declining, their teeth long and thinne, their eye-browes extending from their fore-heads downe to their noſes, their eies inconſtant and blacke, their countenances writhen and terrible, their extreame ioynts ſtrong with bones and ſinewes, hauing thicke and great thighes, and ſhort legs, and yet being equall vnto vs in ſtature: for that length which is wanting in their legs, is ſupplied in the vpper parts of their bodies. Their countrey in olde time was a land vtterly deſert and waſte, ſituated far beyond *Chaldea*, from whence they haue expelled Lions, Beares, & ſuch like vntamed beaſts, with their bowes, and other engines. Of the hides of beaſts being tanned, they vſe to ſhape for themſelues light, but yet impenetrable armour. They ride faſt bound vnto their horſes, which are not very great in ſtature, but exceedingly ſtrong, and mainteined with little prouender. They vſe to fight conſtantly and valiantly with iauelins, maces, battle-axes, and ſwords. But ſpecially they are excellent archers, and cunning warriers with their bowes. Their backs are ſlightly armed, that they may not flee. They withdraw not themſelues from the combate, till they ſee the chiefe Standerd of their Generall giue backe. Vanquiſhed, they aske no fauour, and vanquiſhing, they ſhew no compaſſion. They all perſiſt in their purpoſe of ſubduing the whole world vnder their owne ſubiection, as if they were but one man, and yet they are moe then millions in number. They haue 60000. Courriers, who being ſent before vpon light horſes to prepare a place for the armie to incampe in, will in the ſpace of one night gallop three dayes iourney. And ſuddenly diffuſing themſelues ouer an whole prouince, and ſurpriſing all the people thereof vnarmed, vnprouided, diſperſed, they make ſuch horrible ſlaughters, that the king or prince of the land inuaded, cannot finde people ſufficient to wage battell againſt them, and to withſtand them. They delude all people and princes of regions in time of peace, pretending that for a cauſe, which indeed is no cauſe. Sometimes they ſay, that they will make a voyage to *Colen*, to fetch home the three wiſe kings into their owne countrey; ſometimes to puniſh the auarice and pride of the Romans, who oppreſſed them in times paſt; ſometimes to conquere barbarous and Northren nations; ſometimes to moderate the furie of the Germans with their owne meeke mildneſſe; ſometimes to learne warlike feats and ſtratagems of the French; ſometimes for the finding out of fertile ground to ſuffice their huge multitudes; ſometimes againe in deriſion they ſay, that they intend to goe on pilgrimage to S. *Iames* of *Galicia*. In regard of which fleights and colluſions certaine vndiſcreet gouernors concluding a league with them, haue granted them free paſſage thorow their territories, which leagues notwithſtanding being violated, were an occaſion of ruine and deſtruction vnto the foreſayd gouernours &c.

Libellus hiſtoricus *Ioannis* de *Plano Carpini*, qui miſſus eſt Legatus ad *Tartaros* anno Domini 1246. ab *Innocentio* quarto Pontifice maximo.

Incipit Prologus in librum Tartarorum.

OMnibus Chriſti fidelibus ad quos præſens ſcriptum peruenerit, frater Ioannes de Plano Carpini ordinis fratrum minorum, Apoſtolicæ ſedis Legatus, nuncius ad Tartaros & nationes alias Orientis, Dei gratiam in præſenti, & gloriam in futuro, & de inimicis ſuis gloriam triumphalem. Cum ex mandato ſedis Apoſtolicę iremus ad Tartaros & nationes alias Orientis, & ſciremus Domini Papæ & venerabilium Cardinalium voluntatem, elegimus priùs ad Tartaros proficiſci. Timebamus enim ne per eos in proximo eccleſiæ Dei periculum immineret. Et quamuis a Tartaris & alijs nationibus timeremus occidi, vel perpetuo captiuari, vel fame, ſiti, algore,

algore, æſtu, contumelia, & laboribus nimijs, & quaſi vltra vires afflicti (quæ omnia multo pluſquam prius credidimus, excepta morte vel captiuitate perpetua nobis multipliciter eueneruntnon tamen pepercimus nobis ipſis, vt voluntatem Dei ſecundum Domini papæ mandatum adimplere poſſemus, & vt proficeremus in aliquo Chriſtianis, vt ſaltem ſcita veraciter voluntate & intentione ipſorum, poſſemus illam patefacere Chriſtianis, ne forte ſubito inuentes inuenirent eos imparatos, ſicut peccatis hominum exigentibus alia vice contigit: & fecerunt magnam ſtragem in populo Chriſtiano. Vnde quæcunque pro veſtra vtilitate vobis ſcribimus ad cautelam, tanto ſecurius credere debetis, quanto nos cuncta vel ipſi vidimus oculis noſtris, qui per annum & quatuor menſes & amplius ambulauimus per ipſos & cum ipſis, ac fuimus inter eos, vel audiuimus a Chriſtianis qui ſunt inter eos captiui, & vt credimus fide digniſ. Mandatum etiam a ſupremo pontifice habebamus, vt cuncta perſcrutaremur & videremus omnia diligenter. Quod tam nos quàm frater Benedictus eiuſdem ordinis qui noſtræ tribulationis fuit ſocius & interpres fecimus ſtudioſe.

Annus & 4. menſes & amplius.

Frater Benedictus Polonus comes Ioannis de Plano Carpini.

De terra *Tartarorum*, ſitu, qualitate & diſpoſitione *aeris in eadem.* Cap. 1.

VOlentes igitur facta ſcribere Tartarorum, vt lectores facilius valeant inuenire, hoc modo per capitula deſcribemus. Primo quidem dicemus de terra, Secundo de hominibus. Tertio de ritu. Quarto de moribus. Quinto de ipſorum imperio. Sexto de bellis. Septimo de terris quas eorum dominio ſubiugauerunt. Octauo quomodo Bello occurratur eiſdem. De terra poſſumus hoc modo tractare. In principio quidem dicemus de ſitu ipſius: ſecundo de qualitate: tertio de diſpoſitione aeris in eadem. Terra vero prædicta eſt in ea poſita parte Orientis in qua oriens ſicut credimus coniungitur Aquiloni. Ab Oriente autem eſt terra poſita Kyraiorum & etiam ‖ Solangorũ: a meridie ſunt terræ Saracenorum: inter Occidentem & Meridiem Huyrorum. Ab Occidente prouincia Naymanorum; ab Aquilone mari oceano circundatur. Hæc vero in parte aliqua eſt nimium montuoſa, & in aliqua eſt campeſtris, ſed fere tota admixta glarea, raro argilloſa, plurimum eſt arenoſa. In aliqua parte terræ ſunt aliquæ modicæ ſyluæ: alia vero eſt ſine lignis omnino. Cibaria autem ſua decoquunt & ſedent tam imperator quàm principes & alij ad ignem factum de boum ſtercoribus & equorum. Terra autem prædicta non eſt in parte centeſima fructuoſa: nec etiam poteſt fructum portare niſi aquis fluuialibus irrigetur. Sed aqua & riui ibidem ſunt pauci: flumina vero rariſſima vnde ibidem villæ ſunt paucæ; nec aliquæ ciuitates excepta vna, quæ eſſe dicitur ſatis bona; nos autem non vidimus illam, ſed fuimus prope ad dimidium diem, cum apud Syram ordam eſſemus, quæ curia eſt maior imperatoris eorum. Et licet alias infructuoſa ſit, quamuis non multum, tamen competenter eſt alendis pecoribus apta. Aer in ipſa eſt mirabiliter inordinatus. In media etiam ęſtate quando in alijs partibus ſolet calor maximus abundare; ibi ſunt tonitrua magna & fulgura, ex quibus homines quàm plurimi occiduntur. Cadunt etiam ibi eodem tempore maximæ niues. Ibi ſunt etiam frigidiſſimorum ventorum tam maximæ tempeſtates, quod cum labore vix poſſunt homines aliquando equitare. Vnde cum eſſemus apud ordam (ſic enim ſtationes imperatoris apud eos & principum appellantur) iacebamus in terra præ magnitudine venti proſtrati, & propter pulueris multitudinem videre minime poteramus. In ea etiam in hyeme nuſquam pluit, ſed in eſtate: & tam modicum, quod vix poteſt aliquando pulueren & radices graminum madidare. Grando etiam ibi ſæpe maxima cadit. Vnde eo tempore quando fuit electus, & in ſede regni poni debuit imperator, nobis in curia exiſtentibus, tanta cecidit grando, quod ex ſubita reſolutione, ſicut plenius intelleximus, pluſquam centum & quadraginta homines in eadem curia fuerunt ſubmerſi. Res autem & habitacula plura deducta fuerunt. Ibi eſt etiam in eſtate ſubito magnus calor, & repente maximum frigus. In hyeme vero in aliqua parte cadunt maximæ niues, in alia autem paruæ. Et vt breuiter de terra concludam, magna eſt, ſed aliter, ſicut vidimus oculis noſtris, (quia per ipſam circuendam quinque menſibus & dimidium ambulauimus) multo vlior eſt, quàm dicere valeamus.

‖ Al. Schangorum.

Oceanus ab Aquilone.

Syra orda, curia maior imperatoris.

Maximæ niues in æſtate in Tartaria.

Grando maxima.

Maxima inundatio ex ſubita grandinis reſolutione.

Iter quinq; menſium & dimidij.

De formis *Tartarorum*, de coniugio, veſtibus *& habitaculis eorum.* Cap. 2.

DIcto de terra, de hominibus eſt dicendum. Primò quidem formas deſcribemus perſonarum. Secundò de ipſorum coniugio ſupponemus. Tertio de veſtibus. Quarto de habitaculis. Quinto de rebus eorum. Forma perſonarum ab hominibus alijs eſt remota. Inter oculos

los enim & genas pluſquam alij homines ſunt lati. Genæ etiam ſatis prominent a maxillis. Graciles ſunt generaliter in cingulo exceptis quibuſdam paucis. Pene omnes ſunt mediocris ſtaturæ. Barba fere omnibus minime creſcit. Aliqui tamen in inferiori labio & in barba modicos habent crines, quos minime tondent. Super verticem capitis in modum clericorum habent coronas, & ab aure vna vſque ad aliam, ad latitudinem trium digitorum ſimiliter omes radunt. Quæ raſuræ coronæ prędictæ iunguntur. Super frontem etiam ad latitudinem duorum digitorum ſimiliter omnes radunt. Illos autem capillos qui ſunt inter coronam & prætaxatam raſuram creſcere vſque ad ſupercilia ſinunt. Et ex vtraque parte frontis tondendo pluſquam in medio crines faciunt longos: reliquos vero crines permittunt creſcere vt mulieres. De quibus faciunt duas cordas, & ligant vnamquamque poſt aurem. Pedes etiam modicos habent. Vxores vero habet vnuſquiſque quot poteſt tenere. Aliquis centum, aliquis quinquaginta, aliquis decem, aliquis plures vel pauciores: & omnibus parentibus generaliter iunguntur, exceptа matre, filia, vel ſorore ex eadem matre, ſororibus etiam ex patre: tamen & vxores patris poſt mortem ducere poſſunt. Vxorem etiam fratris alter frater iunior poſt mortem vel alius de parentela iunior ducere tenetur. Reliquas mulieres omnes ſine vlla differentia ducunt in vxores, & emunt eas valde pretioſè a parentibus ſuis. Poſt mortem maritorum de facili ad ſecunda coniugia non migrant, niſi quis velit ſuam nouercam ducere in vxorem. Veſtes autem eorum virorum quàm mulierum ſunt vno modo formatæ. Pallijs, cappis vel capputijs vel pellibus non vtuntur. Tunicas vero portant de Bukeramo, purpura, vel Baldaquino in hunc modum formatas. A ſupremo vſque deorſum ſunt ſciſſæ, quia ante pectus duplicantur. A latere vero ſiniſtro vna, & in dextris tribus ligaturis nectuntur, & in latere & in ſiniſtro vſque ad brachiale ſunt ſciſſæ. Pellicia cuiuſcunque ſunt generis in eundem modum formantur: ſuperius tamen pellicium exterius habet pilum, ſed a poſterioribus eſt apertum. Habet autem caudulam vnam vſque ad genua retro. Mulieres vero quæ ſunt maritatæ habent tunicam valde amplam & vſq; ad terram ante ſciſſam. Super caput vero habent vnum quid rotundum de viminibus vel de cortice factum, quod in longũ protenditur ad vnam vlnam, & in ſummitate definit in quadrum: & ab imo vſque ad ſummum in amplitudine ſemper creſcit, & in ſummitate habet virgulam vnam longam & gracilem de auro vel de argento ſeu de ligno, vel etiam pennam: & eſt aſſutum ſuper vnum pileolum, quod protenditur vſque ad humeros. Inſtrumentum prędictum eſt tectum de buccaramo, ſiue purpura vel baldaquino: ſine quo inſtrumento coram hominibus nunquam vadunt, & per hoc ab alijs mulieribus cognoſcuntur. Virgines autem & iuuenes mulieres cum magna difficultate a viris ſuis poſſunt diſcerni: quum per omnia veſtiuntur ut viri. Pileola habent alia quàm aliæ nationes, quorum formam intelligibiliter deſcribere non valemus. Stationes rotundas habent in modum tentorij præparatas, de virgis & baculis ſubtiliter factas. Supra vero in medio rotundam habent feneſtrã vnde lumen ingreditur, & vt poſſit fumus exire: quia ſemper in medio ignem faciunt. Parietes autem & tecta filtro ſunt cooperta. Oſtia etiam de filtro ſunt facta. Quædam ſtationes ſunt magnæ, quædam paruæ, ſecundum dignitatem & hominum paruitatem. Quædam ſoluuntur ſubito & reparantur, & ſuper ſomarios deferuntur. Quædam diſſolui non poſſunt, ſed in curribus deferuntur. Minoribus autem in curru ad deferendum vnus bos; maioribus tres vel quatuor, vel etiam plures, vel quod eſt magis, ſufficiunt ad portandum. Quocunque vadunt ſiue ad bellum, ſiue aliàs, ſemper illas deferunt ſecum. In animalibus ſunt diuites valde: in camelis, bobus, ouibus, capris, & equis. Iumentorum tantam habent multitudinem, quantam non credimus habere totum mundum. Porcos & alias beſtias minime habent.

Veſtes.

Tabernacula.

Opes in pecore.

De cultu & de hijs quæ credunt eſſe peccata, & de diuinationibus & ritu funeris eorum, & de purgationibus ſuorum peccatorum. *Cap. 3.*

Dicto de hominibus, dicendum eſt de ritu: de quo tractabimus in hunc modum. Primo de cultu: ſecundo de hijs quæ credunt eſſe peccata: tertio de diuinationibus, & purgationibus peccatorum: quarto de ritu funeris. Vnum Deum credunt, quem credunt eſſe factorem omnium viſibilium & inuiſibilium. Et credunt eum tam bonorum in hoc mundo quàm pœnarum eſſe factorem: non tamen orationibus vel laudibus, aut ritu aliquo ipſum colunt. Nihilominus habent idola quædam de filtro ad imaginem hominis facta; & illa ponunt ex vtraque parte oſtij ſtationis, & ſubtus illa ponunt quiddam de filtro in modum vberis factum, & illa credunt eſſe pecorum cuſtodes, & eis beneficium lactis & pullorum præſtare. Alia vero faciunt de pannis ſericis, & illa multum honorant. Quidam ponunt illa in pulchro curru tecto ante oſtium ſtationis: & quicunq; aliquid de illo curru furatur, ſine vlla miſeratione occiditur.

Duces,

Duces, millenarij, & centenarij vnum ſemper habent in medio ſtationis. Prædictis idolis offerunt primum lac omnis pecoris & iumenti. Et cum primo comedere & bibere incipiunt, primo offerunt eis de cibarijs & potu. Et cum beſtiam aliquam occidunt, offerunt cor Idolo quod eſt in curru in aliquo cypho, & dimittunt vſque mane, & tunc auferunt de præſentia eius, & decoquunt & manducant. Primo etiam imperatori faciunt idolum, quod ponunt in curru, ante quam ſtationem honorifice, ſicut vidimus ante ordam imperatoris illius, offerunt munera multa. Equos etiam offerunt ei, quos nullus audet aſcendere vſque ad mortem. Alia etiam animalia eidem offerunt. Quæ vero occidunt ad manducandum, nullum os ex eis confringunt, ſed igni comburunt. Et etiam ad meridiem tanquam Deo inclinant, & inclinare faciunt alios nobiles, qui ſe reddunt eiſdem. Vnde nuper contigit quod Michael, qui fuit vnus de magnis ducibus Ruſſiæ, cum iuiſſet ad ſe reddendum Bati, fecerunt eum prius inter duos ignes tranſire: Poſt hoc dixerunt, quod ad meridiem Cyngis can inclinaret. Qui reſpondit, quod Bati & ſeruis ſuis inclinaret libenter, ſed imagini hominis mortui non inclinaret, quia non licet hoc facere Chriſtianis. Et cum ſæpe diceretur, quod inclinaret, & nollet, mandauit ei prædictus per filium Ieroſlai, quod occideretur ſi non inclinaret. Qui reſpondit, quod potius vellet mori, quàm hoc faceret, quia non liceret. At ille ſatellitem vnum miſit, qui tam diu contra cor eum in ventre calce percuſſit, quouſque deficeret. Tunc quidam de ſuis militibus qui aſtabat confortans eum dixit: Eſto robuſtus quia hæc pœna non diu tibi durabit, & ſtatim ſequetur gaudium ſempiternum: poſt hoc fuit caput eius cultello præciſum. Militi vero prædicto fuit caput etiam cultello amputatum. Solem igitur lumina & ignem venerantur & adorant, & aquam & terram, eis ciborum & potus primitias offerentes, & mane potiſſime antequam comedant & bibant: quia de cultu Dei nullam legem obſeruant. Neminem cogunt ſuam fidem vel legem negare. Accidit tamen dum adhuc nuper eſſemus in terra quod Andreas dux de ‖ Saruogle quæ eſt in Ruſſia fuit apud Bati accuſatus, quod educeret equos Tartarorum de terra & venderet aliàs. & cum tamen non eſſet probatum fuit occiſus: quod audiens iunior frater eius, venit cum vxore occiſi ad ducem prædictum Bati, volens ſupplicare, ne terra tolleretur eiſdem. Qui dixit par eſſe, quod vxorem fratris carnalis prædicti duceret in vxorẽ: & mulieri præcepit ducere illum in virum ſecundum conſuetudinem Tartarorum. Qui reſpondit, quod prius vellet occidi, quàm faceret contra legem. At ille nihilominus tradidit eam illi, quamuis renuerat quantum poſſet: & duxerunt ambo in lecto, & poſuerunt puerum ſuper illam plorantem & clamantem, & cogerunt eos commiſceri coactione non conditionali, ſed abſoluta. Quamuis de iuſtitia facienda, vel peccato cauendo nullam habeant legem, nihilominus tamen habent aliquas traditiones, quas dicunt eſſe peccata: quas confinxerunt ipſi & patres eorum. Vnum eſt, cultellum figere in igne, vel etiam quocunque modo tangere cum cultello: vel cum cultello extrahere carnes de caldario: iuxta ignem etiam incidere cum ſecuri. Credunt etiam quod ſic auferrica caput debeat igni. Item appodiare ſe ad flagellum, cum quo percutitur equus: Ipſi enim calcaribus non vtuntur. Item tangere flagellis ſagittas. Item iuuenes aues occidere, vel accipere: cum fœno equum percutere. Item os cum oſſe alio frangere. Item lac vel aliquem potum vel cibum ſuper terram effundere. In ſtatione mingere, ſed ſi voluntarie facit occiditur: ſi autem aliter, oportet quod pecunia ſoluatur incantatori, qui purificet eos: faciat etiam ſtationem & ea quæ in ipſa ſunt inter duos ignes tranſire. Sed antequam ſic purificetur nullus audet intrare vel aliquid de ipſa portare. Item ſi alicui morſus imponitur, & deglutire non poteſt, & de ore ſuo eijcit eum, fit foramen ſub ſtatione, & extrahunt per illud foramen, & ſine vlla miſericordia occiditur. Item ſi aliquis calcat limen ſtationis alicuius ducis interficitur eodem modo. Et multa habent ſimilia, de quibus longum eſt narrare. Sed homines occidere, aliorum terras inuadere, res aliorum accipere, quocunque iniuſto modo fornicari, alijs hominibus iniuriari, facere contra Dei prohibitiones & Dei præcepta, nullum eſt peccatum apud eos. De vita æterna & damnatione perpetua, nihil ſciunt. Credunt tamen quod poſt mortem in alio ſeculo viuant, greges multiplicent, comedant, bibant, & alia faciant, quæ in hoc ſeculo a viuentibus hominibus fiunt. Diuinationibus, augurijs, aruſpicijs, veneficijs, incantationibus multum intendunt. Et cum a dæmonibus ipſis reſpondetur, credunt quod Deus ipſis loquatur, quem Deum vocant Itoga: ſed Comani Cham, id eſt, imperatorem ipſum appellant, quem mirabiliter timent & reuerentur: ac oblationes offerunt multas, & primitias cibi & potus. Secundum autem reſponſa ipſius faciunt vniuerſa. In principio etiam lunationis vel plenilunio incipiunt quicquid nouiagere volunt. Vnde illam magnum imperatorem appellant, eique genua flectunt & deprecantur. Solem dicunt eſſe matrem lunæ, eo quod lumen a ſole recipiat. Et vt breuiter dicam per ignem credunt omnia purificari. Vnde cum nuncij veniunt ad eos, vel principes, vel qualeſcunq; perſonæ, oportet ipſos & munera quę portant per duos ignes tranſire, vt purificentur. Item ſi cadit ignis de cœlo ſuper pecora, vel ſuper homines, quod ibidem

ſæpe

Martyrium Michaelis ducis Ruſſiæ.

‖ Vel, Seruogle. Andreas dux Ruſſiæ.

De ſuperſtitioſis traditionibus eorum.

Βιολοθροκία.

Cultus lunæ.

læpe contingit, siue aliquid talium euenerit eis, per quod immundi seu infortunatos se reputant, oportet similiter per incantatores mundari. Et quando hominem spectabilem in habitis ponunt. Rites funebr.
erunt. Quando aliquis eorum infirmatur, ponitur in statione eius vna hasta, & contra il-
lam filtrum circumuoluitur nigrum: & extunc nullus audet alterius postes stationum intrare.
Et quando incipit agonizare, omnes recedunt ab eo; quoniam nullus de his qui morti eius assi-
stunt, potest ordam alicuius ducis vel imperatoris vsq; ad nouum lunationem intrare. Cum au-
tem mortuus est, si est de maioribus, sepelitur occulte in campo vbi placuerit; sepelitur autem
cum statione sedendo in medio eius, & ponunt mensam ante eum, & buccam carnibus ple-
num, & cyphum lactis iumentini: Sepelitur autem cum eo vnum iumentum cum pullo; & e-
quus cum fræno & sella: & alium equum comedunt & stramine cosinum implent, & super duo
vel quatuor ligna altius ponunt, vt habeat in alio mundo stationem vbi moretur, & iumen-
tum de quo lac habeat, & possit sibi equos multiplicare, & equos etiam in quibus valeat equi-
tare. Aurum & argentum sepeliunt eodem modo cum ipso. Currus in quo ducitur frangitur,
& statio sua destruitur, nec nomen proprium eius vsquequaque tertiam generationem audet ali-
quis nominare. Alius etiam est modus sepeliendi quosdam maiores. Vadunt in campo ocul-
te, & ibi gramina remouent cum radicibus, & faciunt foueam magnam, & in latere illius fo-
ueæ faciunt vnam sub terra, & illum seruum quem habet dilectum ponunt sub eo, qui iacet
tam diu sub eo donec incipit agonizare, deinde extrahunt eum vt valeat respirare, & iu-
rant ei. Et si euadet, postea est liber, & facit quicquid ei placuerit, & est magnus in statio-
one, ac inter parentes illius. Mortuum autem ponunt in foueam, quæ est intus facta Idem mos sepeli-
cum his quæ superius dicta sunt. Deinde replent foueam quæ est ante foueam suam, & de- endi fere in Flo-
super gramina ponunt, vt fuerant prius, ad hoc, ne locus vlterius valeat inueniri. Alia faciunt rida.
vt dictum est, In terra eorum sunt cœmeteria duo. Vnum in quo sepeliuntur imperatores, duces
& nobiles omnes: & vbicunque moriuntur, si congruè fieri potest, illuc deferuntur. Sepeli-
untur autem cum eis aurum & argentum multum. Aliud est in quo sepeliuntur illi qui in Hunga-
ria interfecti fuerunt: multi enim ibidem occisi fuerunt. Ad illa cœmeteria nullus audet accede-
re præter custodes, qui ad custodiendum positi sunt ibidem. Et si aliquis accesserit, capitur,
spoliatur & verberatur, & valde malè tractatur. Vnde nos ipsi nescientes ignoranter iuimus terminos
cœmeterij eorum qui in Hungaria occisi fuerunt, & venerunt super nos fagittæ volantes: sed
quia eramus nuncij consuetudinem terræ nescientes, nos liberos dimiserunt abire. Parentes Lustratio ilis
autem & omnes alij qui morantur in stationibus suis oportet purificari per ignem: quæ purifi- rius.
catio fit hoc modo. Faciunt duos ignes, & duas hastas ponunt iuxta ignes, & vnam cordam
in summitate hastarum: & ligant super cordam illam quasdam scissuras de panno, & sub
qua corda & ligaturis inter illos duos ignes transeunt homines, bestiæ & statio nes. Et si ne duæ
mulieres, vna hinc, & alia inde aquam proijcientes, & quædam carmina recitantes. Et si aliqui
currus ibi franguntur, vel etiam res ibi cadunt aliquæ, incantatores accipiunt. Et si bestia ne-
ciditur à tonitruo, omnes illos homines qui morantur in stationibus illis, oportet prædicto mo-
do ignes transire. Statio, lectus, filtra, currus, vestes, & quicquid talium habuerint, a nullo sanc-
guntur, sed tanquam immunda ab omnibus respuuntur.

De consuetudinibus bonis & ma[illegible] & eibis eorum. Cap. [illegible]

Dicto de ritu, dicendum est de moribus: de quibus tractabimus hoc modo. Primo dicemus
de bonis, secundo de malis: tertio de consuetudinibus: quarto de cibis. Prædicti homines,
scilicet Tartari sunt magis obedientes Dominis suis, quam aliqui homines in hoc mundo, siue Obedientia.
religiosi, siue seculares: & magis reuerentur eosdem quàm faciunt nostri Dominos. Vnus de facili mentiuntur eis, Verbis ad in-
uicem rarò aut nunquam contendunt, factis verò nunquam. Bella, rixæ, vulnera, homicidia in- Abstinentia.
ter eos non contingunt. Prædones & fures magnarum rerum non inueniuntur inter eos. Vnde
stationes & currus eorum, vbi habent hastam suam fortè aut vectibus non firmantur. Simi-
quæ bestiæ perduntur, quicunque inuenerit eas vel duxerit sic esse, vel ducit eas ad homines
illos, qui positi sunt ad hoc. Homines autem quorum sunt bestiæ apud eosdem illas requirunt, Comitas.
& absque vlla difficultate recipiunt illas. Vnus alium satis honorat: & sibi inuicem sunt satis fa-
miliares: Et cibaria quamuis inter illos sint pauca, tamen inter se satis competenter commu-
nicant illa; & satis sunt sufferentes. Vnde quum ieiunant vno die vel duobus diebus nihil com- Temperantia.
edentes omninò de facili non videntur impatientes, sed cantant & ludunt quasi ex made-
runt bene. In equitando multum sustinent frigus, & calorem nimium patiuntur. Non sunt ho-
mines delicati. Inuidi ad inuicem non videntur. Inter eos quasi nulla placita sunt: multos alium
spernit, sed iuuat & promouet quantum congruè potest. Mulieres eorum sunt castæ nec de im- Castitas mulie-
rum.

pudicitia

pudicitia earum inter eas aliquid auditur. Verba tamen quædam ex eis in loco satis habent turpia & impudica. Seditiones verò inter eas rarò vel nunquam audiuntur. Et quamuis multum inebrientur, in ebrietate sua tamen verbis vel facto nunquam contendunt. Nunc de malis moribus eorum est apponendum. Superbissimi alijs hominibus sunt, & despiciunt omnes: ideò quasi pro nihilo reputant, siue nobiles sint, siue ignobiles. Vidimus enim in curia Imperatoris nobilem virum Ieroslaum, magnum Ducem Russiæ, filium etiam Regis & Reginæ Georgiæ, & Soldanos multos; duces etiam Soldanorum nullum honorem debitum recipere inter eos. Sed Tartari qui erant eis assignati, quantumcunq; erant viles, antecedebant eos, & semper primum locum & summum tenebant: immò sæpè oportebat eos post eorum posteriora sedere. Iracundi multum & indigentes naturæ sunt: & etiam alijs hominibus plus sunt mendaces, & ferè nulla veritas inuenitur in eis. In principio quidem sunt blandi, sed in fine pungunt vt scorpio. Subdoli sunt & fraudulenti, & si possunt astutia circumueniunt omnes. Homines sunt immundi, sumendo cibum & potum, & alijs factis suis. Qui cum volunt aliquid mali facere alijs hominibus, miro modo occultant, vt præuideri non possint, vel contra eorum astutias remedium inuenire. Ebrietas honorabilis est apud eos: & quum multum quis bibit, ibidem reijcit, nec propter hoc dimittit quin iterum bibat. Valdè sunt cupidi & auari, exactores maximi ad petendum: tenacissimi retentores, & parcissimi donatores. Aliorum hominum occisio pro nihilo est apud illos. Et, vt breuiter dicam, omnes mali mores eorum propter prolixitatẽ in scripto rediginon possunt.

Insolentia ad malos exteros.

Iracundia, Mendacium.

Fraudulentia, Sordes.

Temulentia.

Extortio, Crudelitas.

Cibi eorum sunt omnia quæ mandi possunt. Comedunt canes, lupos, vulpes, & equos; & in necessitate carnes humanas. Vnde quando pugnauerunt contra quandam ciuitatem Kytaorum, vbi morabatur imperator ipsorum, eam obsederunt tam diu, quod fecerunt ipsis Tartaris omninò expensæ. Et quia non habebant quòd manducarent omninò, tunc accipiebatur de decem hominibus vnus ad manducandum. Ablutiones etiam quæ egrediuntur de iumentis cum pullis manducant. Imò vidimus etiam eos pediculos manducare: vidimus etiam eos comedere mures. Mensalibus & manutergijs non vtuntur: panẽ non habent, nec olera, nec legumina, nec aliquid aliud nisi carnes: & eam paucas habent, quòd aliæ nationes vix inde viuere possent. Cum pinguedine carnium multum polluunt manus: quando verò comederunt, tunc manus ad ocreas suas, vel ad gramina, vel ad aliquid talium tergunt. Solent etiã honestiores habere aliquos panniculos paruos, cum quibus vltimo tergunt manus, quando carnes manducarunt. Cibum vnus eorum incidit, & alius accipit cum puncto cultelli morsellos, & vnicuiq; præbet, quibusdã plus, quibusdam minus, secundum quod plus vel minus volunt eos honorare. Scutellas non lauant, & si aliquando cum brodio lauant carnium, iterum cum carnibus in olla reponunt. Ollas etiã vel caldaria, vel alia vasa ad hoc deputata si abluunt, simili modo lauant. Apud eos est magnum peccatum, si de cibo vel potu perire permittatur aliquid. Vnde ossa, nisi priùs extrahatur medulla, dari canibus non permittunt. Vestes etiam non lauant, nec lauari permittunt, & maximè quo tonitrua ab illa hora incipiunt donec desinant.

Cibi,

Lac iumentinum bibunt in maxima quantitate si habeant: bibunt etiam ouinum, caprinum, vaccinum, & camelorum. Vinum, ceruisiam, & medonem non habent, nisi ab alijs nationibus mittatur, vel donetur eisdem. In hyeme, nisi diuites sint, lac iumentinum non habent. Milliũ cum aqua decoquunt, quod tã senue faciunt, quòd non comedere sed bibere possunt. Et vnus quisq; ex eis bibit cyphum vnum vel duos in mane, & nil plus in die mãducant, intero vnicuiq; parum de carnibus datur, & brodium de carnibus bibunt.

Pœna adulterij.

In æstate autem, quia tunc habent satis de lacte iumentino carnes rarò mãducant, nisi fortè donentur eis, aut venatione aliquam bestiam ceperint, siue auem. Legem etiam siue consuetudinẽ habent occidendi virum & mulierem quos in adulterio inuenerint manifestè. Similiter & virginem si fornicata fuerit, mulierẽ occidunt & virum. Si aliquis inuenitur in præda vel in furto manifesto in terra potestatis eorũ sine vlla misericordia occiditur. Item si aliquis eorum deuiandat cõsilium, maximè quando volunt ire ad bellum, centum plagæ dantur super posteriora, quanto maiorem idem cum baculo magno vnus rusticus potest. Item quando aliqui de minoribus offendunt in aliquo à suis maioribus non parcitur eis, sed verberibus grauiter affligunt. Item inter filium concubinæ & vxoris nulla est differentia, sed dat pater vnicuiq; eorum quod vult, est enim de genere ducum, ita est dux filius concubinæ, sicut filius legitimus. Et cum vnus Tartarus habet multas vxores, vtq; per se suam stationem, & familiam habet: & cum vna comedit, & bibit, & dormit vna die, & altera die cum alia. Vna tamen ex ipsis maior est inter alias, & frequentius cum illa quam cum alijs commorantur. Et cum tam multæ sint inter se tamen de facili non contendunt.

Pueri, Arcus sagittæ.

Vici nihil operantur omninò exceptis sagittis: & etiam de gregibus aliquantulam habent curam, sed venantur, & exercent se ad sagittandum: Omnes enim à paruo vsque ad magnum sagittarij sunt & boni. Et statim pueri eorum, cum sunt duorum annorum vel trium, incipiunt equitare. Equos eorum regunt & currunt in eis: & dantur eis arcus secundùm suam ætatem, & instruunt ad sagittandum. Agiles enim sunt & audaces valdè. Virgines

gines & mulieres equitant, & agiliter in equis currunt vt viri. Vidimus enim eas arcus & pharetras portare, Et tam viri quàm mulieres diu in equitando poſſunt durare, Breuiſſimas habent ſtrepas: equos valdè cuſtodiunt: imo rerum omnium ſunt magni conſeruatores. Mulieres eorum omnia operantur. Pellicia, veſtes, calceos, ocreas, & omnia opera quæ de corio ſiunt. Currus etiam ducunt & reparant, camelos onerant, & velociſſimæ ſunt & ſtrenuæ in omnibus operibus ſuis: fœmoralibus omnes vruntur: aliquæ, ſicut viri, ſagittant. Fœminæ Metę incognitæ eodem modo veſtiuntur

De ipſorum Imperio. *Cap. 5.*

Dicto de eorum conſuetudinibus, dicendum eſt de eorum imperio. Et primò de ipſius principio. Secundò de principibus eius. Tertio de dominio Imperatoris & principum. Terra quædam eſt in partibus Orientis, de qua dictum eſt ſuprà, quæ Mongol nominatur. Hæc terra quondam quatuor populos habuit. Et vnus Yeka-Mongol, id eſt, magni Mongali vocabatur. Secundus Sumongol, id eſt Aquatici Mongali. Ipſi autem ſe ipſos Tartaros appellabant, à quodam fluuio, qui currit per terram eorum, qui Tartar nominatur. Alius appellatur Merkat, quartus Metrit. Hij populi omnes vnam formam perſonarum, & vnam linguam habebant: quamuis inter ſe per principes & prouincias eſſent diuiſi. In terra Yeka-Mongol fuit qui vocabatur Cyngis. Iſte incepit eſſe robuſtus venator coram Domino. Didicit enim homines furari, rapere, prædari. Ibat autem ad alias terras, & quoſcunque potuit capere, & ſibi aſſociare non demittebat: homines verò ſuæ gentis ad ſe inclinabat, qui tanquam ducem ipſum ſequebantur ad omnia malefacta. Hic autem incepit pugnare cum Sumongal, ſiue Tartaris, poſtquam homines aggregauerat ſibi, & interfecit ducem eorum, & multo bello omnes Tartaros ſibi ſubiugauit & in ſuam ſeruitutem redegit. Poſt hæc cum omnibus his pugnauit, cum Merkat, qui erant poſiti iuxta terram Tartarorum, quos etiam bello ſibi ſubiecit: Inde procedens pugnauit contra Metritas, & etiam illos deuicit. Audientesque Naymani, quod Cyngis erat taliter eleuatus, indignati fuerunt. Ipſi enim habuerunt imperatorem, qui fuerat ſtrenuus valdè, cui dabant tributum omnes nationes prædictæ. Qui debitum vnuerſæ carnis exſoluens, filij eius ſucceſſerunt loco eius; ſed iuuenes erant & ſtulti, & populum neſciebant tenere: ſed inuicem diuiſi erant & ſciſſi: vnde medio tempore Cyngis erat taliter exaltatus, nihilominus inſultum faciebant in terras ſuperius annotatas, viros & mulieres, & pueros occidebant, & capiebant prædam eorum. Cyngis hoc audiens, omnes ſibi ſubiectos homines aggregauit, Naymani & Kara Kitai, id eſt, nigri Kitai, ex aduerſo in quandam vallem ſtrictam inter montes duos, per quam nos euntes ad imperatorem eorum tranſiuimus, ſimiliter conueniunt: & commiſſum eſt prælium, in quo Naymani & Kara Kitai a Mongallis ſunt deuicti, & maior pars eorum occiſa: & alij qui euadere non potuerunt in ſeruitutem redacti ſunt. In terra autem prædictorum Kara Kytaorum Occaday can filius Cyngis can, poſtquam poſitus fuit imperator, quandam ciuitatem ædificauit, quam Omyl appellauit, Propè quam ad meridiem eſt quoddam deſertum magnum, in quo ſylueſtres homines pro certo habitare dicuntur, qui nullo modo loquuntur, nec in cruribus habent iuncturas: & ſi quando cadunt, per ſe ſurgere ſine adiutorio aliorum minimè poſſunt, aliquantam tamen habent diſcretionem. Mongali autem in terram eorum reuertentes ſe contra Kytaos in prælium præparauerunt, qui caſtra mouentes terram eorum intrauerunt, Imperator autem Kytaorum hoc audiens venit contra eos cum exercitu ſuo; & commiſſum eſt prælium durum; in quo prælio Mongali fuerunt deuicti: & omnes nobiles Mongallorum qui erant in prædicto exercitu fuerunt occiſi vſque ad ſeptem. Cyngis verò & alij qui remanſerunt in terram ſuam fugerunt. Et quum aliquantulum quieuiſſet Cyngis, præparauit ſe rurſus ad prælium & contra terram Huyrorum proceſſit ad bellum. Iſti homines Chriſtiani de ſecta Neſtorianorum erant, quos etiam bello deuicit, & eorum literas acceperunt. Nam prius ſcripturam aliquam non habebant. Nunc autem eandem literam Mongallorum appellant. Inde proceſſit contra terram Saruiuorum, & contra terram Karauitarum, & contra terram Voyrat, & contra terram Comana, quas terras omnes deuicit. Inde eſt in terram ſuam reuerſus. Et cum aliquantulum quieuiſſet, conuocatis omnibus gentibus ſupradictis, contra Kytaos ad bellum proceſſit, & cum diu contra eos pugnaſſet magnam partem terræ Kytaorum vicerunt: Imperatorem autem eorum concluſerunt in ſua ciuitate maiori: quam cum tam diu obſiderunt, quod exercitui deſecerunt expenſæ, & eum non haberent quod manducarent, præcepit illis Cyngis can, quod de decem hominibus vnum darent ad manducandum. Illi autem de ciuitate pugnabant viriliter contra illos ſagittis & machinis: Et cum deficerent lapides, pro lapidibus proiecerunt argentum, & maximè liquefactum. Ciuitas enim hæc multis diuitijs erat plena. Et cum diu pugnaſſent, & eam bello vincere minimè poſſent, fecerunt vnam magnam viam ſub terra ab exercitu vſque ad mediam ciuitatem, & aperientes ſubitò ter-

Tartariæ populi. Tartar fluuius. Cyngis ortus & res geſtę. Naymani. Fratres diſcordantes oppreſſi. Kara Kitai. Occaday can. Vel Chanyl. Homines ſylueſtres. De mutua victoria Mongalorum & Kytaorum. Tartarorum Kytaina clades. Nouæ victoriæ literę. Vel Saruiur. Vel Karauitarum Vel Hudkat. Argentum loco lapidum in hoſtem proiectum.

Kytai victi.

ram, eis neſcientibus proſiluerunt in medio ciuitatis, & pugnabant cum hominibus ciuitatis, & illi qui erant extra ſimili modo pugnabant, & concidentes portas intrauerunt ciuitatem: & occidentes Imperatorem & homines plures, ciuitatem poſſidebant: & aurum & argentum, & omnes diuitias abſtulerunt. Et cum terræ prędictæ Kytaorum ſuos homines

Cyngis ſalutatur Imperator. Scythię pars in mari poſita. Kytaorum literæ, & religio.

præfeciſſent, in terram propriam ſunt reuerſi. Et tunc Imperatore Kytaorum deuicto factus eſt Imperator. Quandam autem partem terræ Kytaorum, quæ poſita eſt in mari, vſque in hodiernum diem nullatenus deuicerunt. Kytai autem, de quibus ſuperiùs diximus, homines ſunt Pagani, qui habent literam ſpecialem: & habent nouum & vetus Teſtamentum; & habent vitas patrum, & Eremitas & domos quaſi Eccleſias factas, in quibus orant temporibus ſuis: Et dicunt ſe quoſdam ſanctos habere. Vnum Deum colunt: Dominum noſtrum Ieſum Chriſtum honorant, & credunt vitam æternam, ſed minimè baptizantur. Scripturam noſtram honorant & reuerentur: Chriſtianos diligunt, & Eccleſias faciunt plures. Homines benigni & humani ſatis videntur: barbam non habent, & in diſpoſitione faciei ſatis concordant cum Mongalis, non tamen ſunt in facie ita lati. Linguam propriam habent: meliores artifices non inueniuntur in toto mundo in omnibus operibus, in quibus ſolent homines exercitari. Terra eorum eſt opulenta valdè in frumento, vino, auro, argento, & ſerico, & omnibus rebus in quibus ſolet ſuſtentari humana natura. Et cum aliquantulum quieuiſſent, ſuos exercitus diuiſerunt. Vnum de filijs Toſſuch nomine, quem etiam Can appellabant, id eſt Imperatorem, miſit cum exercitu contra Comanos, quos multo bello deuicit: & poſtquam vicerat eos in terram ſuam reuertebatur. Alium etiam filium miſit cum exercitu contra Indos; qui minorem Indiam deuicerunt. Hij autem nigri ſunt Saraceni, qui Æthiopes nuncupantur. Hic autem exercitus contra Chriſtianos, qui ſint in India maiori in pugnam proceſſit. Quod audiens rex terræ illius, qui vulgò Præsbyter Iohannes appellatur, venit contra eos exercitu congregato. Et faciens imagines cupreas hominum in ſella poſuit ſuper equos, ponens ignem interius, & poſuit hominem cum ſolle poſt imaginem cupream ſuper equum. & cum multis imaginibus, & equis taliter præparatis venerunt contra prædictos ad pugnandum. Et cum ad locum prælij perueniſſent, iſtos equos vnum iuxta vnum prœmiſerunt. Viri autem, qui erant retro, poſuerunt neſcio quid ſuper ignem qui erat in prædicta imagine, & cum ſollibus fortiter ſufflauerunt. Vnde factum eſt, quod de fumo illo aer eſt denigratus. Et tunc ſuper Tartaros iecerunt ſagittas, ex quibus multi interfecti & vulnerati ſuerunt. Et ſic cum confuſione eos de finibus ſuis eiecerunt: Et nunquam audiuimus, quod vltra ad eos redierunt. Cum autem per deſerta rediret, in quandam terram venerunt in qua quædam monſtra fœmineas imagines habentia reperierunt. Et cum interrogaſſent eas per multos interpretes vbi eſſent viri terræ illius, reſponderunt quod in illa terra quęcunque fœminæ naſcebantur, habebant formam humanam: Maſculi verò formam caninam. Et dum moram protraherent in terra prædicta, Canes in alia parte conuenerunt in vnum: Et dum eſſet hyems aſperrima, ſe omnes proiecerunt in aquam: & poſt hæc incontinenti in pulucrem mouebantur, & ita puluis admixtus aquæ ſuper eos congelauit: & dum ſæpè hoc feciſſent, glacies denſa facta eſt ſuper eos: Vnde cum magno impetu cum Tartaris conuenerunt ad pugnam. At illi quum ſagittas ſuper eos iactabant, ac ſi ſuper lapides ſagitaſſent, retro ſagittæ redibant: Alia etiam arma eorum in nullo eos lædere potuerunt. Canes verò inſultum facientes in eos morſibus vulnerauerunt, multos etiam occiderunt, & ita eiecerunt eos de finibus ſuis. Et dum reuerteretur exercitus ille, venit ad terram Burutabeth, quos bello vicerunt: qui ſunt Pagani. Qui conſuetudinem mirabilem imo potius miſerabilem habent. Quia cum aliquis patrum ſuorum humanæ naturæ debitum exſoluit, omnem congregant parentelam, & comedunt eum. Iſti pilos in barba non habent: immo quoddam ferrum in manibus portant, cum quo barbam ſemper depilant, ſi fortè aliquis crinis creſcit in ipſa: & multum etiam deformes ſunt. Inde exercitus ille reuertebatur in terram ſuam. Cyngis can etiam eo tempore quo diuiſit exercitus illos, miſit in expeditione contra Orientem per terram Kergis, quos bello non vicit: & vſque ad Caſpios montes peruenit, montes autem illi ſunt de lapide adamantino. Vnde eorum ſagittas & arma ferrea ad ſe traxerunt. Homines inter Caſpios montes concluſos viderunt, qui ſam montem fregerunt: ſed nubes quædam erat poſita ante ipſos, ad quam accedere non poterant vllo modo, quia ſtatim moriebantur, cum perueniebant ad illam. Sed antequam peruenirent ad prædictum montem pluſquam per menſem vaſtam ſolitudinem tranſierunt. Inde procedentes adhuc contra Orientem pluſquam per menſem per magnum deſertum iuerunt. Et peruenerunt ad quandam terram, vbi viderunt vias tritas, ſed nullum hominem poterant inuenire. Sed tantum quæſiuerunt per terram, quod inuenerunt hominem cum vxore ſua; quos ante Cyngis can adduxerunt. Et cum interrogaſſet, vbi eſſent homines terræ illius, reſponderunt quod in terra ſub montibus habitarent. At Cyngis can retenta vxore miſit virum illum

Opificiorum laus.

Thoſſuch eum Cyngis filius Comanos deuicit.

Indis minor debellata.

Præsbyter Iohannes: eiuſdem ſtratagema.

Victoria de Tartaris.

De monſtroſis mulieribus & canibus monſtroſa narratio.

Glacies.

Burutabeth regio.

Incolarum mores.

Terra Kergis Orientalis.

Nota ter duorum montium verſus Orientem.

Tragodytæ.

illum cum nuncijs ſuis mandans hominibus illis vt venirent ad mandatum ipſius. Illi verò eunte ad eos, narrauerunt omnia quæ Cyngis can mandauerat. Qui reſponderunt quod tali die venirent ad mandatum ſuum faciendum. Medio vero tempore congregauerunt ſe per vias occultas ſub terra, & venerunt contra iſtos ad pugnandum: & irruentes ſubitò ſuper eos plurimos occiderunt. At illi, Cyngis can videlicet & ſui fugam ineuntes, terram exierunt prædictam. Illos tamen homines, virum ſcilicet & mulierem ſecum duxerunt, qui vſque ad mortem in terra Tartarorum fuerunt. Interrogati verò quare ſub terra habitarent, dixerunt quod vno tempore anni quum ſol oritur, tantus ſonitus eſt, quod homines nulla ratione poſſunt ſuſtinere. Immo etiam tunc percutiebant in organis & tympanis, & alijs inſtrumentis, vt illum ſonitum non audirent. Et dum Cyngis de terra illa reuerteretur, defecerunt ei victualia, & habebant maximam famem. Et tunc recentia interiora vnius beſtiæ eos contigit inuenire: quæ accipientes, depoſitis tamen ſtercoribus decoxerunt; & coram Cyngis can poſitantes cum ſuis illa comedit. Et ex hoc ſtatutum fuit ab eo, vt nec ſanguis, nec interiora, nec aliquid de beſtia quod manducari poteſt, exceptis ſtercoribus, proijciatur. Et deinde in terram propriam eſt reuerſus: & ibidem leges & ſtatuta multiplicia fecit, quæ Tartari non violabiliter obſeruant. Ex quibus tantum duo dicemus. Vnum eſt, quod quicunque in ſuperbia erectus, propria authoritate ſine electione principum eſſe voluerit imperator, ſine vlla miſeratione debet occidi. Vnde ante electionem ipſius Cuynch propter hoc vnus de principibus, nepos ipſius Cyngis can fuit occiſus. Volebat enim ſine electione regnare. Aliud ſtatutum eſt, quod ſibi debent ſubiugare omnem terram: nec cum aliqua gente debent pacem habere, niſi prius eis ſubdatur, quo vſque veniat tempus occiſionis eorum. Debent enim occidi, vt prophetarum eſt eis: Et illi qui euadere poterunt, vt dicunt, debent illam legem tenere quam tenent alij, qui eos bello deuincunt. Statuit etiam quod per millenarios, & centenarios & Decanos debeat eorum exercitus ordinari. Poſt hoc ab iſtu tonitrui eſt occiſus, peractis ſuis ordinationibus & ſtatutis. Hic autem habuit quatuor filios: Vnus vocabatur Occoday, ſecundus Toſſuch can, tertius Thaaday: & nomen quarti ignoramus. Iſti quatuor filij cum alijs maioribus qui tunc erant, primum filium videlicet Occoday elegerunt imperatorem, filij autem iſtius Occoday Cuyne, qui nunc eſt imperator, Cocthen & Cyrenen. Et ſi plures habuerit filios ignoramus. Filij autem Toſſuch can Bati: iſte eſt ditior & potentior poſt imperatorem: Ordu, iſte eſt ſenior omnium ducum: Syban, Bora, Bercuthanth: aliorum filiorum Toſſuch can nomina ignoramus. Filij Thaaday ſunt Burin & Chadan, nomina aliorum filiorum neſcimus. Alterius autem filij Cyngis can, cuius nomen neſcimus, filiorum nomina ſunt hæc. Vnus vocatur Mengu, cuius mater eſt Seroctan. Iſta domina inter omnes Tartaros, excepta matre imperatoris, eſt magis nominata: & potentior eſt omnibus excepto Bati. Alius vocatur Becas. Alios filios habuit plures, ſed eorum nomina ignoramus. Hæc ſunt ducum nomina. Ordu: iſte fuit in Polonia & in Hungaria: Bati, Cathan, Syban, Bureth. Omnes iſti fuerunt in Hungaria, Cyrpodan, iſte eſt adhuc vltra mare contra Soldanum Damaſci. Iſti remanſerunt in terra: Mangu, Cuthen, Syrennen, Hybilay, Seremum, Synocur, Thuatamur, Cyragay, Sybedey, ſenex quidam miles inter eos, Bora, Berca, Mauci, Choranca: ſed iſte inter alios eſt minimus. Alij verò duces ſunt plures, ſed eorum nomina ignoramus.

Videtur hic ſonitus fieri, & fragore glaciei, & niuium de montibus.

Cyngis lex.

Interitus.

Liberi.

Nepotes.

Duces.

Imperatoris Tartarorum ſtatuta in omnes imperium.

Imperator autē Tartarorum habet mirabile dominium ſuper omnes. Nullus audet in aliqua parte morari, niſi ipſe aſſignet ei. Ipſe autem aſſignat vbi maneant duces: millenarij centenarijs, Centenarij decanis. Inſuper quicquid præcipitur in quocunq; tempore, quocunq; loco, ſiue ad bellum, ſiue ad mortem, ſiue ad vitam, ſine vlla contradictione obediunt. Etiam ſi petit filiam virginem vel ſororem, ſine contradictione dant ei. Aut ſingulis annis, aut intermiſſis aliquibus annis virgines colligit ex omnibus finibus Tartarorum. Si ipſe vult ſibi retinere aliquas retinet: alias dat ſuis hominibus, ſicut videtur ei expedire. Nuncios quoſcunq;, quotcunq; & vbicunq; tranſmittit, oportet quod dent ei ſine mora equos ſubditicios & expenſas. Vndecunq; venerint ei tributa vel nuncij, oportet quod equi, currus, & expenſę ſimiliter dentur eis. Nuncij qui veniunt aliunde in magna miſeria ſunt in victu pariter & veſtitu: quia expenſę viles ſunt & paucæ: & maximè cum veniunt ad principes, & ibi debent morā contrahere. Tunc ita parum datur decem hominibus, quod inde vix poſſint viuere duo. Nec etiam in curijs principum, nec in via datur eis comedere, niſi ſemel in die, & ſatis parum. Inſuper ſi aliquæ iniuriæ ſibi fiunt, conqueri de facili minimè poſſunt. Vnde eos oportet illa patienter portare. Inſuper multa tā à principibus, quam ab alijs nationibus & minoribus ab eis exiguntur: & ſi non daretur, vili pendunt eos, immò quaſi pro nihilo habent eos. Et ſi à magnis viris mittuntur, nolunt ab eis modicum munus habere: ſed dicunt: A magno homine veniſtis, & cur modicum datis? & accipere dedignantur. Et ſi nuncij benè volunt facere facta ſua, oportet eos dare maiora. Idcirco magnam partem rerum, quæ nobis à fidelibus erant datæ, oportuit nos de neceſſitate muneribus dare. Et

Inhumanitas erga Legatos.

ſciendum, quod ita omnia ſunt in manu Imperatoris prædicti, quod nemo audet dicere, hoc eſt meum vel illius; ſed omnia ſunt Imperatoris, res, iumenta, & homines. Et ſuper hoc etiam nuper emanauit Imperatoris ſtatutum. Idem dominium per omnia habent duces ſuper homines ſuos. Diuiſi enim ſunt homines Tartari, videlicet etiam alij inter duces. Nuncij etiam ducum, quocunque eos tranſmittunt, & homines tam Imperatoris quàm alij omnes equos ſubditicios & expenſas, & qui equos cuſtodiant, & etiam nuncijs ſeruiant ſine contradictione dare tenentur. Imperatori autem iumenta vt habeat ex eis lac ad annum vel ad duos, vel ad tres, ſicut placuerit ei, tam duces quàm alij pro redditu dare tenentur. Et homines ducum idem facere tenentur dominis ſuis. Inter eos enim nullus eſt liber. Et vt breuiter dicam, Quicquid Imperator & Duces volunt, & quantũ volunt de rebus ſuis accipiunt. De perſonis etiam eorum diſponunt per omnia, ſicut volunt. Mortuo Imperatore, ſicut ſuperius dictum eſt, conuenerunt Duces & elegerunt Occoday filium Cyngis can prædicti Imperatorem. Qui habito conſilio principum diuiſit exercitus. Bati, qui in ſecundo gradu attinebat ei, miſit contra Altiſoldanum, & contra terram Biſerminorum. Hij erant Saraceni, & Comani cum loquebantur. Et cum intraſſet terram illorum pugnauit contra eos, & bello eos ſibi ſubiecit. Quædam autem ciuitas quæ ‖ Barthra dicitur, diureſtitit ei, fecerant enim foueas multas in circuitu ciuitatis & operuerant illas; & quando illi veniebant cadebant in foueas. Vnde non potuerunt capere ciuitatem, donec illas foueas repleſſent. Homines autem de quadam ciuitate quæ vocatur ‖ Iakint hæc audientes exierunt obuiam eis, ſe ſponte in manus eorum tradentes: vnde ciuitas eorum non erat deſtructa, ſed plures eorum occiderunt, & alios tranſtulerunt. Et accepto ſpolio ciuitatis, ipſam alijs hominibus repleuerunt. Et venerunt contra ciuitatem quæ vocatur Orna. Illa ciuitas erat nimium populoſa: Chriſtiani ibi erant plures; Gazari videlicet, Rutheni, & Alani, & alij: nec non & Saraceni. Saracenorum enim erat dominium ciuitatis. Hæc autem ciuitas erat diuitijs multum plena. Eſt enim poſita ſuper fluuium qui vocatur Don, qui intrat in mare. Vnde eſt quaſi portus: & eorum maximum habebant de illa ciuitate alij Saraceni. Et cum non poſſent aliter deuincere, præciderunt fluuium, qui currebat per ciuitatem, & illam cum rebus omnibus ſubmerſerunt. Quo facto: poſtea intrauerunt terram Tortorum, qui ſimiliter ſunt Pagani: quam deuincentes, iuerunt contra Ruſſiam, & fecerunt magnam ſtragem in terra Ruſſiæ, ciuitates & caſtra deſtruxerunt, & homines occiderunt: etiam Kiouiam quæ erat Metropolis Ruſſiæ obſederunt: & cum diu obſediſſent, illam ceperunt, & occiderunt homines ciuitatis. Inde procedentes pugnando deſtruxerunt totam Ruſſiam. De Ruſſia autem & Comania proceſſerunt duces prædicti, & pugnauerunt contra Hungaros & Polonos. Ex quibus Tartaris in Poloniã & in Hungaria plures interfecti fuerunt. Et ſi non fugiſſent, ſed viriliter reſtitiſſent Hungari exiuiſſent Tartari de finibus ſuis: quia tunc habuerunt timorem, quod omnes fugere attentabant. Sed Bati vaginato gladio in faciem eis reſtitit, dicens: Nolite fugere: quia ſi fugitis nullus euadet: Et ſi debemus mori, moriamur omnes: quia futurum eſt, vt Cyngis can prædixit, quod interfici debeamus: Et ſi nunc eſt tempus, ſuſtineamus. Et ſic animati ſunt & remanſerunt, & Hungariam deſtruxerunt. Inde reuertentes iuerunt in terram Morduanorum, qui ſunt Pagani, & bello deuicerunt. Inde procedentes contra Bileros, id eſt, Bulgariam magnam, & ipſam deſtruxerunt omnino. Inde procedentes ad Aquilonem adhuc contra Baſcart, id eſt, Hungariam magnam, & eos etiam deuicerunt. Inde egredientes iuerunt ad Aquilonem, & venerunt ad Paroſſitas qui habent paruos ſtomachos & os paruulum, nec manducant, ſed decoquunt carnes: quibus decoctis ponunt ſe inter fumum & ollam, & recipiunt fumum, & de hoc ſolo reficiuntur: Sed etiamſi aliquid manducant, hoc valdè modicum eſt. Inde procedentes venerunt ad Samogedos. Hij autem homines tantùm de venationibus viuunt: tabernacula & veſtes habent tantummodo de beſtiarum pellibus. Inde vltra procedentes venerunt ad quandam terram ſuper Oceanum, vbi inuenerunt quædam monſtra quæ per omnia formam humanam habebant, ſed pedes deſinebant in pedes boũnos, & faciem per omnia habebant vt canis: duo verba loquebantur more humano & tertio latrabant vt canis: & ſic per interualla temporum latratum interponebant: tunc ad naturam ſuam redibant: & ſic intelligi poterat quod dicebant: Inde redierunt in Comaniam, & vſq; nunc quidam ex eis morantur ibidem. Cyrpodan vero eodem tempore miſit Occoday can cum exercitu ad meridiem contra Kergis, quos etiam bello deuicit. Hij autem homines ſunt pagani, qui pilos in barba non habent. Quorum conſuetudo eſt talis. Cum pater moritur alicuius, præ dolore quaſi vnam corrigiam in ſignum lamenti ab aure vſq; ad aurem de facie ſua leuant. Quibus deuictis, ad meridiem iuit contra Armenos. Sed cum per deſerta tranſiret, etiam quædam monſtra effigiem humanam habentia inuenerunt: ſed non niſi vnum brachium cum manu in medio pectoris, & vnum pedem habebant: & duo ſagit-

Occoday ſecundus Imperator Tartarorum.

‖Barthra ciuitas vel Barchin.

Vel Sarguit.

Orna ſuper Don fluuium.

Kiouia ciuitas.

Morduanorum terra.

Bulgaria magna.

Hungaria magna.

Paroſſitæ.

Samogedi.

Oceanus Septentrionalis. Similes Probiſheri hominibus.

Expeditio Cyrpodanis.

Armeni.

Hij videntur ſignaſſe baliſtis.

tarunt

tarunt cum vno arcu, & isti ita fortiter currebant, quod equi eos muettigare non poterant. Currebant enim saltando super illum vnum pedem, & cum essent fessi taliter eundo, ibant super manum & pedem, remouendo se quasi rota; & sic cum essent fessi iterum currebant secundum modum priorem: aliquos tamen occidebant ex eis. Inde procedentes venerunt in Armeniam, quam bello vicerunt, & partem Georgiæ: & alia pars venit ad mandatum eorum; & quadraginta millia yperperorum singulis annis dederunt, & adhuc faciunt idem. Inde procedentes ad terram Soldani Deurum, qui erat satis magnus & potens, cum eo pugnauerunt & deuicerunt. Inde procedentes vltra debellando & vincendo vsq; ad terram Soldani Halapiæ & nunc terram illam impugnant: nec postea vsque in hodiernum diem in terram suam fuerunt reuersi. Alius exercitus luit contra terrã Calif de Baldach, quam sibi etiã subdiderunt: Et quadraginta bisantia exceptis Baldachinis & alijs muneribus omni die dant pro tributo: Et omni anno pro Calif, vt ad eos veniat, nuncios mittunt: qui cum tributo munera magna mittit, rogans vt eũ supportent. Ipse vero imperator munera accipit, & nihilominus vt veniat mittit pro eo.

Georgia.

Terra Soldani Deurum.

Terra Soldani Halapiæ.

Qualiter Tartari se habent in prælijs. *Cap.6.*

Dicto de imperio, dicendum est hoc modo de bello. Primo de ordinatione acierum. Secundo de armis. Tertio de astutijs in congressione, quarto de crudelitate quam faciunt in captiuos. Quinto de oppugnatione castrorum & ciuitatum. Sexto de perfidia quam exercent cum hijs qui se reddunt eisdem. De ordinatione acierum dicemus hoc modo. Cyngis can ordinauit, vt decem hominibus præponeretur vnus: & ille secundum nos appellatur Decanus. Decem autem Decanis præponeretur vnus, qui centenarius nuncupatur: Decem vero Centenarijs præponeretur vnus qui millenarius nuncupatur: decem millenarijs præponeretur vnus, & ille numerus vocatur tenebre apud eos. Cuncto vero expercitui præponuntur duo duces vel tres, ita tamen quod habeant respectum ad vnum. Cum autem omnes sunt in bello si de decem hominibus fugit vnus vel duo, vel tres, vel etiam plures, omnes occiduntur. Et vt breuiter dicam, nisi communiter cedant, omnes qui fugiunt occiduntur. Item si vnus vel duo aut plures audacter ad pugnam accedunt, & decem alij non sequuntur, etiam occiduntur. Item si vnus de decem vel pluses capiuntur, & alij socij sui non liberant eos, etiam occiduntur. Duo arcus vel tres, vel vnum bonum ad minus, & tres pharetras magnas plenas de sagittis & vnam securim, & funes ad machinas trahendas habere debet vnusquisque. Diuites autem habent gladios acutos in fine, ex vna tantum parte incidentes, & aliquantulum curuos: & habent equum armatum, crura etiam tecta. Galeas & loricas quidam habent de corio in hunc modum formatas. Habent quasdam corrigias de boue ad latitudinem vnius manus, & bituminant tres vel quatuor simul, & ligant illas corrigiolis vel cordis. In corrigia superiori ponunt cordulas in fine; in inferiori ponunt in medio, & sic faciunt vsque ad finem. Vnde quum se inclinant in inferiores, corrigiæ superiores ascendunt & sic duplicantur super corpus, vel triplicantur. De coopertura equi faciunt quinque partes: ex vna parte faciunt vnam, ex alia parte faciunt aliam, quam partem ducunt à cauda vsq; ad caput: quæ ligantur ad sellam, & post sellam in dorso & etiam in collo, super renes etiam partẽ aliam ponunt, vbi duæ partium ligaturæ iunguntur: in qua pecia faciunt vnum foramen, per quod caudas exponunt: & ante pectus ponunt etiam vnam: quæ omnes protenduntur vsque ad crurium iuncturas. Et ante frontem laminam ferream ponunt, quæ ex vtraque parte colli partibus prædictis ligatur. Lorica vero etiam quatuor partes habet, vna pars protenditur à fœmore vsqne ad collum; sed est facta secundum dispositionem humani corporis: quia ante pectus est stricta: in rotundum obuoluitur circa corpus à brachijs inferius: Super humeros autem retro ad renes habent aliam peciam, quæ protenditur a collo vsque ad aliam peciam, quæ reuoluitur circa corpus: Super humeros autem istæ duæ peciæ anterior videlicet & posterior, ad duas laminas ferreas quæ sunt in vtroque humero fibulis connectuntur. Et in vtroque brachio vnam habent peciam, quæ ab humero protenduntur vsque ad manus, quæ etiam inferius sunt aptę. Et in vtroque crure vnam habent peciam: quæ peciæ omnes fibulis coniunguntur. Galea autem superius est ferrea. Sed illud quod protegit in circuitu collum & gulam de corio fit. Et omnes istæ peciæ de corio sunt formatæ secundum modum superius annotatum. Quidam autem omnia quæ superius diximus habent de ferro in hunc modum formata. Vnam laminam tenuem ad latitudinem vnius digiti faciunt, & ad longitudinem palmæ vnius. Et in hunc modum faciunt laminas multas: & in vnaquaque lamina octo foramina paruula faciunt, & interius tres corrigias strictas & fortes ponunt, & laminas vnam super aliam ponũt, quasi ascendendo per gradus: & ligant laminas prędictas ad corrigias tenuibus corrigiolis, quas mittunt

tunt per foramina ſuperius annotata: Et in ſuperiori parte conſuunt corrigiolam vnam, vt laminæ prædictæ bene & firmiter cohæreant ſibi. Et faciunt ex laminis quaſi corrigiam vnam, & poſtea ligant per pecias per omnia, ſicut ſuperius dictum eſt. Et iſta faciunt tam ad equorum quam ad hominum armaturas. Et faciunt illa ità lucere, quod poteſt homo in eis facie ſuam videre. Aliqui eorũ lanceas habent: & in fine ferri lanceę vnum habent vncũ, cum quo trahunt hominem de ſella ſi poſſunt. Longitudo ſagittarum eſt duorum: pedum & vnius palmæ, & duorum digitorum. Et quia diuerſi ſunt pedes, menſurã pedum geometricã ponimus. Duodecem grana hordei pollicis tranſuerſio eſt. Sexdecem pollices tranſuerſi faciunt vnum geometricum pedem. Ferramenta ſagittarum ſunt acutiſſima, & ex vtraq; parte incidentia quaſi gladius biceps, & ſemper portant limas iuxta pharetram ad acuendum ſagittas. Ferramenta prædicta caudam habent acutam ad longitudinem vnius digiti, quam imponunt in lignum. Scutum habent de viminibus vel de virgulis factum. Sagittas habent alias ad ſagittandum aues beſtias & homines inermes ad trium digitorum latitudinem. Sagittas alias habent diuerſimodas ad aues & beſtias ſagittandas. Quum ad bellum procedere volunt præcurſores præmittunt, qui nihil ſecum portant præter ſiltra ſua, equos & arma. Iſti nihil rapiunt, domos non comburunt, beſtias non occidunt: Sed tamen homines vulnerant & mortificant, & ſi non poſſunt aliud, mittunt in fugam; multo libentius tamen occidunt, quam fugant, poſt illos ſequitur exercitus, qui cuncta quę inuenit accipit, & homines etiam, ſi inueniri poſſunt, accipiunt & occidunt.

Mos transeũdi flumina.

Quum autem ad flumina perueniunt, hoc modo tranſeunt illa etiamſi ſunt magna. Matores vnum rotundum & leue corium habent, in quo in ſummitate per circuitum crebras faciunt anſas, in quibus funem imponunt, & ſtringunt ita quod in circuitu faciunt quendam ventrem, quem replent veſtibus, & alijs rebus, & fortiſſime comprimunt ad inuicem: poſt hoc in medio ponunt ſellas & alias res duriores: homines autem in medio ſedent: & ligant ad caudam equi nauem hanc taliter præparatam, & vnum hominum qui equum regat faciunt pariter cum equo ante natare: vel habent aliquando duos remos, & cum illis remigant vltra aquam, & ſic tranſeunt fluuium. Equos vero pellunt in aqua, & vnus homo iuxta vnum equum, quẽ regit, natat: & alij equi illum ſequuntur. Et ſic tranſeunt aquas & flumina magna. Alij vero pauperiores vnam burſam de corio bene conſutam vnuſquiſq; tenetur habere: in qua burſa vel in quo ſacco veſtes & omnes res ſuas imponunt; & in ſummitate ſaccũ fortiſſime ligant, & ſuſpendunt ad caudam equi, & tranſeunt, vt ſupradictum eſt. Sciendum eſt, quod cum vident hoſtes tunc vadunt ad eos, & vnuſquiſq; iacit tres ſagittas vel quatuor contra aduerſarios: Et ſi vident quod eos ſuperare non poſſunt, retro gradiuntur ad ſuos: Et hoc faciunt in fraudem, vt aduerſarij eos ſequantur ad loca vbi inſidias parauerunt: Et ſi inimici eorum ſequuntur ad prædictas inſidias, circundant eos & ſic vulnerant & occidunt. Item ſi vident quod magnus exercitus eſt contra eos, aliquando diuertunt ab eo per vnam dietam vel duas, & aliã partem terræ inuadunt & ſpoliant: & interficiunt homines, & terrã deſtruunt & deuaſtant. Et ſi vident quod hoc etiã facere non poſſunt, cedunt retro ad decem vel duodecem dietas: aliquando etiã morantur in loco tuto, quouſq; aduerſariorũ exercitus ſeparetur, & tunc furtim veniunt, & depopulantur totã terram. In bellis etiam aſtutiſſimi ſunt: quia iam per quadraginta annos & amplius cum alijs gentibus dimicarunt. Cum autem volunt ad pugnam accedere, omnes acies ordinant ſicut deberẽt pugnare. Duces ſiue principes exercitus bellũ non intrant, ſed ſtant à longe cõtra inimicorũ exercitum, & iuxta ſe habent pueros in equis & mulieres & equos. Et faciunt aliquando imagines hominum, & ponunt ſuper equos. Hoc ideo faciunt, vt multitudo magna bellantium eſſe credantur. Contra faciem equorum vnam aciem captiuorum & aliarum gentium quæ ſunt inter eos tranſmittunt: & forſitan aliqui Tartari vadunt cum eis. Alias acies fortiorum hominum longe mittunt à dextris & à ſiniſtris, vt non videantur ab aduerſarij ſuis: & ſic circundant aduerſarios & colligunt in medium, & pugnare incipiunt ex omni parte. Et cum ſunt aliquando pauci, putantur ab aduerſarijs qui circundati ſunt, eſſe multi. Et maxime cum videant illos, qui ſunt cum duce vel principe exercitus pueros & mulieres & equos, & homines fictos, vt dictum eſt ſupra: quos credunt eſſe pugnatores: & per hoc terrentur & confunduntur. Et ſi forte aduerſarij bene pugnant, faciunt eis viam vt fugiant: & ſtatim cum fugere incipiunt, ab inuicem ſeparati inſequuntur eos, & plures tunc occidunt fuga, quàm mortificare poſſent in bello. Sciendum tamen eſt, quod ſi aliud poſſunt, non libẽter cõgrediuntur, ſed homines & equos ſagittis vulnerant & occidunt. Munitiones in hunc modum expugnant. Si eſt talis munitio ipſam circundant, immo aliquando ita ſepiunt, vt nullus ingredi vel exire poſſit.

Qualiter munitiones obſideãt.

Expugnant fortiſſime machinis & ſagittis: & nec die nec nocte ceſſant a prælio, vt illi qui ſunt in munitionibus non quieſcant. Ipſi Tartari quieſcunt: quia acies diuidunt & vna ſuccedit alteri in pugnã vt non nimiũ fatigentur. Et ſi eam taliter habere non poſſunt græcũ proijciunt ignem. Imo ſolent aliquando accipere arinã hominum quos occidunt, & liquefactum proijciunt

ſuper

super domos: Et vbicunque venit ignis super pinguedinem illam, quasi inextinguibiliter arder. Et si ita non prævalent, & si ciuitas illa vel castrum habeat flumen, obstruunt illud, vel faciunt alium alueum & submergunt illam munitionem si possunt. Si autem non possunt suffodiunt illam, & sub terra armati in ipsam ingrediuntur. Et cum iam intrauerunt, vna pars ignem imponit vt comburatur: & alia pars cum illius munitionis hominibus pugnat. Si autem nec sic illam vincere possunt, castrum vel munitionem suam faciunt contra illam, vt ab inimicorum iaculis non grauentur, & contra illam multo tempore iacent: nisi forte exterius adiutorium exercitus qui pugnat cum eis adhibeat, & vi remoueant ipsos. Sed cum iacent ante munitionem blande eis loquuntur, & multa promittunt, ad hoc vt se in eorum manus tradant: Et si illi se eis tradiderint, dicunt: Exite, vt secundum morem nostrum vos muneremus. Et cum illi ad eos exeunt, quærunt qui sunt artifices inter eos, & illos reseruant: alios autem, exceptis illis quos volunt habere pro seruis cum securi occidunt. Et si aliquibus alijs parcunt, vt dictum est, nobilibus & honestis nunquam parcunt. Et si forte aliquo casu contingente reseruant aliquos nobiles; nec prece nec precio vltra de captiuitate possunt exire. In bellis autem quoscunque capiunt occidunt, nisi forte velint aliquos reseruare vt habeant eos pro seruis. Occidendos autem diuidunt per centenarios, vt cum bipenni interficiantur ab eis. Ipsi vero post hoc diuidunt captiuos, & vnicuique seruo ad interficiendum dant decem aut plures vel pauciores, secundum quod maioribus placet, Pauca fides.

De terris quas eorum dominio subiugarunt. *Cap.* 7.

SCripto quomodo pugnant, dicendum est de terris, quas eorum dominio subiugarunt. De quo isto modo scribemus. Primo dicemus quomodo faciunt cum hominibus pacem. Secundo de terrarum nominibus quas sibi subdiderunt. Tertio de tyrannide quam exercent in eis. Quarto de terris quæ viriliter restiterunt. Sciendum est quod cum nullis hominibus faciunt pacem, nisi subdentur eis: quia, vt dictum est supra, Cyngis can habent mandatum, vt cnnctas si possunt sibi subijciant nationes. Et hæc sunt illa quæ petunt ab eis, vt vadant cum eis in exercitu contra omnem hominem quando placet, & vt dent decimam de omnibus tam de hominibus, quàm de rebus. Computant enim decem, & vnum accipiunt. De puellis faciunt illud idem, quos in terram eorum deducunt & tenent eos pro seruis: reliquos numerant & ordinant secundum morem. Sed quando plene habent dominium super eos, si aliquid promiserunt eis nihil obseruant: sed quascunque possunt congrue occasiones inueniunt contra eos. Nam cum essemus in Russia, missus fuit Saracenorum ex parte Cuynthean vt decebatur & Bati: & præfectus ille a quolibet homine qui habebat tres pueros vnum accipiebat: & quicunque viri non habebant vxores, illos deducebant, & faciebant de mulieribus etiam illud idem quę viros legitimos non habebant. Pauperes etiam qui mendicando suum victum querebant similiter deportabunt. Reliquos autem secundum eorum consuetudinem numerauit, præcipiens vt vnusquisq; tam paruus quam magnus, & infans vnius diei, siue pauper siue diues esset, tale tributū præberet: vt scilicet daret vnū pellem albi vrsi, & vnum nigrum castorē, & vnum Zabulum, & vnam nigram pellem cuiusdam animalis quod in terra latibulum habet, cuius nomen nescio in latinum transferre, sed Teutonice dicitur Illit: Poloni autem & Ruteni appellant illam Dochon: & vnam nigram pellem vulpinam. Et quicunque ista non dat, inter Tartaros debet duci, & in eorum redigi seruitutem. Mittunt etiam pro principibus terrarum, vt ad eos veniant sine mora: & cum venerint, debitum honorem nullum recipiunt, sed habentur vt aliæ viles personæ: & oportet vt eis munera magna præsentent, tam ducibus quàm vxoribus eorum, & officialibus, millenarijs & centenarijs. Imo omnes generaliter, & ipsi etiam seruientes ab eis cum magna importunitate munera quærunt: Et non solum ab ipsis, sed etiam à nunciis eorum cum mittuntur. Aliquibus etiam inueniunt occasiones vt eos occidant. Sicut de Michaele & alijs actum est. Aliquos vero alliciunt, quos permittunt redire. Aliquos etiam potionibus perimunt vel veneno. Eorum enim intentio est, vt ipsi soli dominētur in terra. Idcirco quærunt occasiones contra nobiles, vt eos occidant. Ab illis vero quos redire permittunt petunt eorum filios aut fratres, quos vlterius nunquam dimittunt. Sicut factum est de filio Ieroslai, & de quodam duce Alanorum, & alijs plurimis. Et si moritur pater vel frater siue hæres, filium vel fratrem nunquam dimittunt: immo illius principatum totaliter accipiunt sibi. Sicut de quodam Solangorum vidimus esse factum. Baschathos suos ponunt in terris eorum quos redire permittunt, quibus oportet vt ad nutum tam duces quàm alij debeant obedire. Et si homines alicuius ciuitatis vel terræ non faciunt quod volunt, isti Baschathi imponunt eis, quod sunt Tartaris infideles: & sic ciuitatem illam vel terram destruunt, & homines qui sunt in ea occidunt, per manum validam Tartarorum, qui ex mandato principis illius cui obedit terra illa veniunt eis nescientibus, & subito irruunt super eos: sicut nuper contigit cum in terra

Vrsi albi. (Vel illic. Dochon. Solangi. Baschathi, vox Tartarica, qua vtuntur Turci.

Tartarorum

Tartarorum ellemus de quadam ciuitate. Quod ipſummet de Ruthenis fecerunt in terra Comanorum. Et non ſolum princeps Tartarorum qui terram vſurpauit, ſed præfectus ipſius,& quicunque Tartarus per ciuitatem illam ſiue terram tranſit quaſi dominatur eidem, & maxime qui maior eſt apud eos. Inſuper aurum & argentũ,& alia quæ volunt & quando iibet ad imperatorẽ vadant Tartarorum ad placitandum, Sicut nuper contigit de duobus filijs regis Georgiæ. Vnus enim erat legitimus, & alter de adulterio natus, qui vocabatur Dauid: legitimus autem Melic vocabatur. Filio adulteræ terræ partem relinquebat pater. Alius vero, qui iunior erat, veniebat cum matre ad Tartarorum imperatorem, pro eo quod Dauid prædictus ad ipſum iter arripuerat veniendi. Mater alterius ſcilicet Melic regina Georgiæ, per quam maritus tenebat regnum, quia per fœminas illud regnum tenebatur, mortua fuit in via. Illi autem cum venerunt dederunt maxima munera: & maxime legitimus filius, qui repetebat terram quam reliquerat pater filio ſuo Dauid, cum non deberet habere, quia adulteræ filius erat. Ille vero reſpondit: Licet ſim filius concubinæ, peto tamen vt fiat mihi iuſtitia ſecundum legem Tartarorum, qui nullam differentiam faciunt inter filios legitimæ & ancillæ: vnde fuit data ſententia contra filium legitimum, vt ille Dauidi qui maior erat ſubeſſet, & terram haberet quiete & pacifice, quam dederat ei pater: & ſic donatia quæ dederat, & cauſam quam contra fratrem ſuum Dauid habuerat, amiſit. Ab illis etiam nationibus quæ longe ſunt ab eis, & coniunctæ ſunt alijs nationibus quas aliquo modo timent, quæ non ſunt eis ſubiectæ, tributũ accipiunt & quaſi miſericorditer agunt cum eis, vt non adducant exercitum ſuper eos, vel etiam vt alij non terreantur, ſe tradere eis. Sicut factum eſt de Obeſis ſiue Georgianis, a quibus quinquaginta vel quadraginta millia, vt dictum eſt, yperperorum ſiue Byſantiorũ accipiunt pro tributo: aliàs ad hoc in pace eſſe permittunt. Tamen, ſecundum quod intelleximus ab eis, rebellare proponunt.

Terrarum nomina quas vicerunt ſunt hæc. Kytai, Naymani, Solangi, Kara Kytai, ſiue nigri Kytai, Comania, Tumat, Voyrat, Caraniti, Huyur, Soboal, Merkiti, Meniti, Baryhryur, Goſmit, Saraceni, Biſermini, Turcomani, Byleri, magna Bulgaria, Baſchare, magna Hungaria, Kergis, Colona, Thorati, Buritabeth, Paroſſiti, Saſſi, Iacobiti, Alani, ſiue Aſſi, Obeſi ſiue Georgiani, Neſtoriani, Armeni, Cangiti, Comani Brutachi, qui ſunt Iudæi, Mordui, Torci, Gazari, Samogedi, Perſes, Thoas, India minor ſiue Æthiopia, Yrchaſi, Rutheni, Baldach, Sarthi: Aliæ terræ ſunt plures, ſed earum nomina ignoramus. Vidimus etiam viros & mulieres fere de omnibus terris ſupra nominatis. Hæc autem ſunt nomina Terrarum quæ eis viriliter reſtiterunt, nec ſunt adhuc ſubditæ eis, India magna, Mangia; Quædam pars Alanorum: Quædam pars Kytaorum, Sayi. Quandam enim ciuitatem Sayorum prædictorum obſederunt & debellare tentauerunt. At ipſi fecerunt machinas contra machinas eorum, & Tartarorum machinas omnes fregerunt, nec ciuitati appropinquare poterant ad pugnam contra machinas & baliſtas. Tandem vnã viam ſub terra fecerunt, & proſiluerũt in ciuitatẽ, & alij tentabant incendere ciuitatẽ, alij pugnabant. Homines autem ciuitatis vnam partem populi ad extinguendũ ignem poſuerunt, & alia pars fortiter pugnabat cum hijs qui intrauerunt ciuitatem & multos occiderunt ex eis, & alios vulnerauerunt, cõpellentes eos ad ſuos redire. At ipſi videntes quod nihil poſſent facere, & multi homines morerentur, receſſerunt ab eis. In terra Saracenorũ & aliorũ vbi ſunt quaſi inter eos domini, accipiũt omnes artifices meliores, & omnibus operibus ſuis ponunt. Alij autẽ artifices dant eis de opere ſuo tributum. Segetes omnes conduntin horreis dominorum: & vnicuique vnum pondus ſatis modicum dant in die: nihil aliud niſi ter in ſeptimana modicum quid de carnibus eis prebent. Et illi hoc tantum artificibus faciunt qui in ciuitatibus commorantur. Item quando dominis placet iuuenes omnes accipiunt, & poſt ſe cum omnibus famulis ſuis ire cogunt: qui de cætero certo ſunt numero Tartarorũ; immo potius de numero captiuorũ: quia etſi inter ipſos ſunt numerati, non tamen habentur in reuerentia ſicut Tartari; ſed habentur pro ſeruis, & ad omnia pericula vt alij captiui mittuntur. Ipſi enim in bello ſunt primi: Etiam ſi debet palus vel aqua periculoſa tranſiri, eos oportet primo vadum tentare. Ipſos eſt etiam neceſſe operari omnia quæ ſunt facienda. Ipſi etiam ſi in aliquo offendunt, vel ſi non obediunt ad nutum, vt aſini verberantur. Et vt breuiter dicam, modicum quid manducant, & etiam modicum bibunt, & peſſime induuntur; niſi forte aliquid poſſunt lucrari, niſi ſunt aurifabri & alij artifices boni. Sed aliqui tam malos dominos habent, quod nihil eis dimittunt, nec habent tempus præ multitudine operum dominorum, vt ſibi aliquid operentur, niſi furentur ſibi tempus, quando forſitan debent quieſcere vel dormire. Et hoc ſi vxores vel propriam ſtationem permittuntur habere. Alij autem qui tenentur in domo pro ſeruis omni miſeria ſunt repleti. Vidi enim eos ire in braccis ſæpiſſime, & toto corpore nudos in maximo ſolis ardore. Et in hyeme patiuntur maximum frigus. Vidimus etiam aliquos pedicas & digitos manuum de magno frigore perdidiſſe. Audiuimus etiam alios eſſe mortuos, vel etiam de magno algore quaſi in omnibus membris inutiles eſſe factos.

Samogedi aquiſonares.

Mangia.

Quomodo

Quomodo bello occurratur Tartaris. Cap. 8.

Dicto de terris, quæ obediunt eis, supponendum est quomodo bello occurratur eisdem. Quod videtur nobis hoc modo dicendum. Primo scrutandum est quid intendunt. Secundo de armis & ordinatione aciei. Tertio quomodo occurratur astutijs eorum in congressione. Quarto de munitione castrorum & ciuitatū. Quinto quid faciendum sit de captiuis eorum. Intentio Tartarorum est subijcere sibi totum mundum si possunt. Et de hoc Cyngischan habent mandatum, sicut superius dictum est. Idcirco eorum imperator sic in literis suis scribit. Dei fortitudo, Omnium Imperator. Et in superscriptione sigilli sui hoc habet.

Dominus in cœlo, & Cuynch Chan super terram. Dei fortitudo, omnium hominum imperatoris sigillum. Et ideo cum nullis hominibus faciunt pacem, vt dictum est, nisi forte se in eorum manibus tradunt. Et quia excepta Christianitate nulla est terra in orbe quam timent, idcirco se ad pugnam præpararunt contra nos. Vnde nouerint vniuersi quod nobis existentibus in terra eorum in solenni curia, quæ iam ex pluribus annis indicta erat, fuimus, vbi elegerunt Cuynch imperatorem in præsentia nostra, qui in lingua eorum dicitur Chan. Qui Cuynch Chan prædictus erexit cum omnibus principibus vexillum contra ecclesiam dei & Romanum imperium, & contra omnia regna Christianorum & populos occidentis, nisi forsan facerent ea, quæ mandat Domino Papæ, & potentibus ac omnibus Christianorū populis Occidentis: quod nulla ratione faciendum est: tum propter nimiam seruitutem & intolerabilem, quæ est hactenus inaudita, quam vidimus oculis nostris, in quam redigunt omnes gentes sibi subiectas: tum propterea quod nulla in eis est fides: nec potest aliqua gens confidere in verbis eorum: quia quicquid promittunt non obseruant, quando vident sibi tempora fauere: & subdoli sunt in omnibus tactis & promissis eorū. Intendunt etiam delere omnes principes, omnes nobiles, omnes milites de terra, vt superius dictum est: sed hoc faciunt subdole & artificiose in subditos suos: Tum etiam quia indignum est quod Christiani subdantur eisdem, propter abominationes eorum, & quia in nihilum redigitur cultus dei, & animæ pereunt, & corpora vltra quā credi possit multitudine affliguntur. In primo quidem sunt blandi, sed postea vt scorpio cruciant & affligunt. Tum quia pauciores sunt numero, & corpore debiliores quā populi Christiani. In prædicta autem curia sunt bellatores & principes & exercitus assignati. De decē hominibus mittuntur tres cum familijs eorū, de omni terra potestatis eorū. Vnus exercitus debet intrare per Hungariam: secundus per Poloniam. Veniunt autem pugnaturi continue octodecem annis. Tēpus est etiam eis assignatum, In Martio An. Dom. 1247. si de terra sua mouebunt. Venient autem in tribus vel in quatuor ‖ annis vsq; ad Comaniā. De Comania autē insultum facient in terras superius annotatas. Hæc omnia firma sunt & vera, nisi Dominus aliquod impedimentū pro sua gratia faciat eis, Sicut fecit quando venerunt in Hungariā & Poloniā. Debebāt enim procedere tunc pro certo triginta annis. Sed interfectus fuit tunc imperator eorū veneno: & propter hoc quieuerunt à prælijs vsq; nunc. Sed modo, quia positus est imperator de nouo, iterum se de nouo ad pugnam incipiunt præparare. Adhoc sciendum est, quod imperator dixit ore suo, quod vellet mittere exercitum in Liuoniam & Prussiam. Et quoniam omnem terram volunt delere vel in seruitutem redigere, quæ seruitus est intolerabilis nostræ genti, vt superius dictum est: Occurrendum est igitur eis in bello. Sed si vna prouincia non vult alteri opem ferre, terra illa delebitur contra quam pugnant, & cum illis hominibus quos capiunt pugnabunt contra aliam terram; & in acie erunt primi. Si malē pugnant occidentur ab eis: Si autem bene, ipsos cum promissis adulationibus tenent: & etiam vt ab ipsis non fugiant promittunt eis quod faciunt eos dominos magnos: & post hoc quando securi essē possunt de ipsis, vt non redeant, faciunt eos infœliciſſimos seruos. Ac de mulieribus quas volunt in concubinas tenere pro seruitijs faciunt illud idem. Et ita cum hominibus deuictæ prouinciæ destruunt aliam terram. Nec est aliqua prouincia quæ per se possit resistere eis: quia de omni terra potestatis eorum, vt dictum est, homines congregant ad bellum. Vnde si Christiani seipsos & suā terram, & Christianitatem volunt seruare, oportet quod in vnum conueniant reges, principes & barones, & terrarum rectores, & mittant de cōmuni consilio homines contra eos ad pugnā, antequam ipsi incipiant in terras diffundi. Quoniam postquam incipiunt spargi per terras, vndiq; homines quærunt, & nullus congrue auxilium alteri potest præbere: quoniam ipsi cateruatim vndiq; quærunt homines & occidunt. Et si claudunt se in castris, ponunt tria millia vel quatuor millia hominum contra castrum vel ciuitatem, qui obsideant eam; & ipsi nihilominus diffunduntur per terras homines occidentes. Quicunq; autem volunt pugnare cum eis, hæc arma debent habere. Arcus bonos & fortes, & balistas, quas multū timent, & sagittas sufficientes: & bonum dolabrū de bono ferro, & scutū cū longo manubrio. Ferramenta sagittarū de arcu vel de balista debent,

‖ Forte mensibus

Tartari proponunt inuadere Liuoniam & Prussiam.

vt

Temperamentum ferri.

vt Tartari, quando sunt calida, temperari in aqua cum sale mixta, vt fortia fiat ad penetrandum arma eorum. Gladios & etiam lanceas cum vnco, qui valeant ad trahendum eos de sellis: quia de eis facillime cadunt: ac cultellos ac loricas, duplicatas; quia illos eorum sagittæ non penetrant: & galeã & arma alia ad protegendum corpus & equum ab armis & sagittis eorum. Et si aliqui non sunt ita bene armati, vt dixi; debent ire post alios vt faciunt Tartari: & trahere contra eos de armis & sagittis. Nec debent parcere pecuniæ, quoniam comparent arma, vt possint animas & corpora, libertatem & res alias conseruare. Acies debent ordinari, vt ipsi, per millenarios, centenarios, & decanos & duces exercitus: qui duces nequaquam debent prælium intrare, sicut nec duces eorum, sed debent exercitus videre & ordinare: legemque debent ponere vt simul incedant ad bellum, siue aliàs, sicut sunt ordinati. Et quicunque reliquit alium siue ad bellum procedentem, siue pugnantem, vel quicunque fugerit, nisi omnes cõmuniter cedant, grauissime puniatur: quia tunc pars bellantium sequitur fugientes & sagittis eorum occidunt, & pars cum hijs qui remanẽt pugnant, & sic confundũtur & occidũtur remanentes & fugientes. Similiter quicunq; conuersus fuerit ad prædam tollendam, antequam omninò sit exercitus contrariorũ deuictus, maxima pœna mulctetur. Talis enim apud Tartaros sine vlla miseratione occiditur. Locus ad præliandum est eligendus, si fieri potest vt campus sit planus, & possint vndique videre: & si possunt habeant syluam magnam a tergo vel a latere. ita tamen quod non possunt intrare inter ipsos & syluam: nec debent simul omnes conuenire in vnum, sed facere acies multas, & diuersas ab inuicem, nec tamen multum distantes. Et contra illos qui post veniunt debent vnam aciem mittere qui eis occurrat. Et si Tartari simulant fugam, non multum vadant post eos, nisi forte quantum possunt videre, ne forte ipsos ad paratas insidias trahant, sicut facere solent: Et alia sit parata ad iuuandum aciem illam, si fuerit opportunum. Insuper habeant speculatores ex omni parte, vt videant quando veniant aliæ acies Tartarorum retro, à dextris & à sinistris: & semper debent mittere aciem contra aciem quæ eis occurrat. Ipsi enim semper nituntur concludere aduersarios eorum in medio, vnde magnam cautelã debent habere ne hoc facere possint, quia sic exercitus facillime debellatur. Omnes acies hoc debent cauere, ne diu currant post eos, propter insidias quas solent præparare: plus enim fraudulentia quàm fortitudine pugnant. Duces exercitus semper debent esse parati ad mittendum adiutorium, si necesse est, illis qui sunt in pugna, & propter hoc etiam debent vitare nimium cursum post eos; ne forte fatigentur equi eorum; quoniam nostri multitudinem equorum non habent. Sed Tartari illum quem equitant vna die, illum non ascendunt in tribus vel in quatuor diebus post hoc. Vnde non curant si fatigentur equi eorũ propter multitudinem quam habent. Et si Tartari fecedunt, non tamen nostri debent recedere, vel ab inuicem separari: quia simulando hoc faciunt, vt exercitus diuidatur, & post hoc terram libere ingrediantur, & eam destruant. Debent etiam cauere vt non faciant nimias expensas, vt solent; ne propter penuriam redire compellantur, & dent Tartaris viam, vt ipsos & alios occidant, & destruant omnem terram; & propter eorum superfluitatem nomen Domini blasphemetur. Et hoc debent facere diligenter: vt si contingat aliquos pugnatores recedere, quod alij loco eorum succedant. Duces etiam nostri debent die noctèque facere exercitum custodiri, ne repente & subito irruant super ipsos: quia Tartari vt dæmones, multas excogitant iniquitates & artes nocendi: Immo tam de die quam de nocte semper debent esse parati: sed nec spoliati debent iacere nec deliciose ad mensam sedere, ne imparati inueniantur, quia Tartari semper vigilant, vt possint nocere. Homines vero terræ qui Tartaros expectant, vel super se timent venire, occultas foueas debent habere, in quibus sagittas, & alia debent repohere, propter dolos: vt videlicet Tartari non possint ea habere; & si propitius fuerit eis Deus, valeant ea postea inuenire; Eis fugientibus de terra, debent fœnum & stramina comburere, vt equi Tartarorum ad comedendum minus inueniant. Ciuitates autem & castra si volunt munire, videant prius qualia sint in situ. Situs enim talis debet esse in castris, quod machinis & sagittis expugnari nõ possit; & aquã habeant sufficientem & lignũ, & si fieri potest, quod introitus & exitus eis tolli non possit: & quod habeant homines sufficientes qui possint vicissim pugnare. Et debent vigilare diligenter ne aliqua astutia possint castrum furari. Expensas ad multos annos debent habere sufficientes: custodiant tamen diligenter illas, & in mensura manducent, quia nesciunt quanto tempore eos in castris oportet esse inclusos. Quum enim incipiunt, tunc multis annis obsident vnum castrum. Sic fit hodierna die in terra Alanorum de quodam monte, quem, vt credo, iam obsederunt per duodecem annos; qui viriliter restiterunt, & multos Tartaros & nobiles occiderunt. Alia autem castra & ciuitates, quæ talem situm non habent debent fortiter vallari foueis profundis munitis, & muris bene præparatis; & arcus & sagittas sufficientes: & lapides ac fundas debent habere. Et debent diligenter cauere, quod non permittant Tartaros ponere machinas suas; & suis machinis debent eos repellere. Et si forte aliquo ingenio vel arte erigunt

Speculatores.

Obsidio 12. annorum.

Tartari

Tartari machinas suas, debent eas destruere machinis suis si possunt. Balistis etiam, scindis & machinis debent ere sistere ne ciuitati appropinquent. Alias etiam debent esse parati, vt superius dictum est. De castris & ciuitatibus, quæ sunt in fluminibus positæ, diligenter debent videre ne possint submergi. Sed ad hoc sciendū est, quod Tartari plus diligunt, quod homines claudant se in ciuitatibus, quàm quod pugnent cū eis in campo. Dicunt enim eos esse suos porcellos in hara conclusos. Vnde ponunt eis custodes, vt supradictū est. Si autē aliqui Tartari de equis suis in bello proijciuntur, statim sunt capiendi: quia cum sunt in terra fortiter sagittant, & equos & homines vulnerant & occidunt. Et si seruantur tales, potest esse, quod habeatur pro eis pax perpetua, aut pecunia magna redimantur: quoniā se adinuicem satis diligunt. Sed quomodo Tartari cognoscantur, superius dictum est vbi forma eorum fuit expressa. Tamen quando capiuntur, si debent seruari, ne fugiant diligens est custodia adhibenda. Sunt etiā aliæ multę gentes cū eis, quæ per formā superius annotatā possunt ab ipsis cognosci. Est etiam hoc sciendum, quod multi in exercitu eorum sunt, qui si viderent tempus, & haberēt fiduciam, quod nostri non occiderent eos, ex omni parte exercitus, sicut ipsimet nobis dixerunt, pugnarent cū eis, & plura mala facerent ipsis, quàm alij, qui sunt eorum aduersarij manifesti.

The long and wonderful voyage of Frier Iohn de Plano Carpini, sent ambassadour by Pope Innocentius the iiii. An. Do. 1246. to the great CAN of Tartaria; wherin he passed through Bohemia, Polonia, Russia, and so to the citie of Kiow vpon Boristhenes, and from thence rode continually post for the space of fiue moneths through Comania, ouer the mightie and famous riuers of Tanais, Volga, and Iaic, & through the countries of the people called Kangitæ, Bisermini, Kara-Kitay, Naimani, & so to the native countrie of the Mongals or Tartars, situate in the extreme Northeasterne partes of all Asia: and thence backe againe the same way to Russia, and Polonia, and so to Rome; spending in the whole voyage among the sayd Tartars one whole yeere & aboue foure moneths: Taken out of the 32. booke of Vincentius Beluacensis his Speculum historiale.

LIBRI XXXII.

De prima missione Fratrum Prædicatorum & Minorum ad Tartaros. Cap. 2.

Afcelinus. ¶ Vide Mechouiū lib. 1. cap. 3.

HOc etiam tēpore misit Innocentius IIII. Papa Fr. Ascelinū de ordine Prædicatorū cū tribus alijs Fratribus, auctoritate, qua fungebantur, de diuersis ordinis sui conuentibus sibi associatis, cum literis Apostolicis ad exercitū Tartarorū, in quibus hortabatur eos, vt ab hominū strage desisterent, & fidei veritatē reciperent. Et ego quidē ab vno Fratrum Prædicatorū, videlicet à Fr. Simone de S. Quintino, iam ab illo itinere regresso, gesta Tartarorū accepi, illa duntaxat, quæ superius per diuersa loca iuxta congruentiā temporū huic operi inserui. Siquidē & eo tempore quidā Frater ordinis Minorū, videlicet Fr. Iohannes de Plano carpini, cum quibusdam alijs missus fuit ad Tartaros, qui etiam, vt ipse testatur, per annum & quatuor menses & amplius cum eis mansit, & inter eos ambulauit. A summo namq; Pontifice mandatū, vt omnia, quæ apud eos erant, diligenter scrutaretur, acceperat, tam ipse, quàm Fr. Benedictus Polonus eiusdem ordinis, qui suæ tribulationis particeps & socius erat. Et hic ergo Fr. Ioannes de his, quæ apud Tartaros vel oculis propriis vidit, vel à Christianis fide dignis, qui inter illos captiui erant, audiuit, libellum historialem conscripsit, qui & ipse ad manus nostras peruenit. De quo etiam hic quasi per epilogum inserere libet aliqua, videlicet ad supplementum eorum, quæ desunt in prædicta Fr. Simonis historia.

Simon Sanquintinianus.

Ioannes de Plano Carpini.

Benedictus Polonus.

Libellus historialis Ioannis de Plano Carpini.

De situ & qualitate terræ Tartarorum. Cap. 3.

Iohannes de Plano Carpini.

EST in partibus Orientis terra, quæ Mongal siue Tartaria dicitur, in ea scilicet parte sita, in qua Oriens Aquiloni coniungi creditur. Ab Oriente quidem habet terram Kythaorum & etiam Solangorum, à meridie verò terrā Sarracenorum. Inter Orientē & meridiem terram Huynorum, & ab Occidente prouinciam Naymanorum, ab Aquilone verò circundatur Oceano. In parte aliqua nimium est montuosa, & in aliqua campestris, sed tota ferè admixta glarea plurimum arenosa, nec est in centesima parte fructuosa. Nec enim potest fructum portare, nisi aquis fluuialibus irrigetur, quę ibi sunt rarissimę. Vnde nec villę nec aliquę ciuitates ibidē reperiuntur,

Tartariæ descriptio.

Vel Occidentem

Syra ordu. excepta vna, quæ Cracurum appellatur, & satis bona esse dicitur. Nos quidem illam non vidimus, sed ad dimidiam dietam prope fuimus, cùm apud Syram ordam, quæ curia maior Imperatoris eorum est, essemus. Licet autem aliàs infructifera sit illa terra, tamen alendis pecoribus est apta. In aliqua eius parte sunt aliquę syluæ modicæ, alia verò sine lignis est omninò. Itaque tam Imperator quàm Principes, & omnes alij sedent, & cibaria sua decoquunt ad focum, de boum & equorum sterconibus factum. Ipse quoq; aër inordinatus est ibidem mirabiliter. In media siquidem æstate ibi tonitrua magna & fulgura fiunt, ex quibus plurimi occiduntur homines, & eodem quoq; tempore cadunt ibidem maximę niues. Sunt & ibi ventorum frigidissimorum tam maximę tempestates, quòd aliquando vix possint equitare homines. Vnde cùm ante ordam essemus (sic enim apud eos stationes Imperatoris & Principum appellantur) præ ventimagnitudine in terra prostrati iacebamus, & videre propter pu'ueris magnitudinẽ minimè poteramus. Nunquam ibi pluit in hyeme, sed frequenter in æstate, & tam modicum, vt vix posset aliquando puluerem & radicem graminum madefacere. Ibi quoq; maxima grando cadit sæpè. Vnde cùm Imperator electus in sede regni debuit poni, nobis in curia tunc existentibus, tanta cecidit grando, quod ex subita resolutione plusquam CLX. homines in eadem curia fuerunt submersi. Res etiam & habitacula plura fuerunt deducta. Ibi etiam est in æstate subitò calor magnus, & repentè maximum frigus.

Aëris intemperies

Orda quid.

De forma & habitu & victu eorum. Cap. 4.

Tartarorum species. MOngalorum autem siue Tartarorum forma ab omnibus alijs hominibus est remota. Inter oculos enim, & inter genas, lati sunt plus cæteris, genæ quoq; satis prominent à maxillis. Nasum habent planum & modicum, oculos etiam paruos, & palpebras vsq; ad supercilia eleuatas, ac super verticem in modum Clericorum coronas. Ex vtraq; parte frontis tondendo, plusquam in medio crines longos faciunt, reliquos autem sicut mulieres crescere permittunt. De quibus duas cordas faciunt, & vnamquamq; post aurem ligant. Pedes quoq; modicos habent. Vestes tam virorum quàm mulierum vno modo formatæ sunt. Pallijs vel cappis vel capitijs non vtuntur. Tunicas verò miro modo formatas portant de buccaramo, vel purpurato, vel baldaquino. Pellicium habet pilos exterius, sed apertum est à posterioribus. Habet tamen caudulam vnam vsq; ad genua retrò. Vestes suas non lauant, nec lauari permittunt, & maximè à tempore, quo tonitrua incipiunt, vsquequo definat illud tempus. Stationes habent rotundas in modum tentorij de virgulis & baculis subtilibus præparatas. Supra verò in medio rotundam habent fenestram, vnde ingrediatur lumen, & fumus exire possit: quia semper in medio faciunt ignem: parietes autem & tecta filtro sunt operta. Ostia quoq; de filtro sunt facta. Harum quędam subitò soluuntur, & reparantur, & super summarios deferuntur: quædam verò dissoluis non possunt sed in curribus portantur. Et quocunq; fiue ad bellum siue aliàs vadunt, semper illas secum deferunt. In animalibus valde diuites sunt, vt in Camelis & bobus, capris & ouibus. Iumenta & equos habent in tanta multitudine, quantam non credimus totum mundi residuum habere. Porcos autẽ & alias bestias non habent. Imperator ac Duces atq; alij magnates in auro & argento ac serico & gemmis abundant. Cibi eorũ sunt omnia, quæ mandi possunt. Vidimus eos etiã manducare pediculos. Lac bibũt animaliũ, & in maxima quantitate, si habent, iumentinũ. Porro in hyeme, quia nisi diuites sint, lac iumentinũ non habent, millium cum aqua decoquunt, quod tam tenue faciunt, vt illud bibere valeant. Vnde quilibet eorũ scyphum bibit vnũ vel duos in mane, & quandoq; nihil amplius manducant in die. In sero autem vnicuiq; datur de carnibus modicũ, & bibunt ex eis brodium. Porrò in æstate quando satis habent de lacte iumentino, carnes comedunt rarò, nisi fortè donẽtur eisdẽ, aut venatione bestiã aliquam ceperint vel auem.

Tonsura.

Habitus.

Vestes retro caudatæ.

Tabernacula.

Opes in pecore.

Victus.

De moribus eorum bonis & malis. Cap. 5.

HAbent autem mores quosdam quidem commendabiles, & quosdam detestabiles. Magis quippe sunt obedientes Dominis suis, quàm aliqui qui in mundo sint homines, siue religiosi siue seculares. Nam eos maximè reuerentur, nec illis de facili mentiuntur vel bis factisue: rarò vel nunquam ad inuicem contendunt, belláq; vel rixæ, vulnera vel homicidia nunquam inter eos contingunt. Prędones etiam ac fures rerum magnarũ ibi nequaquã inueniuntur, ideoq; stationes & currus eorũ, vbi thesauros habent, feris aut electibus non firmantur. Si aliqua bestia perdita fuerit, quicunq; inuenit eam vel dimittit, vel ad illos, qui ad hoc positi sunt, eam ducit. Apud quos ille, cuius est bestia, illam requirit, & absq; vlla difficultate recipit. Vnus alium satis honorat, & familiaritatẽ ac cibaria, quamuis apud eos sint pauca, liberaliter satis communicat. Satis etiã sunt sufferentes, nec cùm ieiunauerint vno die, vel duobus, omnino sine cibo, videntur impa-

Mores ręa.

Abstinentia.

Comitas.

Temperantia.

impatientes, ſed cantant & ludunt, ac ſi bene comeditent. In equitando multum ſuſtinent frigus, calorem quoq; nimium patiuntur. Inter eos quaſi nulla placita ſunt, & quamuis multum inebrientur, tamen in ebrietate ſua nunquam contendunt. Nullus alium ſpernit, ſed iuuat & promouet, quantum congruè poteſt. Caſtæ ſunt eorum mulieres, nec aliquid inter eos auditur de ipſarum impudicitiis. Quædam tamen ex ijs verba turpia ſatis habent & impudica. Portò erga cæteros homines ijdem Tartari ſuperbiſſimi ſunt, omneſq; nobiles & ignobiles quaſi pro nihilo reputantes deſpiciunt. Vnde vidimus in curia Imperatoris magnum Ruſſiæ ducem, & filium regis Georgianorum, ac Soldanos multos & magnos nullum honorem debitum recipere apud eos. Quinetiam Tartari eiſdem aſſignati, quantumcunq; viles eſſent illos antecedebant, ſemperq; primum locum & ſummum tenebant, imò etiam ſæpè oportebat illos poſt eorũ poſteriora ſedere. Præterea iracundi ſunt, & indignantis naturæ multum erga cæteros homines, & vltra modum erga eoſdem mendaces. In principio quidẽ blandi ſunt, ſed poſtmodum vt Scorpiones pungunt. Subdoli enim & fraudulenti ſunt, & omnes homines ſi poſſunt aſtutia circumueniunt. Quicquid mali volunt eis facere, miro modo occultant, vt ſibi non poſſint prouidere, vel contra eorum aſturias remedium inuenire. Immundi quoq; ſunt in cibo & potu ſumendis, & in cæteris factis ſuis. Ebrietas apud illos eſt honorabilis: cumq; multum aliquis biberit, ibidemq; reijcit, non ideo ceſſat, quin iterum bibat. Ad petendum maximi ſunt exactores, tenaciſſimi retentores, pariciſſimi donatores. Aliorum hominum occiſio apud illos eſt pro nihilo.

Caſtitas.

Inſolentia abſtinentia exaltat.

Iracundia.

Fraudulentia.

Sordes. Temulentia.

Auaritia.

De legibus & conſuetudinibus eorum. Cap. 6.

HOc autem habent in lege ſiue conſuetudine, vt occidant viros & mulieres, ſi quando inueniantur in adulterio manifeſtè. Similiter etiam virginem, ſi fornicata fuerit cum aliquo, occidunt eam cum eo. Præterea ſi aliquis in præda vel furto manifeſto inuenitur, ſine vlla miſeratione occiditur. Item ſi quis denudauit conſilia, maximè quando volunt ad bellum procedere, dantur ei ſuper poſteriora centum plagæ, quanto maiores vnus ruſticus cum magno baculo poteſt dare. Similiter cùm aliqui de minoribus offendunt in aliquo, non eis à maioribus ſuis parcitur, ſed verberibus grauiter affliguntur. Matrimonio autem gene- aliter coniunguntur omnibus, etiam propinquis carne, excepta matre & filia & ſorore ex eadem matre. Nam ſororem tantùm ex patre, & vxorem quoq; patris, poſt eius mortem ſortiuntur ducere. Vxorẽ etiam fratris alius frater iunior, poſt eius mortem, vel alius de parentela, te- ducere. Vnde dum adhuc eſſemus in terra, Dux quidam Ruſſiæ, Andreas nomine, apud Ba- quod equum Tartarorum de terra educeret, & alijs venderet, accuſatus eſt: quod licet non eſſet probatum, occiſus eſt. Hoc audiens iunior frater, & vxor occiſi, pariter venerunt ad præfatum Ducem, ſupplicare volentes, ne terra auferretur eiſdem. At ille paruo præcepit, vt fratris defuncti duceret vxorem, mulieri quoq; vt illum in virum duceret, ſecundum Tartarorum conſuetudinẽ. Quæ reſpondit, ſe potius occidi velle, quàm ſic contra legem facere. At ille nihilominus eam illi tradidit quamuis ambo renuerent, quantum poſſent. Itaq; ducentes eos in lectum, clamantem puerum & plorantẽ ſuper illam poſuerunt, ipſoſq; commiſceri pariter coëgerunt. Deniq; poſtmortem maritorum, vxores Tartarorum non de facili ſolent ad ſecunda coniugia tranſire, niſi fortè quis velit ſororiam aut nouercam ſuam ducere. Nulla verò differentia eſt apud eos inter filiũ vxoris & concubinæ, ſed dat pater quod vult vnicuiq;. Itaq; ſi ſunt etiam ex Ducum genere, ita fit Dux filius concubinæ, ſicut filius vxoris legitimæ. Vnde cùm rex Georgiæ duos filios numero, vnum ſcilicet nomine Melich legitimum, alterum verò Dauid ex adulterio natum haberet, morienſq; terræ partem adulteræ filio reliquiſſet, Melich, cui etiam ex parte matris regnum obueneret, quia per fœminas tenebatur, perrexit ad Imperatorem Tartarorum, eo quòd & Dauid iter arripuerat ad illum. Ambobus igitur ad curiam venientibus, datiſq; maximis muneribus, petebat adulteræ filius, vt fieret ei iuſtitia ſecundum morem Tartarorum. Dataq; eſt ſententia contra Melich, vt Dauid, qui maior erat natu, ſubeſſet, ac terrã à patre ſibi conceſſam quietè ac pacificè poſſideret. Cumq; Tartarorum vnus habet vxorum multitudinem, vnaquæq; per ſe ſuam habet familiam & ſtationem. Et vna die Tartarus comedit & bibit & dormit cum vna, altera die cum alia. Vna tamen inter cæteras maior habetur, cum qua frequentius quã cum alijs commoratur. Et licet, vt dictum eſt, ſint multæ, nunquam tamen de facili contendunt inter ſe.

Pœna adulterij.

Furti.

Arcani cuiuſpiam.

Leges matrimoniorum.

Andreas Dux Ruſſiæ.

¶ Vide Herberſteinium de rebus Moſcheui. pag. 11. b.

Melich & Dauid fratres Georgiani.

De ſuperſtitioſis traditionibus ipſorum. Cap. 7.

QVibuſdam verò traditionibus indifferentia quędã eſſe peccata dicunt, quas vel ipſi vel anteceſſores eorum confinxerunt. Vnum eſt, cultellum in ignem figere, vel quocunq; modo ignem cultello tangere, vel etiam de caldaria cum cultello carnes extrahere, vel cum ſecuri

Superſtitio.

iuxta ignem incidere. Credunt enim, quòd sic auferri debeat caput ignis. Aliud est appodiare se ad flagellum, quo percutitur equus: ipsi enim non vtuntur calcaribus. Item flagello sagittas tangere, iuuenes aues capere vel occidere, cum signo equum percutere, os cum osse alio frangere. Itemq; lac, vel aliquem potum aut cibum super terram effundere, in statione mingere. Quod si voluntariè facit, occiditur, si autem aliter, oportet quòd pecuniam multã incantatori soluat, à quo purificetur. Qui etiam faciat, vt statio cum omnibus, quæ in ipsa sunt, inter duos ignes transeat. Antequam sic purificetur, nullus audet intrare, nec aliquid de illa exportare. Præterea si alicui morsellus imponitur, quem deglutire non possit, & illum de ore suo ejicit, foramen sub statione fit, per quod extrahitur, ac sine vlla miseratione occiditur. Iterum si quis calcat super limen stationis Ducis alicuius, interficitur. Multa etiam habent his similia, quæ reputant peccata. At homines occidere, aliorum terras inuadere, acres illorum diripere, & contra Dei præcepta vel prohibitiones facere, nullum apud eos est peccatum. De vita æterna & damnatione perpetua nihil sciunt. Credunt tamen, quòd post mortem in alio seculo viuant, gregésque muliplicent, comedant & bibant, & cætera faciant, quæ hic à viuentibus fiunt. In principio lunationis vel in plenilunio incipiunt, quicquid noui agere volunt, ipsamq; Lunam Imperatorem magnum appellant, eamq; deprecantes genua flectunt. Omnes, qui morantur in stationibus suis, oportet per ignem purificari. Quæ scilicet purificatio fit hoc modo. Duos quidem ignes faciunt, & duas hastas iuxta eos, vnamq; eorum in summitate hastarum ponunt. Ligantq; super cordam illam quasdam de Bucaramo scissiones, sub qua scilicet corda & ligaturis inter illos ignes transeunt homines, ac bestiæ ac stationes. Sunt etiam duæ mulieres, vna hinc, & alia inde aquam proijcientes, ac quædam carmina recitantes. Cæterum si aliquis à fulgure occiditur, oportet prædicto modo per ignes transire omnes illos, qui in illis stationibus morantur. Statio siquidem ac lectus & currus, filtra & vestes, & quicquid talium habent, à nullo tanguntur, sed ab hominibus tanquam immunda respuuntur. Et vt breuiter dicam, omnia purificari credunt per ignem. Vnde quando veniunt ad eos nuncij, vel Principes, aut quælibet cunq; personæ, oportet ipsos & munera sua per duos ignes, vt purificentur, transire, ne fortè veneficia fecerint, aut venenum seu aliquid mali attulerint.

Addition.

Cultus lunæ.

Lustrationis ritus

Ignis superstitiosa efficacitas.

De initio imperij siue Principatus eorum. Cap. 8.

Tartaria populi.

TErra quidem illa Orientalis, de qua dictum est suprà, quæ Mongal nominatur, quatuor quondam habuisse populos memoratur. Vnus eorum Yeka Mongal, id est, magni Mongali vocabantur. Secundus Sumongal, id est, aquatici Mongali, qui seipsos appellabant Tartaros, à quodam fluuio per eorum terram currente, qui Tartar nominatur. Tertius appellabatur Merkat. Quartus verò Metrit. Omnes vnam personarum formam & vnam linguam habebant hi populi, quamuis inter se per Principes ac prouincias essent diuisi. In terra Yeka Mongal quidam fuit, qui vocabatur Chingis. Iste cœpit robustus venator esse: didicit enim homines furari, & prædam capere. Ad alias terras ibat, & quoscunque poterat, captiuabat, sibiq; associabat. Homines quoque suæ gentis inclinauit ad se, qui tanquam Ducem sequebantur ipsum ad malè agendum. Cœpit autem pugnare cum Sumongal, siue cum Tartaris, & Ducem eorum interfecit, multoq; bello sibi Tartaros omnes subiecit, & in seruitutem redegit. Post hęc cum istis omnibus contra Merkatas, iuxta terram positos Tartarorum pugnauit, quos etiam bello sibi subiecit. Inde procedens contra Metritas pugnã exercuit, & illos etiam obtinuit. Audientes Naymani, quòd Chingis taliter eleuatus esset, indignati sunt. Ipsi enim habuerunt Imperatorem strenuum valdè, cui dabant tributum cunctę nationes prædictæ. Qui cùm esset mortuus, filij eius successerunt loco ipsius. Sed quia iuuenes ac stulti erant, populum tenere nesciebant, sed ad inuicem diuisi ac scissi erant. Vnde Chingi prædicto modo iam exaltato, nihilominus in terras prædictas faciebant insultum, & habitatores occidebant, ac diripiebant prædam eorum. Quod audiens Chingis, omnes sibi subiectos congregauit Naymani & Karakytay ex aduerso similiter in quandam vallem strictam conuenerunt, & commissum est prælium, in quo Naymani & Karakytay à Mongalis deuicti sunt. Qui etiam pro maiori parte occisi fuerunt, & alij, qui euadere non potuerunt, in seruitutem redacti sunt. In terra prædictorũ Karakytaorum Occoday Cham, filius Chingischam, postquã imperator fuit positus, quandã ciuitatem ædificauit, quã Chanyl appellauit. Prope quam ad Meridiem est quoddã desertum magnũ, in quo pro certo syluestres homines habitare dicuntur, qui nullarenus loquuntur, nec lunctum in cubitus habent, & si quando edunt, per se surgere non valent. Sed tamen discretionem tantam habent, quòd filtra de lana Camelorum, quibus vestiuntur, faciunt & contra ventum ponunt. Et si quando Tartari pergentes ad eos vulnerant eos sagittis, gramina in vulneribus ponunt, & fortiter ante ipsos fugiunt.

Naymani. Q. loira cap. 2 3.

Præter discordias oppressi.

Occoday Cham.

Homines syluestres.

De

De mutua victoria ipſorum & Kythaorum. Cap. 9.

MOngali autem in terram ſuam reuertentes, ſe contra * Kythaos ad prælium parauerunt, & caſtra mouentes, eorum terram intrauerunt. Quod audiens eorum Imperator, venit cum exercitu ſuo contra illos, & commiſſum eſt prælium durũ, in quo Mongali ſunt deuicti, omneſq; nobiles eorum, qui erant in exercitu, præter ſeptem occiſi ſunt. Vnde cùm illis volentibus aliquam impugnare regionẽ, minatur aliquis ſtragem adhuc reſpondent: Olim etiam occiſi non niſi ſeptem remanſimus, & tamen modò creuimus in multitudinem magnam, ideoq; non terremur de talibus. Chingis autem & alij, qui remanſerunt, in terram ſuam fugerunt. Cumq; quieuiſſet aliquantulum, præparauit ſe rurſus ad prælium, & proceſſit contra terram Huyrorum. Iſti ſunt homines Chriſtiani de ſecta Neſtorianorum. Et hos etiam Mongali deuicerunt, eorumq; literam acceperunt; prius enim ſcripturam non habebant, nunc autem eandem Mongalorum literam appellant. Inde contra terram Saruyur, & contra terram Karanitarum, & contra terram Hudirat proceſſit, quos omnes bello deuicit. Inde in terram ſuam redijt, & aliquantulum quieuit. Deinde conuocatis omnibus hominibus ſuis, contra Kythaos pariter proceſſerunt, diuq; contra illos pugnantes, magnam partem terræ illorum vicerunt, eorumq; Imperatorem in ciuitate ſua maiorem concluſerunt. Quam & tam longo tempore obſederunt, quod exercitus expenſæ omninò defecerunt. Cumq; iam quod manducarent, penitus non haberent, præcipit Chingiſcham ſuis, vt de decẽ hominibus vnũ ad manducandum darent. Illi verò de ciuitate machinis & ſagittis viriliter contra ittos pugnabãt, & cùm deficerent lapides, argentũ & maximè liquefactum proijciebant. Ciuitas ſiquidẽ illa multiſerat diuitijs plena. Cumq; diu Mongali pugnaſſent, & eam bello vincere non poſſent, vnam magnã ſub terra viam ab exercitu vſq; ad mediũ ciuitatis fecerunt, & proſilientes in mediũ eius, contra ciues pugnauerunt. Illi quoque, qui extra remanſerant, eodem modo contra illos pugnabant. Deniq; concidentes portas ciuitatis intrauerunt, & imperatorem cum pluribus occidentes vrbem poſſederunt, aurumq; & argentum ipſorum contra illos pugnabant. Deniq; concidentes portas ciuitatis intrauerunt, & imperatorem cum pluribus occidentes vrbem poſſederunt, aurumq; & argentum diuitum & omnes eius diuitias abſtulerunt. Et cùm illi terrę ſuos homines præfeciſſent, in terrã propriam reuerſi ſunt. Tunc primum Imperatore Kythaorum deuicto, factus eſt Chingiſcham imperator. Quandam tamen partẽ illius terræ, quia poſita erat in mari, nullatenus deuicerunt vſq; hodie. Sunt autem Kytai homines pagani, habentes literam ſpecialem, & etiam, vt dicitur, veteris & noui Teſtamenti ſcripturam. Habent etiam vitas patrũ & eremitas & domos, in quibus orant temporibus ſuis, ad modum Eccleſiarum factas. Quoſdam etiam ſanctos habere ſe dicunt, & vnum Deum colunt. Chriſtum IESVM Dominum venerantur, & credunt vitã æternam, ſed non baptizantur. Scripturam noſtram honorant ac reuerentur. Chriſtianos diligunt, & eleemoſynas plures faciunt, homines benigni ſatis & humani videntur. Barbam non habent, & in diſpoſitione faciei cum Mongalis in parte concordant. Meliores attifices in mundo non inueniuntur in omnibus operibus, in quibus homines exercentur. Terra eorum eſt opulenta nimis in frumento & vino, auro & ſerico ac rebus cæteris.

* *Haythona & Taule Venetꝰ ſunt Cathay.*

Tartarorum Cathayna clades.

Noua victoria.

Litera.

Argentum loco lapidum in hoſtem proiectum.

Chingis falutatus Imperator.

Cathaynorum literæ & religio.

Opificiorum ſtudia.

De pugna ipſorum contra Indiam minorem & maiorem. Cap. 10.

CVm autem Mongali cum Imperatore ſuo Chingiſcham poſt prefatam victoriã aliquantulum quieuiſſent, exercitus ſuos diuiſerunt. Imperator ſiquidem vnum de filijs ſuis nominе Thoſut, quem etiam Can, id eſt, Imperatorẽ appellabant, cum exercitu contra Comanos miſit, quos ille multo bello deuicit, & poſtmodum in terram ſuam redijt. Alium verò filiũ cum exercitu contra Indos miſit, qui & minorem Indiam ſubiecit. Hi ſunt nigri Sarraceni, qui Æthiopes ſunt vocati. Hic autem exercitus ad pugnam contra Chriſtianos, qui ſunt in India maiori, proceſſit. Quod audiens Rex illius terræ, qui vulgò * Presbyter Iohannes appellatur, contra illos venit exercitu congregato. Et faciens imagines cupreas hominum, vnamquamq; poſuit in ſella ſuper equum. Poſuit & interius ignem, & hominem cum ſolle ſuper equum poſt imaginem. Itaq; cum multis equis & imaginibus, taliter præparatis, ad pugnam contra Mongalos ſeu Tartaros proceſſerunt. Et cùm ad locum prælij peruenitſſent, equos iſtos vnum iuxta alium pręmiſerunt. Viri autem, qui erant retrò, neſcio quid ſuper ignem, qui erat intra imagines, poſuerunt, & cum ſollibus fortiter ſufflauerunt. Vnde factum eſt, vt ex Græco igne homines & equi comburerentur, & etiam aër ex fumo denigraretur. Tumque ſuper Tartaros ſagittas iecerunt Indi, ex quibus multi vulnerati fuerunt & interfecti. Sicq; eiecerunt illos cum magna confuſione de ſuis finibus, nec vnquam, quod ad ipſos vltra redierint audiuimus.

Thoſut Can, Chingis F.

India minor debellata.

Regis maioris India ſtratagema.

* *Vide ſcholion in lib. 1. cap. 51. M. Pauli Venet.*

Victoria

Qualiter ab hominibus caninis repulsi, Buri-*thabethinos vicerunt.* Cap. 11.

De monstrosis mulieribus & canibus monstrosis narratio.

CVm autem per deserta redirent, in quandam terram venerunt, in qua, sicut nobis apud Imperatoris curiam per clericos Ruthenos, & alios, qui diu fuerant inter ipsos, firmiter asserendo referebatur, monstra quædam, imaginem fœmineam habentia, repererunt. Quas cùm per multos interpretes interrogassent, vbi viri terræ illius essent, responderunt, quòd in illa terra quæcunq; fœminę nascebãtur, habebant formã humanam, masculi vero speciẽ caninam. Dumq; moram in terra illa protraherent, Canes in alia fluuij parte conuenerunt. Et cùm esset hyems asperrima omnes se in aquam proiecerunt. Post hæc incontinenti sponte in puluerẽ voluebantur, sicq; puluis admixtus aquę super eos congelabatur, & vt ita pluries fecerunt, glacie super eos depressata, cum impetu magno contra Tartaros ad pugnam conuenerunt. At verò cum illi sagittas super eos iaciebant, ac si super lapides sagittassent, retrò sagittæ redibant. Alia quoq; arma eorũ in nullo eos lædere poterant. Ipsi verò Canes insultum in Tartaros facientes, morsibus vulnerauerunt multos, & occiderunt, sicq; illos de suis finibus eiecerunt. Vnde adhuc inter illos est prouerbium de hoc facto, quod dicunt ad inuicem ridendo: Pater meus vel frater meus à Canibus fuit occisus. Mulieres autem illorũ, quas ceperant, ad terrã suã duxerunt, & vsq; ad diẽ mortis eorũ ibidẽ fuerunt. Cùm autẽ exercitus ille Mongalorum rediret, venit ad terram Burithabeth, cuius habitatores pagani sunt, & hos Tartari bello vicerunt. Hi consuetudinem habent mirabilem, imò potius miserabilem. Cùm enim alicuius pater humanæ naturæ soluit debitum, congregant omnẽ parentelam, & comedunt eum. Hi pilos in barba non habent, imò ferrum quoddam in manibus, sicut vidimus, portant, cum quo semper barbam, si forte crinis aliquis in ea crescit, depilant. Multum etiam deformes sunt. Inde verò ille Tartarorum exercitus in terram suam est reuersus.

Burithabeth reg. o.

Incolarum mores

Qualiter à montibus Caspijs, & ab hominibus sub-*terrancis repulsi sunt.* Cap. 12.

Alia Chingis expeditio.

CHingischam etiã illo tẽpore, quo dimisit alios exercitus contra Orientẽ, per terram Kergis cum expeditione perrexit, quos tamen tunc bello non vicit, & vt nobis dicebatur, ibidẽ vsq; ad montes Caspios peruenit. At illi montes in ea parte, ad quam applicauerunt, de lapide Adamantino sunt: ideóq; sagittas & arma ferrea illorũ ad se traxerunt. Homines autẽ inter Caspios montes concluſi clamorem exercitus, vt creditur, audientes, montem frangere cœperunt, & cùm alio tempore post decem annos redirent Tartari, montem confractum inuenerunt. Cumq; ad illos accedere attentassent, minimè potuerunt: quis nubes quędam erat posita ante ipsos, vltra quam ire nullatenus poterant. Omninò quippe visum amittebant, statim vt ad illam peruenichant. Illi autem ex aduerso credentes, quòd Tartari ad illos accedere formidarent, insultum contra eos fecerunt, sed statim vt peruenerunt ad nubem propter causam prædictam, procedere non potuerunt. Ac verò antequam ad montes prædictos peruenirent Tartari, plusquam per mensem per vastam solitudinem transierunt, & inde procedentes adhuc contra Orientem, plusquàm per mensem per magnum desertum perrexerunt. Itaq; peruenerunt ad quandam terram, in qua vias quidem tritas videbant, sed neminem inuenire poterant. Tandem quęrentes, vnũ hominem cum vxore sua repererunt, quos in præsentiam Chingischam adduxerunt. Qui cùm interrogasset illos, vbi homines illius terræ essent, responderunt, quòd in terra sub montibus habitarent. Tunc Chingischam retenta vxore, misit ad eos virum illum, mandans illis, vt venirent ad ipsius mandatum. Qui pergens ad illos, omnia narrauit, quæ Chingischam eis mandauit. Illi verò respondentes dixerunt, quod die tali venirent ad ipsum, vt facerent eius mandatum. Ac ipsi medio tempore per vias occultas sub terra se congregantes, ad pugnam contra illos venerunt, & subitò super eos irruentes, plurimos occiderunt. Solis quoque sonitus in ortu suo sustinere non poterant, imò tempore, quo oriebatur, oportebat eos vnam aurem ad terram ponere, & superiorem fortiter obturare, ne sonum illum terribilem audirent. Nec sic tamen cauere poterant, quin hac de causa plurimi ex eis interirent. Videns ergo Chingischam & sui, quòd nihil proficerent, sed potius homines suos perderent, fugerunt, ac terra illa exierunt. Illum tamen virum cum vxore sua secum deduxerunt, qui etiam vsque ad mortem in terra eorum fuerunt. Interrogati verò, cur in regione sua sub terra solerant habitare, dixerunt, quòd ibi quodam tempore homines, cùm oritur Sol, tantus fit sonitus, vt homines nulla ratione valeant sustinere. Quin etiam tunc in organis & tympanis cæteriſque musicis instrumentis percutere solent, vt sonitum illum non audiant.

¶ Vide an Hamsem regionem dicat: de qua Haythonus cap. 10.

Trogiodytæ.

Fabulosus Solis orientis sonitus.

De

De ſtatutis Chingiſcham, et morte ipſius, et filijs ac Ducibus. Cap. 13.

CVm autem de terra illa reuerteretur Chingiſcham, defecerunt eis victualia, famemq; patiebantur maximam. Tunc interiora vnius beſtiæ recentia caſu inuenerunt: quæ accipientes, depoſitis tantum ſtercoribus, decoxerunt, & coram Chingiſcham deportata pariter comederunt. Ideoq; ſtatuit Chingiſcham, vt nec ſanguis, nec interiora, nec aliquid de beſtia, quæ manducari poteſt, proijciatur, exceptis ſtercoribus. Inde ergò in terram propriam reuerſus eſt, ibiq; leges & ſtatuta edidit, quæ Tartari inuiolabiliter obſeruant, de quibus ſcilicet iam alias ſuperius dictum eſt. Poſt hoc ab ictu tonitrui occiſus eſt. Habuit autem quatuor filios: Occoday vocabatur primus, Thoſſut Can ſecundus, Thiaday tertius, quarti nomen ignoramus. Ab his inij. deſcenderunt omnes Duces Mongalorum. Primus filiorum Occoday eſt Cuyne, qui nunc eſt Imperator. Huius fratres Coeten & Chyrenen. Ex filijs autem Thoſſut Can ſunt Bathy, Ordu, Siba, Bora. Bathy poſt Imperatorem omnibus ditior eſt ac potentior. Ordu verò omnium Ducum ſenior. Filij Thiaday, ſunt Hutin & Cadan. Filij autem alterius filij Chingiſcham, cuius ignoramus nomen, ſunt, Mengu & Bithat & alij plures. Huius Mengu mater Seroctan eſt, Domina magna inter Tartaros, excepta Imperatoris matre plus nominata, omnibusq; potentior, excepto Bathy. Hæc autem ſunt nomina Ducum: Ordu, qui fuit in Polonia, & Hungaria, Bathy quoq; & Hutyn & Cadan & Syban & Oaygat, qui omnes fuerunt in Hungaria. Sed & Cyrpodan, qui adhuc eſt vltra mare contra quoſdam Soldanos Sarracenorum, & alios habitatores terræ transmarinæ. Alij verò remanſerunt in terra, ſcilicet Mengu, Chyrenen, Hubilai, Sinocur, Cara, Gay, Sybedey, Bora, Berca, Correnſa. Alij quoq; Duces eorum plures ſunt, quorum nomina nobis ignota ſunt.

Chingis leti.

Interitus. Liberi. Nepotes.

Duces.

De poteſtate Imperatoris & Ducum eius. Cap. 14.

POtrò Imperator eorum, ſcilicet Tartarorum, ſuper omnes habet mirabile dominium. Nullus enim audet in aliqua morari parte, niſi vbi aſſignauerit ipſe. Et ipſe quidem aſſignat Ducibus vbi maneant. Duces autem loca Millenarijs aſſignant, Millenarij verò Centenarijs, & Centenarij Decanis. Quicquid autem eis præcipitur, quocunq; tempore, quocunq; loco, ſiue ad bellum, ſiue ad mortem, vel vbicunque, ſine vlla obediunt contradictione. Nam etſi pequenter colligit virgines ex omnibus Tartarorum finibus, & ſi vult aliquas retinere, ſibi retinet, alias verò dat ſuis hominibus. Nuncios etiam quoſcunq; & vbicunq; tranſmittat, oportet quòd dent ei ſine mora equos & expenſas. Similiter vndecunque veniant ei tributa vel nuncij, oportet equos & cursus & expenſas tribui. Ac verò nuncij, qui aliunde veniunt, in magna miſeria, & victus & veſtitus penuria ſunt. Maximeq; quando veniunt ad Principes, & ibi debent moram contrahere. Tunc adeò parum datur decem hominibus, quòd vix inde poſſent duo viuere. Inſuper & ſi aliquæ illis iniuriæ fiunt, minimè conqueri facile poſſunt. Multa quoque munera tam à principibus quàm à cæteris ab illis petuntur: quæ ſi non dederint, vilipenduntur, & quaſi pro nihilo reputantur. Hinc & nos magnam partem rerum, quæ nobis pro expenſis à fidelibus erant datæ, de neceſſitate oportuit in muneribus dare. Denique ſic omnia ſunt in manu Imperatoris, quod nemo audet dicere, Hoc meum eſt vel illius, ſed omnia, ſcilicet res & iumenta ac homines, ſunt ipſius. Super hoc etiam nuper emanauit ſtatutum eiuſdem. Idem quoq; per omnia dominium habent Duces ſuper ſibi ſubditos homines.

Imperatoris Tartarorum ſeruile in omnes imperium.

Iohannes de Plano Carpini Legatus.

De electione Imperatoris Occoday, & legatione Ducis Bathy. Cap. 15.

MOrtuo, vt ſuprà dictum eſt, Cyngiſcham, conuenerunt Duces, & elegerunt Occoday, filium eius Imperatorem. Qui habito conſilio Principum, diuiſit exercitus. Miſitq; Bathy, qui in ſecundo gradu attingebat eum, contra terram Alciſſodan & contra terram Biſminorum, qui Sarraceni erant, ſed loquebantur Comanicum. Qui terram illorum ingreſſus, cum eis pugnauit, eoſq; ſibi bello ſubiecit. Quædam autem ciuitas, nomine Barchin, diu reſtitit eis. Ciues enim in circuitu ciuitatis ſoueas multas fecerant, propter quas non poterant à Tartaris capi, donec illas repleuiſſent. Ciues autem vrbis Sarguit hoc audientes, exierunt obuiam eis, ſponte in manus eorum ſe tradentes. Vnde ciuitas eorum deſtructa non fuit, ſed plures eorum occiderunt, & alios tranſtulerunt, accepiſq; ſpolijs, vrbem alijs hominibus repleuerunt, & contra ciuitatem Orna perrexerunt. Hæc erat nimium populoſa & diuitijs copioſa. Erant enim ibi plures

Occoday electus fuit Imperator.

Bathy ciuitates expedit.

Barchin ciuitas.

Sarguit ciuitas.

Orna ciuitas.

plures Christiani, videlicet Gasari & Rutheni, & Alani, & alij nec non & Sarraceni. Eratq; Sarracenorum ciuitatis dominium. Est etiam posita super quendam magnum fluuium, & est quasi portus, habens forum maximum. Cumq; Tartari non possent eos aliter vincere, fluuium, qui per vrbem currebat, præciderunt, & illam cum rebus & hominibus submerserunt. Quo facto, contra Russiam perrexerunt, & magnam stragem in ea fecerunt, ciuitates & castra destruxerunt, & homines occiderunt. Kiouiam, Russiæ metropolin, diu obsederunt, & tandem ceperunt, ac ciues interfecerunt. Vnde quando per illam terram ibamus, innumerabilia capita & ossa hominum mortuorum, iacentia super campum, inuenie bamus. Fuerat enim vrbs valdè magna & populosa, nunc quasi ad nihilum est redacta: vix enim domus ibi remanserunt ducentę, quarum etiam habitatores tenentur in maxima seruitute. Porrò de Russia & de Comania Tartari contra Hungaros & Polonos processerunt, ibiq; plures ex ipsis interfecti fuerunt, & vt iam superius dictum est, si Hungari viriliter restitissent, Tartari ab eis confusi recessissent. Inde reuertentes in terram Morduanorum, qui sunt Pagani, venerunt, eosq; bello vicerunt. Inde contra Byleros, id est, contra Bulgariam magnam profecti sunt, & ipsam omninò destruxerunt. Hinc ad Aquilonem adhuc contra Bastarcos, id est Hungariam magnam processerunt, & illos etiam deuicerunt. Hinc amplùs ad Aquilonem pergentes, ad Parossitas venerunt, qui paruos habentes stomachos & os paruum, non manducant, sed carnes decoquunt, quibus decoctis, se super ollam ponunt, & fumum recipiunt, & de hoc solo reficiuntur, vel si aliquid manducant, hoc valdè modicum est. Hinc & ad Samogetas venerunt, qui tantùm de venationibus viuunt, & tabernacula vestesq; tantum habent de pellibus bestiarum. Inde ad quandam terram super Oceanum peruenerunt, vbi monstra quædam inuenerunt, quæ per omnia formam humanam habebant, sed pedes bouinos, & caput quidem humanum, sed faciem vt canis. Duo verba loquebantur vt homines, tertiò latrabant vt canes. Hinc redierunt in Comaniam, & vsq; nunc ibi morantur ex eis quidam.

¶ Vide Matheum, lib. 1. ca. 3.

Morduani.

Bulgaria magna.

Hungaria magna.

Parossitę.

Samogetę.

Monstra aquilonaria.

† *De his regionibus Herbersteinius pag. 8 b & 91. b. Paret enim hodie vtraq; Moschorum Principi. Item de Bulgaria Guaginus pag. 106. b.*

De legatione Cyrpodan Ducis. Cap. 16.

Expeditio Cyrpodanis.

EO tempore misit Occoday Can Cyrpodan Ducem cum exercitu ad meridiem contra Kergis, qui & illos bello superauit. Hi homines sunt Pagani, qui pilos in barba non habent. Quorum consuetudo talis est, vt cùm alicuius pater moritur, præ dolore quasi vnam corrigiam in signum lamenti ab aure vsq; aurem de facie sua leuet. His autem deuictis, Dux Cyrpodan contra Armenios iuit ad meridiem cum suis. Qui cùm transirent per deserta quædam, monstra inuenerunt, effigiem humanam habentia, quæ non nisi vnum brachium cum manu in medio pectoris, & vnum pedem habebant, & duo cum vno arcu sagittabant, adeoq; fortiter currebant, quòd equi eos inuestigare non poterant. Currebant autem super vnum pedem vltam saltando, & cùm essent fatigati, taliter eum volebant super manum & pedem, se tanquam in circulo reuoluendo. Cumq; sic etiam fessi essent, iterum secundùm priorem modum currebant. Hos Isidorus Cyclopedes appellat. Et ex eis Tartari nonnullos occiderunt. Et sicut nobis à Ruthenis Clericis in curia dicebatur, qui morantur cum Imperatore prædicto, plures ex eis nuncij venerunt in legatione ad curiam Imperatoris, superiùs annotati, vt possent habere pacem cum illo. Inde procedentes venerunt in Armeniam, quam bello deuicerunt, & etiam Georgiæ partem. Alia verò pars venit ad mandatum eorum, & singulis annis dederunt, & adhuc dant ei pro tributo xx. millia Yperperarum. Hinc ad terram Soldani Deurum, potentis & magni, processerunt, cum quo etiam pugnantes, ipsum deuicerunt. Denique processerunt vlterius debellando ac vincendo vsque ad terram Soldani Halapiæ, & nunc etiam terram obtinent, alias quoque terras vltra illas proponentes impugnare: nec postea reuersi sunt in terram suam vsq; hodie. Idemq; exercitus contra terram Caliphi Baldach perrexit, quam etiam sibi subdidit, & vt CCCC. Byzantios, exceptis Baldekinis cæterisq; muneribus, ei quotidiè pro tributo daret, obtinuit. Sed & quolibet anno mittunt nuncios ad Caliphum, vt ad eos veniat. Qui cum tributo munera magna trasmittens, vt eum supportent, rogat. Ipse autem Imperator Tartarorum munera quidem accipit, & nihilominus vt veniat, pro eo mittit.

Cyclopedes.

Armenia & Georgia subacta.

Soldanus Halapię.

Caliphus Baldacensis.

Qualiter Tartari se habent in prælijs. Cap. 17.

Tartarorum militaris disciplina.

ORdinauit Chingischam Tartaros per Decanos & centenarios & millenarios. Decem quoque millenarijs præponunt vnum, cunctoq; nihilominus exercitui duos aut tres Duces, ita tamen vt ad vnum habeant respectum. Cumq; in bello contra aliquos congrediuntur, nisi communi-

communiter cedant, omnes qui fugiunt, occiduntur. Et si vnus aut duo, vel plures ex decem audacter accedunt ad pugnam, alij verò ex illo Denario non sequuntur, similiter occiduntur. Sed etiam si vnus ex decem vel plures capiuntur, socij eorum si non eos liberant, ipsi etiam occiduntur. Porrò arma debent habere talia. Duos arcus vel vnum bonum ad minus. Tresq; pharetras sagittis plenas, & vnam securim & funes ad machinas trahendas. Diuites autem habent gladios in fine acutos, ex vna parte tantùm incidentes, & aliquantulum curuos. Habent & equos armatos, crura etiam tecta, galeas & loricas. Verùm loricas & equorum cooperturas quidam habent de corio, super corpus artificiosè duplicato vel etiam triplicato. Galea verò superius est de chalybe, vel de ferro: sed illud, quod in circuitu protegit collum & gulam, est de corio. Quidam autem de ferro habent omnia supradicta, in hunc modum formata. Laminas multas tenues ad vnius digiti latitudinem & palmæ longitudinẽ faciunt, & in qualibet octo foramina paruula facientes, interius tres corrigias strictas & fortes ponunt. Sicq; laminas, vnam alij quasi per gradus ascendendo, supponunt. Itaq; laminas ad corrigias, tenuibus corrigiolis per foramina prædicta immissis, ligant, & in superiori parte corrigiolam vnam ex vtraque parte duplicatam cum alia corrigiola consuunt, vt laminæ simul benè firmiterq; cohæreant. Hæc faciunt tam ad cooperturas equorum, quàm ad armaturas hominum. Adeoq; faciunt illa lucere, quod in eis potest homo faciem suam videre. Aliqui verò in collo ferri lanceæ vncum habent, cum quo de sella, si possunt, hominem detrahant. Sagittarum eorum ferramenta sunt acutissima, ex vtraque parte quasi gladius biceps incidentia, semperq; iuxta pharetram portant limas ad acuendum sagittas. Habent verò scuta de viminibus, aut de virgulis facta. Sed non credimus, quòd ea soleant portare, nisi ad castra & ad custodiam Imperatoris ac principum, & hoc tantùm de nocte. In bellis astutissimi sunt: quia per annos xlij. cum cæteris gentibus dimicârunt. Cùm autem ad flumina peruenerunt, maiores habent rotundum ac leue corium, in cuius summitate per circuitum ansas crebras facientes, funem imponunt ac stringunt, ita quod in circuitu quasi ventrem efficiunt, quem vestibus ac rebus cæteris replent, fortissimeq; ad inuicem comprimunt. In medio autem ponunt sellas & alias res duriores: ibi quoque sedent homines. Huiusmodi nauim ad equi caudam ligant, & hominem, qui equum regat, pariter natare faciunt, vel habent aliquando duos remos, cum quibus remigant. Equo igitur in aquam impulso, omnes alij equi sequuntur illum, & sic transeunt fluuium. Pauperior autem quilibet vnam bursam vel saccum de corio benè consutum habet, in quo res suas omnes imponit, & in summitate fortiter ligatum, ad equi caudam suspendit, sicq; modo prędicto transit.

Armatura.

Vsus bellorum. Mos trauandi fluuios.

Qualiter resistendum sit eis. Cap. 18.

NVllam æstimo prouinciam esse, quæ per se possit eis resistere: quia de omni terra potestatis suæ solent homines ad bellum congregare. Et siquidem vicina prouincia non vult eis opem ferre, quam impugnant, delences illam, cum hominibus, quos ex illa capiunt, contra aliam pugnant. Et illos quidem in acie primos ponunt, & si malè pugnant, ipsos occidunt. Itaq; si Christiani eis resistere volunt, oportet quòd Principes ac rectores terrarum in vnum conueniant, ac de communi consilio eis resistant. Habeantq; pugnatores arcus fortes & balistas, quas multùm timent, sagittasq; sufficientes, dolabrum quoq; de bono ferro, vel securim cum manubrio longo. Ferramenta verò sagittarum more Tartarorum, quando sunt calida, temperare debent in aqua, cum sale mixta, vt fortia sint ad penetrandum illorum arma. Gladios etiam & lanceas cum vncis habeant, qui volunt, ad detrahendũ illos de sella, de qua facillimè cadunt. Habeant & galeas & arma cætera, ad protegendum corpus & equum ab armis & sagittis eorum, & si qui non ita sunt armati, debent more illorum post alios ire, & contra ipsos arcubus vel balistis traijcere. Et sicut dictum est suprà de Tartaris, debent acies suas ordinare, ac legem pugnantibus imponere. Quicunq; conuersus fuerit ad prædam ante victoriam, maximam debet pœnam subire: talis enim apud illos occiditur absq; miseratione. Locus ad prælium, si fieri potest, eligendus est planus, vt vndiq; possint videre, nec omnes debent in vnum conuenire, sed acies multas & diuisas, nec tamen nimis distantes ab inuicem, facere. Contra illos, qui primò veniunt, debent vnam aciem mittere, & alia parata sit ad iuuandum illam opportuno tempore. Habeant & speculatores ex omni parte, qui videant, quando veniunt acies cęteræ. Nam ideò semper debent aciem contra aciem, vt ei occurrant, mittere, quoniam illi semper nituntur aduersarios in medio concludere. Hoc autem acies caueant, ne si etiam illi fugere videantur, diu post illos currant, ne forte, sicut facere solent, ipsos ad paratas insidias trahant: quia plus fraudulentia quàm fortitudine pugnant. Et iterum ne fatigentur equi eorum: quia nostri multitudinem non habent equorum. Tartari verò quos equitant die vna, non ascendunt tribus diebus, vel quatuor postea. Præterea si cedunt Tartari, non ideò debent nostri recedere, vel ab inuicem

Hayth. de bello contra Tartaros gerendo.

Ferri temperamentum.

uicem ſeparari: quoniam hoc ſimulando faciunt, vt exercitus diuidatur, & ſic ad terræ deſtructionem liberè ingrediantur. Cæterùm Duces noſtri die noctúque facere debent exercitum cuſtodiri: nec iacere ſpoliati, ſed ſemper ad pugnam parati: quia Tartari quaſi Dæmones ſemper vigilant, excogitantes artem nocendi. Porrò ſi aliqui Tartarorum in bello de ſuis equis proijciuntur, ſtatim capiendi ſunt, quia quando ſunt in terra fortiter ſagittant, & equos hominesq; vulnerant.

De itinere Fratris Iohannis de Plano carpini vſque ad primam cuſtodiam Tartarorum, Cap 19.

Itinerarium Ioann. & ſociorum legatorum.

NOs igitur ex mandato ſedis Apoſtolicæ cùm iremus ad Orientis nationes, elegimus primus ad Tartaros proficiſci: quia timebamus, ne per illos in proximo Eccleſiæ Dei periculum immineret. Itaq; pergẽtes, ad regem Boëmorũ peruenimus: qui cùm eſſet nobis familiaris, conſuluit, vt per Poloniam & Ruſſiam iter ageremus. Habebat enim conſanguineos in Polonia, quorum auxilio Ruſſiam intrare poſſemus. Datiſq; literis & bono conductu, fecit & expenſas nobis dari per curias & ciuitates ſuas, quo vſque ad Ducem Sleſiæ Boleslaum, nepotem eius, veniremus, qui etiam erat nobis familiaris & notus. Hinc & ipſe nobis ſimiliter fecit, donec veniremus ad Conradum, Ducem * Lancitiæ, ad quem tunc, Dei gratia nobis fauente, venerat Dominus Waſilico, Dux Ruſſiæ, à quo etiam plenius de facto audiuimus Tartarorum: quia nuncios illuc miſerat, qui iam redierant ad ipſum. Audito autem, quòd oporteret nos illis munera dare, quaſdam pelles caſtorum & aliorum animalium fecimus emi, de hoc, quod datum nobis fuerat in eleemoſynam ad ſubſidiũ viæ. Quod & noſcentes Dux Conradus & * Ducisſa Cracouiæ, & Epiſcopus & quidam milites, plures etiam nobis dederunt huiuſmodi pelles. Denique Dux Waſilico à Duce Cracouiæ, & Epiſcopo atque Baronibus pro nobis attentè rogatus, ſecum nos in terram ſuam duxit, & vt aliquantulum quieſceremus, aliquot cibus nos in expenſis ſuis detinuit. Et cùm rogatus à nobis, feciſſet Epiſcopos ſuos venire, legimus eis literas Domini Papæ, monentis eos, ad ſanctæ matris Eccleſiæ vnitatem redire. Ad idem quoque nos ipſi monuimus eos, & induximus, quantum potuimus, tam Ducem quàm Epiſcopos & alios. Sed quia Dux Daniel, frater Waſilconis prædicti, præſens non erat, quoniam ad Baty profectus erat, non potuerunt eo tempore finaliter reſpondere. Poſthæc Dux Waſilico tranſmiſit nos vſque in Kioviam metropolin Ruſſiæ, cum ſeruiente vno. Ibamus tamen in periculo capitis ſemper propter Lituanos, qui ſæpe faciebant inſultum ſuper terram Ruſſiæ, & in illis maximè locis, per quos debebamus tranſire. At per prædictum ſeruientem eramus ſecuri à Ruthenis, quorum etiam maxima pars occiſa vel captiuata erat à Tartaris. Porrò in Danilone vſque ad mortem tunc infirmati fuimus. Nihilominus tamen in vehiculo per niuem & frigus magnum trahi nos fecimus. Cùm ergò Kioviam peruenimus, habuimus de via noſtra conſilium cum millenario ac cæteris ibidem nobilibus. Qui reſponderunt nobis, quòd ſi duceremus equos illos, quos tunc habebamus, ad Tartaros, cùm eſſent magnæ niues, morerentur omnes: quia neſcirent herbam fodere ſub niue, ſicut equi faciunt Tartarorum, nec inueniri poſſet aliquod pro eis ad manducandum, cùm Tartari nec ſtramina nec fœnum habeant, nec pabulum. Itaque decreuimus eos illic dimittere cum duobus pueris, deputatis eorum cuſtodiæ. Ideoq; nos oportuit millenario dare munera, vt ipſum haberemus propitium, ad dandum nobis equos ſubductitios & conductum. Secundo igitur die poſt feſtum Purificationis cepto itinere, venimus ad villam Canous, quę ſub Tartaris erat immediatè. Cuius præfectus nobis dedit equos & conductum vſque ad aliam, in qua reperimus præfectum Micheam, omni malitia plenum. Qui tamen acceptis à nobis muneribus ſecundum velle ſuum, duxit nos vſq; ad primam cuſtodiam Tartarorum.

Boleſlaus Dux Sileſiæ.

* *Moraniæ.*

* *Gratislauiæ, vt Marianus lib. 1. cap. 9.*

Litere Papę ad Ruſſos.

Daniel, frater Baſilij.

Lituani.

Pabulum equorum Tartaric.

Micheas malus homo.

Qualiter primò cum ſocijs ſuis receptus eſt à Tartaris. Cap. 20.

CVm ergo in prima ſexta feria poſt diem cinerum, Sole ad occaſum tendente, hoſpitaremur, Tartari ſuper nos armati horribiliter irruerunt, quærentes cuiuſmodi homines eſſemus: cumq; reſpondiſſemus, quòd Domini Papæ nuncij eſſemus, quibuſdam cibarijs à nobis acceptis, continuò diſceſſerunt. Porrò mane facto, cùm ſurgentes aliquantulum proceſſiſſemus, maiores illorum, qui erant in cuſtodia, nobis occurrerunt, interrogantes, cur ad eos veniremus? & quid negotij haberemus? Quibus reſpondimus, Domini Papæ nuncij ſumus, qui Chriſtianorum pater eſt ac Dominus. Hic nos idcircò tam ad Regem quàm ad Principes, omneſq; Tartaros, mittit, quia placet ei, quòd omnes Chriſtiani Tartarorũ ſint amici, & pacem habeant cum

Papa Chriſtianorum pater & Dominus.

cum ipsis, Desiderat insuper, vt apud Deum in cœlo sint magni, & idcircò monet eos tam per nos quàm per literas suas, vt efficiantur Christiani, fidemq; recipiant Domini nostri Iesu Christi, quia non possunt aliter saluari. Mandat præterea, quòd miratur de tanta occisione hominũ, & maximè Christianorum, ac potissimè Hungarorum, Montanorum, & Polonorum, qui sunt ei subiecti, facta per Tartaros, cùm in nullo lęsissent, aut lædere attentassent eos. Et quia Dominus Deus grauiter est super hoc offensus, monet eos, vt à talibus de cætero caueant, & de commissis pœnitentiam agant. Super his etiam rogat, vt ei rescribant, quid facere velint de cætero, & quæ sit eorum intentio, Quibus auditis, & intellectis, dixerunt Tartari, se velle equos nobis subductitios vsq; ad Corrensam & ducatum præbere. Statimq; munera petierunt, & à nobis acceperunt. Equis igitur acceptis, de quibus descenderant ipsi, cum eorum ducatu ad Corrensam arripuimus iter eundi. Ipsi tamen velociter equitantes, nuncium vnum præmiserunt ad præfatum Ducem cum his verbis, quę dixeramus eisdem. Est autem Dux iste Dominus omnium, qui positi sunt in custodia contra omnes Occidentis populos, ne forte subitò & improuiso irruant aliqui super illos. Et iste dicitur habere sexaginta millia hominum armatorum sub se.

Legationis mandata.

Corensa.

Dux limitis occidentalis.

Qualiter recepti sunt apud Corrensam. Cap. 21.

CVm igitur peruenissemus ad eius curiam, fecit nobis longè à se poni statione, & misit ad nos procuratores suos, vt quærerent à nobis, cum quo ei vellemus inclinare, id est, quæ ei munera inclinando vellemus offerre. Quibus respondimus, quòd Dominus Papa non mittebat per loca valdè perniciosa. Veruntamen in quantum de his, quæ habebamus ex gratia Dei & Domini Papæ ad victum nostrum, sicut poterimus, honorabimus ipsum. Acceptisq; muneribus duxerunt nos ad ordam siue tentorium ipsius, & instructi fuimus, vt ante ostium stationis ter cum sinistro genu inclinaremus, & caueremus attentè, ne pedem super limẽ ostij poneremus. Et postquam intrauimus, oportuit nos coram Duce omnibusq; maioribus, qui ad hoc erant vocati, sicere flexis genibus ea, quæ dixeramus superiùs. Literas etiam Dom. Papę obtulimus sed interpres, quem de Kyouia, dato pretio, duxeramus, non erat sufficiens ad interpretandũ, nec aliquis alius habebatur idoneus. Hinc equi nobis dati sunt, & tres Tartari, qui nos ducerent festinanter ad ducem Bathy. Ipse est apud eos potentior excepto Imperatore, cui tenentur præ cunctis principibus obedire. Itaq; iter arripuimus secunda feria post primã dominicam ‖ xl. & equitando, quantum equi trotare poterant, quoniam habebamus equos recentes ferè ter aut quater omni die, properabamus de mane vsq; ad noctem, imò etiam de nocte sæpissimè, nec tamen ante quartam feriam maioris hebdomadæ potuimus ad ipsum peruenire. Ibamus autem per terram Comanorum, quæ tota est plana, & flumina quatuor habet magna. Primum appellatur *Neper, iuxta quod ex parte Russiæ ambulabat Correnza & Montij, qui maior est illo ex altera parte per campestria. Secundum appellatur *Don, super quod ambulat quidam Princeps, habens in coniugio sororem Baty, qui vocatur Tirbon. Tertium dicitur *Volga, quod est magnum valdè, super quod incedit Bathy. Quartum nominatur *Iaec, super quod duo millenarij vadunt, vnus ex parte fluminis vna, & alter ex altera. Hi omnes in hyeme ad mare descendunt, & in æstate super ripam eorundem fluminum ad montes ascendunt. Hoc est mare magnum, de quo brachium sancti Georgij exit, quod in Constantinopolin vadit. Hæc autem flumina sunt piscibus valdè plena, maximè Volga, intrantq; mare Græciæ, quod dicitur Magnum mare. Super littora quoq; maris Græciæ satis peridiculosè per glaciem iuimus in pluribus locis multis diebus. Congelantur enim circa littora vndæ ad tres leucas inferiùs. Prius autem quàm ad Bathy peruenieremus, duo ex nostris Tartaris præcesserunt, ad indicandum ei omnia verba, quæ apud Corrensam dixeramus.

Mos salutandi Tartaricos proceres.

Bathy ciuisque potentia.

‖ Quadragesimæ.

Comania.

* *Veteribus Tanaïs dictus.*
* *Iaxartes.*
* *Rha.*
* *Rhymnus.*

Paludes Euxinus.

Volga non intrat.

Qualiter recepti sunt apud Bathy magnum *Principem.* Cap. 22.

POrrò cùm in finibus terræ Comanorum ad Bathy peruenieremus, benè positi fuimus per vnam leucam à stationibus eius. Cumq; duci deberemus ad curiam ipsius, dictum fuit nobis, quòd inter duos ignes transire deberemus. Nos autem hoc nulla ratione facere volebamus. At illi dixerunt nobis: Ite securè, quia pro nulla causa volumus hoc facere, nisi tantùm, vt si vos aliquid malum cogitatis Domino nostro, vel portatis venenum, ignis auferat omne malum. Quibus respondimus: quod propter hoc, ne de tali re suspectos redderemus nos, transiremus. Cùm igitur ad Ordam peruenissemus, interrogati à procuratore ipsius Eldegay, cum quo inclinare vellemus? idem quod prius apud Corrensam respondimus, datisq; muneribus & acceptis,

Ceremonia per duos ignes transeundi.

Eldegay.

acceptis, auditis etiam itineris cauſis, introduxerunt nos in ſtationem Principis, prius facta
Bathy audit legatos. inclinatione, & audita de limine non calcando, ſicut prius, admonitione. Ingreſſi autem flexis genibus, verba noſtra propoſuimus, deinde literas obtulimus, & vt nobis darentur interpretes ad transferendum eas, rogauimus. Qui etiam in die Paraſceue dati fuerunt nobis, & eas in litera Ruthenica, Sarracenica & in Tartarica diligenter cum ipſis tranſtulimus. Hæc interpretatio Bathy præſentata fuit: quam & legit, & attentè notauit. Tandem ad noſtram ſtationem reducti ſumus, ſed nulla cibaria nobis dederunt, niſi ſemel aliquantulum millij in vna ſcutella, ſcilicet in prima nocte quando venimus. Iſte Bathy magnificè ſe gerit, habens oſtiarios &
Gerit ſe regificè. omnes officiales ad modum Imperatoris, & ſedet in eminenti loco velut in throno cum vna de vxoribus ſuis. Alij verò tam fratres ſui & filij, quàm alij maiores inferiùs ſedent in medio ſuper bancum, & homines cæteri poſt eos in terra deorſum, ſed viri à dextris, & fœminæ à ſiniſtris. Tentoria quoque de panno lineo labet pulchra & magna ſatis, quæ fuerunt Hungariæ regis. Nec aliquis ad eius tentorium audet accedere præter familiam, niſi vocatus, quantumcunque ſit potens & magnus, niſi fortè ſciatur, quòd ſit voluntas ipſius. Nos etiam dicta cauſa ſedimus à ſiniſtris: Sic etenim & omnes nuncij faciunt in eundo: ſed in redeundo ab Imperatore, ſemper ponebamur à dextris. In medio ponitur menſa eius prope oſtium ſtationis, ſuper
Eiuſdem bibendi ad Symphoniæ cantum mos. quam apponitur potus in aureis & argenteis vaſis. Nec vnquam bibit Bathy, vel aliquis Tartarorum Princeps, maximè quando in publico ſunt, niſi canteturei vel cythariz etur. Et cùm equitat, ſemper portatur ſolinum, vel tentoriolum ſuper caput eius in haſta. Sicq; faciunt cuncti
Authoritas. maiores Principes Tartarorum, & etiam vxores eorum. Idem verò Bathy ſatis eſt hominibus ſuis benignus, valdè tamen ab eis timetur, & in pugna eſt crudeliſſimus, ſagax eſt multum & aſtutiſſimus in bello: quia iam pugnauit tempore longo.

Qualiter recedentes à Bathy per terram Comanorum *& Kangittarum tranſierunt.* Cap. 23.

Legati iubentur ad Cuyne Imperat. pergere. IN die porrò Sabbathi ſancti ad ſtationem fuimus vocati, & exiuit ad nos procurator Bathy prædictus, dicens ex parte ipſius, quòd ad Imperatorem Cuyne in terram ipſorum iremus, retentis quibuſdam ex noſtris ſub hac ſpecie, quòd vellent eos remittere ad Dominum Papam, quibus & literas dedimus de omnibus factis noſtris, quas deferrent eidem. Sed cùm rediſſent vſq; ad Montij Ducem ſupradictum, ibi retenti fuerunt vſque ad reditum noſtrum. Nos autem in die Paſchę officio dicto, & facta comeſtione qualicunq; cum duobus Tartaris, qui nobis apud Correnſam fuerant aſſignati, cum multis lacrymis receſſimus, neſcientes vtrum ad mortem vel vitam pergeremus. Eramus tamen ita infirmi corpore, quòd vix poteramus equitare. In tota ſiquidem illa quadrageſima fuerat cibus noſter millium cum aqua & ſale tantùm, & in alijs ſimiliter diebus ieiuniorum. Nec habebamus aliquid ad bibendum præter niuem in caldario liquefactam. Ibamus autem per Comaniam equitando fortiſſimè, quoniam habebamus equos recentes quinquies aut pluries in die, niſi quando per deſerta ibamus, & tunc equos meliores atque fortiores, qui poſſent continuum ſuſtinere laborem, accipiebamus. Et hoc ab ineunte quaComaniæ deſcriptio. drageſima vſque ad octo dies poſt Paſcha. Hæc terra Comania ab Aquilone immediatè poſt Ruſſiam habet Morduynos, Byleros, id eſt, magnam Bulgariam, Baſtarcos, id eſt, magnam
Oceanus ſeptentrionalis. Hungariam, poſt Baſtarcos, Paroſitas & Samogetas. Poſt Samogetas, illos, qui dicuntur habere faciem caninam in Oceani littoribus deſertis. A meridie habet Alanos, Circaſſes, Gazaros, Græciam & Conſtantinopolin, ac terram Iberorum, Cathos, Brutachios, qui dicuntur eſſe Iudæi, caput radentes per totum, terram quoq; Cithorum atque Georgianorum & Armeniorum & Turcorum. Ab occidente autem Hungariam habet atque Ruſſiam. Et eſt Comania terra maxima & longa. Cuius populos, ſcilicet Comanos, Tartari occiderunt, quidam tamen à facie eorum fugerunt, & quidam in eorum ſeruitutem redacti ſunt. Plurimi autem ex eis, qui fu-
Terra Kangitarum. gerunt, ad ipſos redierunt. Poſt hæc intrauimus terram Kangittarum, quæ magnam habet in plurimis locis penuriam aquarum, in qua etiam homines pauci morantur propter aquæ defe-
Ieroſlaus, Dux Ruſſiæ. ctum. Vnde homines Ieroſlai, Ducis Ruſſiæ, cùm ad ipſum in terram Tartarorum perrexerunt, plures eorum in illo deſerto præ ſiti mortui ſunt. In hac etiam terra & in Comania multa inuenimus capita & oſſa mortuorum hominum, ſuper terram iacentia tanquam ſterquilinium. Per hanc itaq; terram iuimus ab octo diebus poſt Paſcha ferè vſque ad Aſcenſionem Dominicam. Huiuſq; habitatores Pagani erant, & tam ipſi quàm Comani non laborabant, ſed tantùm de animalibus viuebant, nec domos ædificabant, ſed in tabernaculis habitabant. Iſtos etiam Tartari deleuerunt, & habitabant in terris eorum, illiq; qui remanſerunt, redacti ſunt in ſeruitutem ipſorum.

Qualiter

Qualiter ad primam Imperatoris futuri curiam deuenerunt. Cap. 24.

POrrò de terra Kangittarum intrauimus terram Biſerminorum, qui loquuntur lingua Comanica, ſed legem tenent Sarracenorum. In hac etiam terra inuenimus vrbes innumeras cum caſtris diutas, villaſq; multas deſertas. Huius Dominus dicebatur Alriſoldanus, qui cum tota ſua progenie à Tartaris eſt deſtructus. Habet autem hæc terra montes maximos. Et à meridie quidem habet Hieruſalem & Baldach, totamq; Sarracenorum terram. Atque in finibus illis propinquis morantur duo fratres carnales, Tartarorum Duces, ſcilicet Burin & Cadan, filij Thiaday, qui fuit filius Chingiſcham. Ab Aquilone verò terram habet nigrorum Kythaorum & Oceanum. In illa verò moratur Syban, frater Bathy. Per hanc iuimus à feſto Aſcenſionis dominicæ ferè vſque ad viij. dies ante feſtum ſanct. Iohan. Baptiſtæ. Deinde ingreſſi ſumus terram nigrorum Kythaorum, in qua Imperator ædificauit domum, vbi etiam vocati fuimus ad bibendum. Et ille, qui erat ibidem ex parte imperatoris, fecit maiores ciuitatis, & etiam duos filios eius, plaudere coram nobis. Hinc exeuntes, quoddam mare paruum inuenimus, in cuius littore quidam exiſtit mons paruus. In quo ſcilicet monte quoddam foramen eſſe dicitur, vnde in hyeme tam maximę tempeſtates ventorum exeunt, quòd homines inde vix & cum magno periculo tranſire poſſunt. In æſtate verò ſemper quidem ibi ventorum ſonitus auditur, ſed de foramine tenuiter egreditur. Per huius maris littora plurimis diebus perreximus, quod quidem licet non multum ſit magnum, plures inſulas habet, & illud in ſiniſtris dimiſimus. In terra verò illa habitat Ordu, quem omnium Ducum Tartarorum antiquiorem diximus, & eſt orda, ſiue curia patris ipſius, quam inhabitat, & regis vna de vxoribus eius. Conſuetudo enim eſt apud Tartaros, quòd principum & maiorum curiæ non delentur, ſed ſemper ordinantur aliquæ mulieres, quæ illas regant, eiſque donariorum partes, ſicut Dominis earum dari ſolebant, dantur. Sic tandem ad primam Imperatoris curiam venimus, in qua erat vna de vxoribus ipſius.

Terra Biſerminorum.
Alriſoldanus.
Montes maximi.
Burin, Cadan.
Oceanus ab Aquilone.
Syban, frater Bathy.
Nigri Cathayni.
Mare paruum.
Plurimis diebus.
Plures inſulę.
Ordu. cap. 23.
Prima curia Imperatoris.

Qualiter ad ipſum Cuyne, Imperatorem futurum peruenerunt. Cap. 25.

AT verò quia nondum Imperatorem videramus, noluerunt vocare nos, nec intromittere ad Ordam ipſius, ſed nobis in tentorio noſtro ſecundum morem Tartarorum valdè benè ſeruiri fecerunt, & vt quieſceremus, nos ibidem per vnam diem tenuerunt. Inde procedentes in vigilia ſanctorum Petri & Pauli, terram Naymanorum intrauimus, qui ſunt Pagani. In ipſa verò die Apoſtolorum ibidem cecidit magna nix, & habuimus magnum frigus. Hæc quidem terra monſuoſa & frigida eſt ſupra modum, ibiq; de planicie reperitur modicum. Iſtæ quoque duæ nationes prædictæ non laborabant, ſed ſicut & Tartari in tentorijs habitabant, quas & ipſi deleuerant. per hanc etiam multis diebus perreximus. Deinde terram Mongalorum intrauimus, quos Tartaros appellamus. Per has itaque terras, vt credimus, tribus ſeptimanis equitando fortiter iuimus, & in die Beatæ Mariæ Magdalenæ ad Cuyne Imperatorem electum peruenimus. Ideò autem per omnem viam iſtam valdè feſtinauimus, quia præceptum erat Tartaris noſtris, vt citò nos deducerent ad curiam ſolennem, iam ex annis pluribus indictam, propter ipſius Imperatoris electionem. Idcircò de mane ſurgentes, ibamus vſque ad noctem ſine comeſtione, & ſæpius tam tardè veniebamus, quòd non comedebamus in ſero, ſed quod manducare debebamus in veſpere, dabatur nobis in mane. Mutatiſq; frequentius equis, nullatenus parcebatur eis, ſed equitabamus velociter ac ſine intermiſſione, quantum poterant equi trotare.

Terra Naymanorum.
Tartaria.
Iulij 22.
Accelerarunt Legatorum iter.

Qualiter Cuyne Fratres Minores ſuſcepit. Cap. 26.

CVm autem peruenimus ad Cuyne, fecit nobis dari tentorium & expenſas, quales Tartaris dare ſolent, nobis tamen melius quàm alijs nuncijs faciebant. Ad ipſum autem vocati non fuimus, eo quòd nondum electus erat, nec adhuc de imperio ſe intromittebat. Interpretatio tamen literarum Domini Papæ, ac verba etiam à nobis dicta, à prædicto Baty erant ei mandata. Cùm ergo ſtetiſſemus ibi per quinque vel ſex dies, ad mattem ſuam nos tranſmiſit, vbi adunabatur curia ſolennis. Et cùm veniſſemus illuc, tam extenſum erat tentorium magnum, de alba purpura præparatum, eratq; tam grande noſtro iudicio, quòd pluſquam duo millia hominum poterant eſſe ſub illo. Et in circuitu factum erat ligneum tabulatum varijs imaginibus depictum. Illuc ergò perreximus cum Tartaris, nobis ad cuſtodiam aſſignatis, ibiq; conuenerant

Cuyne in legatos benignus.
Tentorium regium.

Comitiua. omnes duces, & vnuſquiſq; cum hominibus ſuis equitabat in circuitu per planiciem & colles. In prima die veſtiti ſunt omnes purpuris albis, in ſecunda verò rubeis. Et tunc venit Cuyne ad tentorium illud. Portò tertia die fuerunt omnes in blaueis purpuris, & quarta in optimis Baldakinis, In illo autem tabulato iuxta tentorium erant duæ maiores portæ, per quarum vnam ſolus Imperator debebat intrare, & ad illam nulla erat cuſtodia, quamuis eſſet aperta, quia per illam nullus audebat ingredi vel exire: per aliam omnes, qui admittebantur, intrabant, & ad illam cuſtodes cum gladijs & arcubus & ſagittis erant. Itaq; ſi quis tentorio propinquabat vltra terminos, qui poſiti erant, ſi capiebatur, verberabatur, ſi fugiebat, ſagitta ſiue ferro ſagittabatur. Multiq; ibi erant, qui in frænis, pectoralibus, ſellis & huiuſmodi, iudicio noſtro, auri circiter viginti marcas habebant. Sic Duces infra tentorium colloquebantur, & de Imperatoris electione tractabant, vt à nobis creditur. Alius autem vniuerſus populus longè extra tabulatum collocabatur, & ita ferè vſque ad meridiem morabantur. Tunc incipiebant lac iumentinum bibere, & vſque ad veſperas tantum bibebant, quod erat viſu mirabile. Nos autem vocauerunt interius, & dederunt nobis cereuiſiam: quia tumentinũ lac non bibebamus. Et hoc quidem nobis pro magno fecerunt honore: ſed tamen nos compellebant ad bibendum, quod nullatenus poteramus propter conſuetudinem ſuſtinere. Vnde oſtendimus eis, hoc eſſe nobis graue, ideoq; nos ceſſauerunt compellere. Foris autem erat Dux Ieroſlaus de Suſdal Ruſſiæ, plureſq; Duces Kythaorum & Solangorum. Duo quoq; filij regis Ge[illegible] iam Caliphi de Baldach, qui erat Soldanus, & plus quam decem alij Soldan[illegible], vt credimus. Et ſicut nobis à procuratoribus dicebatur, erant ibi nunciorum [illegible] quatuor millia, inter illos, qui tributa portabant, & illos, qui deferebant munera, & Soldanos ac Duces alios, qui ad tradendum ſeipſos veniebant, & illos, pro quibus ipſi miſerant, illoſq;, qui terrarum præfecti erant. Hi omnes ſimul extra tabulatum ponebantur, eiſq; ſimul bibere præbebatur. Nobis autem & Duci Ierozlao terè ſemper ab eis dabatur ſuperior locus, quando cum eis eramus exterius.

Sympoſium procerum.

Ieroſlaus Dux Ruſſiæ. Legati diuerſarum nationum.

Qualiter in imperium ſublimatus fuit. Cap. 27.

Imperij Cuynæ permutæ. ET quidem, ſi benè meminimus, ibidem per ſeptimanas circiter quatuor fuimus. Creditumq; quòd ibi fuit electio celebrata, non tamen ibidem fuit publicata. Propter hoc autem id maximè credebatur, quia ſemper, quando Cuyne tentorio exibat, eidem cantabatur, & cum virgis ſpecioſis, in ſummitate lanam coccineam habentibus, inclinabatur, quod alteri Ducum nulli fiebat, quouſq; exterius morabatur. Hęc autem ſtatio ſiue Curia nominatur ab eis Syra orda. Hinc exeuntes, vnanimiter omnes equitauimus per tres aut quatuor leucas ad alium locum, vbi erat in quadã pulchra planicie iuxta riuum inter montes aliud tentorium, quod apud ipſos appellatur Orda aurea, præparatũ. Ibi enim Cuyne debebat poni in ſede in die Aſſumptionis Dominæ noſtræ. Sed propter grandinem nimiam, quæ tunc, vt ſuprà dictum eſt, cecidit, res dilata fuit. Eratq; tentorium in columnis poſitum, quæ laminis aureis erant tectæ, & clauis aureis cum alijs lignis fixæ. Portò de Baldakino erat tectum ſuperius, ſed alij erant panni exterius. Fuimus autem ibi vſq; ad feſtum Beati Bartholomæi, in quo maxima multitudo conuenit, & contra meridiem verſis vultibus ſtetit. Et quidam ad iactum lapidis longè à cæteris erant, ſemperq; orationes faciendo, ac genua flectendo, contra meridiem longius, & longius procedebant. Nos autem vtrum incantationes facerent, aut genua Deo vel alteri flecterent, neſcientes, nolebamus facere genu flexiones. Cumq; diu ita feciſſent, ad tentorium reuerſi ſunt, & Cuyne in ſede imperiali poſuerunt, Duceſq; coram eo genua flexerunt. Poſt hoc idem fecit vniuerſus populus, exceptis nobis, qui eis ſubditi non eramus.

Syra orda.

Aurea orda.

Auguſti 15.

Preces ſolennes.

De ætate ac moribus ac ſigillo ipſius. Cap. 28.

Cuynæ ætas & mores. HIc autem Imperator quando ſublimatus eſt in regnum, videbatur eſſe circiter xl, vel. xlv. annorum. Mediocris erat ſtaturæ, prudens valde, nimis affatus multumq; ſeriotus, & grauis in moribus. Nec vnquam videbat eum homo de facili ridere, vel aliquam leuitatem facere, ſicut dicebant Chriſtiani, qui cum ipſo morabantur continuè. Dicebant etiam nobis aſſerendo firmiter Chriſtiani, qui erant de familia eius, quòd deberet fieri Chriſtianus. Cuius ſignum erat, quod ipſe Clericos Chriſtianos tenebat, & expenſas eis dabat. Habebat etiam ſemper capellam Chriſtianorum ante maius tentorium ſuum, vbi cantant Clerici publicè & apertè, ac pulſant ad horas, vt cæteri Chriſtiani ſecundùm mores Græcorum, quantumq; ſibi multitudo Tartarorum, vel etiam aliorum hominum. Hoc tamen non faciunt a[illegible] ipſorum.

Studium Chriſtianitatis.

Maieſtas. Eſt autem mos Imperatoris ipſius, vt nunquam ore proprio loquatur cu[illegible], quantumcunq;

tumcunq; magnus sit, sed audit & respondet per interpositam personam, & quandocunq; negotium proponunt, vel Imperatoris responsionem audiunt illi, qui sub eo sunt, quantumcunq; sint magni, flexis genibus vtq; ad finem verborum persistunt. Nec alicui de consuetudine super aliquo negotio loqui licitum est, postquam ab Imperatore definitum est. Habet autem Imperator prædictus procuratorem & protonotarios, atq; scriptores, omnesq; officiales in negotijs tam publicis quàm priuatis, exceptis Aduocatis. Nam sine litium vel iudiciorum strepitu secundum arbitrium Imperatoris omnia fiunt. Alij quoque Principes Tartarorum de his, quæ ad illos pertinent, idem faciunt. Hoc autem nouerint vniuersi, quia nobis tunc existentibus in solenni curia, iam ex pluribus annis indicta, idem Cuyne Imperator, de nouo electus, cum omnibus suis Principibus erexit vexillum contra Ecclesiam Dei, ac Romanum Imperium, & contra omnia regna Christianorum & populos Occidentis, nisi forte sse, quod fit, facerent ea, quæ mandabat Domino Papæ, atque potentibus, & omnibus Christianorum populis, videlicet vt ipsi subdantur eis. Nam excepta Christianitate, nulla est terra in orbe, quam timeant, & idcirco contra nos ad pugnam se præparant. Huius siquidem Imperatoris pater, scilicet Occoday, necatus fuerat veneno, & ob hoc à bellis quieuerant tempore pauco. Intentio autem eorum, vt dictum est supra, est, sibi totum subijcere mundum, sicut à Chingischam habent mandatum. Vnde & ipse Imperator in literis suis ita scribit: Dei fortitudo, omnium hominum Imperator. In superscriptione quoque sigilli eius est hoc: Deus in cœlo, & Cuyne Cham super terram, Dei fortitudo: omnium hominum Imperatoris sigillum.

Potestas exlex †.

Bellum in Christianos cogitatum.

† *Contrà Xenophon: Singuli in singulis. Et præclarè Aristoteles Politic. lib. 3. cap. 12. in hanc sententiam: Qui legem præesse vult, is velle videtur Deum ac leges imperare: qui autem vult hominem, is etiam belluam adungit, cum præsertim tale quod sit cupiditas & iracundia: & magistratus & optimus quisq; à recta via detorqueantur &c. Adde quæ à Chrysippo adducuntur ff. li. 1 tit. 3 l. 2.*

De admissione Fratrum & nunciorum ad Imperatorem. Cap. 29.

IN loco illo, vbi positus est Imperator in throno, vocati fuimus coram ipso. Cumq; Chingay protonotarius eius nomina nostra scripsisset, illorumq; à quibus missi eramus, & Ducis Solangorum & aliorum, clamauit alta voce, recitans illa coram Imperatore [illegible] Ducum vniuersitate, Quo facto, flexit vnusquisq; nostrum quater genu sinistrum, & monuerunt, ne tangeremus limen deorum. Cumq; pro cultellis nos diligentissimè scrutati fuissent, & nullatenus inuenissent, intrauimus ostium ab Orientali parte: quia nullus ab Occidente, nisi solus imperator, audet intrare. Similiter & Dux ab illa parte ingreditur solus, si est tentorium eius. Minores autem non multum curant de talibus. Tunc ergo primum in eius præsentia suam intrauimus statione, videlicet post quam factus est Imperator ibidem. Omnes quoque nuncij tunc ab eo recepti sunt, sed paucissimi tentorium eius intrauerunt. Ibi verò tanta donaria ab ipsis nuncijs fuerunt ei præsentata, quòd quasi videbantur infinita, videlicet in samitis ac purpureis & baldakinis ac singulis sericis cum auro præparatis, pellibus etiam nobilibus, cæterisq; muneribus. Quoddam etiam Solinum, siue [illegible]oriolum, quod super caput Imperatoris portatur, fuit eidem præsentatum, quod totum erat cum gemmis præparatum. Quidam verò præfectus vnius prouinciæ adduxit ei Camelos multos cum Baldakinis tectos. Similiter sellæ positæ cum instrumentis quibusdam erant, in quibus homines interius sedere valebant. Equos etiam multos & mulos adducebant eidem phaleratos & armatos quosdam quidem de corio, & quosdam de ferro. Nos etiam requisiti fuimus, an ei munera [illegible] vellemus: sed iam facultas non erat, quoniam omnia ferè nostra consumpseramus. Ibidem longè à stationibus super montem erant positi currus plusquam quingenti, qui omnes auro & argento ac sericis vestibus erant pleni. Cunctiq; inter imperatorem & Duces diuisi fuerunt, singuliq; Duces inter homines suos partes suas, vt eis placuit, diuiserunt.

Cuyne audit legatos.

Munera eidem obtata.

Currus Ouras plaustra.

De loco diuisionis Imperatoris & matris suæ, & morte Ieroslai, Ducis Russiæ.

IIde recedentes, venimus ad alium locum, vbi tentorium mirabile, totum de purpura rusa, quod Kitay dederant, erat positum. Illic interius introducti fuimus, & semper cum intrabamus nobis dabatur ad bibendum cereuisia vel vinum, & etiam carnes coctæ, si volebamus, ad edendum. Erátque solariolum vnum, de tabulis altè præparatum, vbi thronus Imperatoris erat positus, ex ebore mirabiliter sculptus, in quo etiam erat aurum, & lapides precioſi, si bene meminimus, & illuc ascendebatur per gradus. Erátque rotundum superius. Banci verò

Tentorium purpureum.

Solium ebureum.

vero erant positi in circuitu sedis, vbi dominæ sedebant à parte sinistra in scamnis, à dextris autem nemo sedebat superius, sed Duces sedebant in Bancis inferius, & hoc in medio. Alij verò sedebant post eos, & quolibet die veniebat dominarum maxima multitudo. Ista verò tria tentoria, de quibus suprà diximus, erant valdè magna, aliaq; habebant vxores eius de filtro albo satis magna & pulchra. Ibidem Imperator diutius est à matre sua, quæ mist in vnam terræ partem, & Imperator in aliam ad iudicia facienda. Capta siquidem erat amica Imperatoris istius, quæ veneno interfecerat patrem eius, eo tempore, quo exercitus eorum in Hungaria fuit. Propter quod etiam exercitus eorum, qui erat in partibus illis, receſſit. De qua cum alijs pluribus factum fuit iudicium, & occisi fuerunt. Eodem tempore mortuus fuit Ieroslaus, Dux magnus Soldal, quæ est quædam Russiæ pars. Vocatus enim ad matrem Imperatoris quasi pro honore, vt manducaret ac biberet de manu ipsius, in continenti ad hospitium est reuersus, infirmatusq; mortuus est post septem dies, totumque corpus eius miro modo glaucum effectum est, dicebaturq; ab omnibus, quod ibidem, vt terram eius liberè ac plenariè possiderent, fuisset impotionatus.

Nex Occoday vindicata.

Ieroslaus Dux Russiæ.

Qualiter tandem Fratres ad Imperatorem accedentes, *literas dederunt & acceperunt.* Cap. 31.

Cuyne cum legatis dissimulanter agit.

DEniq; Tartari nostri nos ad Imperatorem duxerunt: qui cùm audisset per illos, nos ad eum venisse, iussit nos ad matrem redire. Volebat enim secundo die, sicut superiùs dictum est, contra totam Occidentis terram vexillum erigere, quod nos volebat ignorare. Itaque reuersi stetimus paucis diebus, & iterum ad ipsum reuersi sumus. Cum quo benè per mensem fuimus in tanta fame ac siti, quòd vix viuere poteramus. Nam expensæ, quæ nobis pro diebus quatuor dabantur, vix vni sufficiebant. Nec inuenire poteramus aliquid ad emendum, quia forum erat nimis remotum. Sed Dominus nobis quendam Ruthenum, nomine Cosmam, aurifabrum præparauit, qui satis dilectus Imperatori, nos in aliquo sustentauit. Et hic nobis ostendit thronum Imperatoris, quem ipse fecerat, antequam poneretur in sede, & sigillum eiusdem, quod etiam fabricauerat ipse. Post hoc Imperator pro nobis misit, nobisq; per Chingay protonotarium suum dici fecit, vt verba nostra & negotia scriberemus, eiq; porrigeremus. Quod & fecimus. Post plures dies nos iterum vocari fecit, & vtrum essent apud Dominum Papam, qui Ruthenorum vel Sarracenorum, aut etiam Tartarorum literam intelligerent, interrogauit. Cui respondimus, quòd nullam istarum literarum habebamus. Sarraceni tamen erant in terra, sed remoti erant à Domino Papa. Diximus tamen, quia nobis expedire videbatur, quòd in Tartarico scriberent, & nobis interpretarentur, nos autem in litera nostra diligenter scriberemus, & tam literam quàm interpretationem ad Dominum Papam deferremus. Tunc à nobis recesserunt, & ad Imperatorem iuerunt. Porrò à die Beati Martini fuimus vocati. Tunc Kadac, totius imperij procurator, & Chingay & Bala, plureſq; scriptores ad nos venerunt, nobisq; literam de verbo ad verbum interpretati fuerunt. Et cùm in Latina litera scripsissemus, faciebant sibi per singulas orationes interpretari, volentes scire, si nos in aliquo verbo erraremus. Cùm igitur ambæ literæ fuissent scriptæ, fecerunt nos semel ac secundo legere, ne fortè minus aliquid haberemus. Dixerunt enim nobis, videte, quòd omnia benè intelligatis, quia non expediret, quòd non omnia benè intelligeretis. Literas etiam in Sarracenico scripserunt, vt aliquis in partibus nostris inueniri posset, qui eas, si opus esset, legeret.

Cosmas Ruſſus.

Chingay interpretes.

Prudens deliberatio consilium.

Qualiter licentiati fuerunt. Cap. 32.

VT autem nobis Tartari nostri dixerunt, proposuit Imperator nuncios suos nobiscum mittere. Volebat tamen, vt credimus, quod nos id ab eo peteremus. Sed cùm vnus de Tartaris nostris, qui senior erat, nos ad hoc petendum hortaretur, nobis quidem, vt venirent, nequaquam bonum videbatur. Ideoq; respondimus ei, quòd non erat nostrum petere, sed si sponte ipse Imperator mitteret eos, libenter eos securè conduceremus, Domino adiuuante. Nobis autem ob plures causas vt venirent, non videbatur expedire. Prima quidem fuit, quia timuimus, ne visis dissentionibus aut guerris, quæ fiunt inter nos, magis animarentur ad veniendum contra nos. Secunda fuit, timebamus eos exploratores terræ fieri. Tertia verò, quia timebamus eos interfici. Gentes enim nostræ arrogantes sunt & superbæ. Vnde quando seruientes, qui stant nobiscum, ex rogatu Cardinalis, legati scilicet Alemanniæ, in habitu Tartarico ibant ad ipsum, in via ferè lapidati sunt à Teutonicis, & coacti sunt deponere habitum illum. Consuetudo autem est Tartarorum, vt cum illis, qui nuncios eorum occiderint, nunquam faciant pacem, nisi sumant de ipsis vltionem. Quarta etiã causa fuit, quia timebamus ne nobis auferentur vi.

Legati abhorrent a Tartarorum ad Christianos legatione.

Quinta

Quinta verò causa erat, quia de aduentu eorum nulla foret vtilitas, cum nullum haberent aliud mandatum vel potestatem, nisi quòd literas Imperatoris ad Dominum Papam & ad Principes deferrent, quas videlicet literas ipsi nos habebamus, & malum ex eorum aduentu posse contingere credebamus. Itaq; tertia die post hoc, scilicet in festo beati Briccij nobis dederunt licentiam & literam Imperatoris sigillo munitam, mittentes nos ad ipsius Imperatoris matrem, quę vnicuiq; nostrum dedit pelliceum vnum de pellibus vulpinis, quod habebat pilos de foris, & purpuram vnam. De quibus Tartari nostri furati sunt ex vnaquaq; vnum passum. De illa quoq; quæ dabatur seruienti, meliorem mediatatem sunt furati. Quod nos quidem non ignorauimus, sed inde verba mouere noluimus. Nauarch. 13. Honorantur ab matre & filij.

Qualiter ab illo itinere redierunt. Cap. 33.

TVnc iter ad reuertendum arripuimus, ac per totam hyemem venimus, iacentes in desertis sæpiùs in niue, nisi quantum poteramus nobis cum pede locum facere. Ibi quippe non erant arbores, sed planus campus. Et sæpe manè nos inuenebamus totos niue, quam ventus pellebat, coopertos. Sic venientes vsq; ad Ascensionem Domini peruenimus ad Bathy. A quo cùm inquireremus, quid responderet Domino Papæ, dixit se nolle aliud, nisi quod Imperator diligenter scripserat, demandare. Datisq; nobis de conductu literis, ab eo recessimus, & sabbatho infra octauas Pentecostes vsq; ad Montij peruenimus, vbi erant socij nostri, ac seruientes, qui fuerant retenti, quos ad nos fecimus reduci. Hinc vsq; Corrensam peruenimus, cui iterum à nobis donaria petenti non dedimus, quia non habebamus. Deditq; nobis duos Comanos, qui erant ex Tartarorum plebe, vsque ad Kiouiam Russiæ. Tartarus tamen noster non dimisit nos, donec exiremus vltimam Tartarorum custodiam. Isti verò alij, qui nobis à Corrensa dati sunt, in sex diebus ab vltima custodia vsq; ad Kiouiam nos duxerunt. Venimus autem illuc ante festum Beati Iohannis Baptistę xv. diebus. Porrò Kiouienses aduentum nostrum percipientes, occurrerunt nobis omnes lætanter. Congratulabantur enim nobis, tanquam à morte suscitatis. Sic fecerunt nobis per totam Russiam, Poloniam & Bohemiam, Daniel & Wasilico fratre eius festum nobis magnum fecerunt, & nos contra voluntatem nostram bene per octo dies tenuerunt. Medioq; tempore inter se & cum Episcopis, cæteriśq; probis viris, super his, quæ locuti fueramus eisdem, in processu nostro ad Tartaros consilium habentes, responderunt nobis communiter, dicentes: quòd Dominum Papam habere vellent in specialem Dominum, & in patrem, sanctam quoq; Romanam Ecclesiam in dominam & magistram, confirmantes etiam omnia, quæ priùs de hac materia per Abbatem suum transmiserant. Et super hoc etiam nobiscum ad Dominum Papam nuncios suos & literas transmiserunt. Difficilis legatorum reditus. Bathy. Corrensa. Iunij 9. Gratulationes reductibus factæ. Basilius & Daniel Principes. Russi spondent plenarium Papæ.

The voyage of *Iohannes de Plano Carpini* vnto the Northeast parts of the world, in the yeere of our *Lord*, 1246.

Of the first sending of certaine Friers Prędicants and Minorites *vnto the Tartars, taken out of the 32. Booke of* Vincentius Beluacensis *his* Speculum Historiale: *beginning at the second Chapter.*

ABout this time also, Pope Innocentius the fourth sent Frier Ascelline being one of the order of the Prædicants, together with three other Friers (of the same authoritie whereunto they were called) consorted with him one of diuers Conuents of their order, with letters Apostolicall vnto the Tartars campe: wherein hee exhorted them to giue ouer their bloudie slaughter of mankinde, and to receiue the Christian faith. And I, in verie deede, receiuing the relations concerning the deedes of the Tartars onelie, (which, according to the congruence of times, I haue aboue inserted into this my worke) from a Frier Minorite, called Simon de Sancto Quintin, who lately returned from the same voyage. Also at that verie time also, there was a certaine other Frier Minorite, namely Frier Iohn de Plano Carpini, sent with certaine associates vnto the Tartars, who likewise (as himselfe witnesseth) aboue one conuersed with them a yeere and three moneths at the least. For both he and Frier Benedict a Polonian being of the same order, and a partaker of all his miseries and tribulation, receiued straight commandement from the Pope, that both of them should diligently searche out all things that concerned the state of the Tartars. And therefore this Frier Iohn hath written a little Pistorie (which is come to our handes) of such things, as with his owne eyes hee sawe among Ascelinus. Simon Quintinus. Iohn de plano Carpini. Benedictus Polonus.

among the Tartars, of which he heard from diuers Christians worthy of credit, remaining there in captiuitie. Out of which history I thought good by way of conclusion, to insert some what for the supply of those things which are wanting in the said Frier Simon.

Of the situation and qualitie of the Tartars land, By *Iohannes de Plano Carpini.* Chap. 3.

A description of Tartaria.

THere is towards the East a land which is called Mongal or Tartaria, lying in that part of the worlde which is thought to be most Northerly. On the East part it hath the countrey of Kythay and of the people called Solangi: on the South part the countrey of the Saracens: on the South east the land of the Huini: and on the West the prouince of Narmani: but on the North side it is inuironed with the Ocean Sea.

The North Ocean.

In some part thereof it is full of mountaines, and in other places plaine and smoothe grounde, but euerie where sandie and barren, neither is the hundreth part thereof fruitefull. For it cannot beare fruite valesse it be moistened with riuer waters, which bee verie rare in that countrey. Whereupon they haue neither villages, nor cities among them, excepe one which is called Cracorim, and is said to be a proper towne. We our selues sawe not this towne, but were almost within halfe a dayes iourney thereof, when we remained at Syra Orda, which is the great court of their Emperour. And albeit the foresaid lande is otherwise vnfruitfull, yet is it verie commodious for the bringing vp of cattell. In certaine places thereof are some small store of trees growing, but otherwise it is altogether destitute of woods. Therefore the Emperour, and his noble men and all other warme themselues, and dresse their meate with fires made of the dounge of oxen, and horses.

Syra Orda.

The intemperature of the aire.

The aire also in that countrey is verie intemperate. For in the midst of Sommer there be great thunders and lightenings, by the which many men are slaine, and at the same time there falleth great abundance of snowe. There bee also such mightie tempestes of colde windes, that sometimes men are not able to sitte on horseback. Whereupon, being neere vnto the Orda (for by this name they call the habitations of their Emperours and noble men) in regarde of the great winde we were constrained to lye groueling on the earth, and could not see by reason of the dust. There is neuer any raine in Winter, but onely in Sommer, albeit in so little quantitie, that sometimes it is scarcely sufficeth to allay the dust, or to moysten the rootes of the grasse. There is often times great store of haile also. Insomuch that when the Emperour elect was to be placed in his Emperiall throne (my selfe being then present) there fell such abundance of haile, that, vpon the sudden melting thereof, maze then 160. persons were drowned in the same place: there were manie tentes and other thinges also caried away. Likewise, in the Sommer season there is on the sudden extreame heate, and suddenly againe intollerable colde.

What Orda signifieth.

Of their forme, habite, and maner of liuing. *Chap.* 4.

The shape of the Tartars.

THe Mongals or Tartars, in outward shape, are vnlike to all other people. For they are broader betweene the eyes, and the bones of their cheekes, then men of other nations bee. They haue flat and small noses, little eyes, and eye lidders standing streight vpright, they are shauen on the crownes like priests. They weare their haire some what longer about their eares then vpon their foreheades: but behinde they let it growe long like womans haire, whereof they braide two lockes binding eche of them behinde either eare. They haue short feet also. The garments, as well of their men, as of their women are all of one fashion. They vse neither cloakes, hattes, nor cappes. But they weare Jackets framed after a straunge manner, of buckeram, chamlet, or Baldakines. Their shoes or gownes are happie on the outside, and open behinde, with tailes hanging downe to their hammes. They vse not to washe their garments, neither will in any wise suffer them to bee washed, especially in the time of thunder.

Their habite.

Like vnto Prohibitors men.

Their tabernacles.

Their habitations bee rounde and cunningly made with wickers and staues in manner of a tent. But in the midest of the toppes thereof, they haue a windowe open to conuey the light in and the smoake out. For their fire is alwayes in the middest. Their walles bee couered with felt. Their doores are made of felte also. Some of these Tabernacles may quickely be taken asunder, and set together againe, and are caried vpon beastes backes. Other some cannot be taken asunder, but are drawen vpon carts. And whithersoeuer they goe, be it either to warre, or to any other place, they transport their tabernacles with them. They are very rich in cattel, as in camels, oxen, sheep, and goates. And I thinke they haue more horses and mares then all the worlde besides. But they haue no kine nor other beastes.

Their cattell.

Their victuals.

Their Emperors, Dukes, Prother of their nobles doe abound with silke, golde, siluer, and precious stones. Their victuals are all thinges that may be eaten: for we saw some of them eat lice.

They

They drinke milke in great quantitie, but eſpecially mares milke, if they haue it: They teeth Mill alſo in water, making it ſo thinne, that they may drinke thereof. Euery one of them drinkes off a cup full or two in a morning, and ſometime they eate nought elſe all the day long. But in the euening each man hath a little fleſh giuen him to eate, and they drinke the broath thereof. Howbeit in ſummer time, when they haue mares milke enough, they ſeldome eate fleſh, vnles perhaps it be giuen them, or they take ſome beaſt or bird in hunting.

Of their manners both good and bad. *Chap.* 5.

Their obedience.

THeir manners are partly praiſe-worthie, and partly deteſtable: For they are more obedient vnto their lords and maſters, then any other either clergie or lait-people in the whole world. For they vſe highly reuerence them, and will deceiue them, neither in words nor deedes. They ſeldome or neuer fall out among themſelues, and, as for fightings or brawlings, wounds or manſlaughters, they neuer happen among them. There are neither theeues nor robbers of great riches to be found, and therefore the tabernacles and carts of them that haue any treaſures are not ſtrengthened with lockes or barres. If any beaſt goe aſtray, the finder thereof either lets it goe, or driueth it to them that are put in office for the ſame purpoſe, at whoſe handes the owner of the ſaid beaſt demandeth it, and without any difficultie receiueth it againe. One of them honoureth another exceedingly, and beſtoweth banquets very familiarly and liberally, notwithſtanding that good victuals are daintie and ſcarce among them. They are alſo very hardie, and when they haue faſted a day or two without any maner of ſuſtenance, they ſing and are merry as if they had eaten their bellies full. In riding, they endure much cold and and extreme heat. There be, in a manner, no contentions among them, and although they vſe commonly to be drunken, yet doe they not quarell in their drunkennes. Noe one of them deſpiſeth another but helpeth and furthereth him, as much as conueniently he can. Their women are chaſte, neither is there ſo much as a word vttered concerning their diſhoneſtie. Some of them will not withſtanding ſpeake filthy and immodeſt words. But towards other people, the ſaid Tartars be moſt inſolent, and they ſcorne and ſet nought by all other noble and and ignoble perſons whatſoeuer. For we ſaw in the Emperours court the great duke of Ruſſia, the kings ſonne of Georgia, and many great Soldanes receiuing no due honour and eſtimation among them. So that euen the very Tartars aſſigned to giue attendance vnto them, were they neuer ſo baſe, would alwaies goe before them, and take the vpper hand of them, yea, and ſometimes would conſtraine them to ſit behinde their backes. Moreouer they are angrie and of a diſdainefull nature vnto other people, and beyond all meaſure deceitfull, and treacherous towards them. They ſpeake fayre in the beginning, but in concluſion, they ſting like ſcorpions. For craftie they are, and full of falſhood, circumuenting all men whom they are able, by their ſleights. Whatſoeuer miſchiefe they entend to practiſe againſt a man, they keepe it wonderfully ſecrete, ſo that he may by no meanes prouide for himſelfe, nor find a remedie againſt their conſpiracies. They are vnmanerly alſo and vncleanly in taking their meat and their drinke, and in other actions. Drunkennes is honourable among them, and when any of them hath taken more drinke then his ſtomacke can well beare, hee caſteth it vp and falles to drinking againe. They are moſt intollerable exacters, moſt courtous poſſeſſours, and moſt nigardly gyuers. The ſlaughter of other people is accompted a matter of nothing with them.

Their abſtinence.

Their courteſie.

Their chaſtity.

Their inhoſpitalitie againſt ſtrangers.

Of their lawes and cuſtomes. *Chap* 6.

MOreouer, they haue this law or cuſtome, that whatſoeuer man or woman be manifeſtly taken in aduultery, they are puniſhed with death. A virgine likewiſe that hath committed fornication, they ſlay together with her mate. Whoſoeuer be taken in robberie or theft, is put to death without all pitie. Alſo, if any man diſcloſe their ſecrets, eſpecially in time of warre, he receiueth an hundreth blowes on the backe with a baſtinado, layd on by a tall fellow. In like ſort when any inferiours offend in ought, they finde no fauour at their ſuperiours handes, but are puniſhed with grieuous ſtripes. They are ioyned in matrimony to all in generall, yea, euen to their neare kinſfolkes except their mother, daughter and ſiſter by the mothers ſide. For they vſe to marrie their ſiſter by the fathers ſide onely, and alſo the wife of their father after his deceaſe. The ponger brother alſo, or ſome other of his kinſmen, is bound to marry the wife of his elder brother deceaſed. For, at the time of our abode in the countrey, a certaine duke of Ruſſia named Andreas, was accuſed before duke Bury for conueying the Tartars horſes out of the land, and for ſelling them to others: and although it could not be prooued, yet was he put to death. The ponger brother and the wife of the party deceaſed hearing this, came & made their ſupplication vnto the ſaid forenamed duke, that

Puniſhments of aduultery.

Of theft.

Of ſecreting diſcloſed.

Lawes of matrimonie.

Andreas duke of Ruſſia.

that the dukedome of Russia might not be taken from them. But he commanded the youth to marrie his deceased brothers wife, and the woman also to take him vnto her husband, according to the custome of the Tartars. She answered, that she had rather die, then so haynously transgresse the law. Howbeit, her deliuered her vnto him, although they both refused as much as they could. Wherefore carying them to bed, they constrained the youth, lamenting and weeping, to lie downe and commit incest with his brothers wife. To be short, after the death of their husbands, the Tartars wiues vse very seldome to marrie the second time, vnlesse perhaps some man takes his brothers wife or his stepmother in mariage. They make no difference betweene the sonne of their wife and of their concubine, but the father giues what he pleaseth vnto each one: For of late the king of Georgia hauing two sonnes, one lawfully begotten called Melich; but the other Dauid, borne in aduoutrie, at his death left part of his lande vnto his base sonne. Hereupon Melich (vnto whome the kingdome fell by right of his mother, because it was gouerned before time by women) went vnto the Emperour of the Tartars, Dauid also hauing taken his iourney vnto him. Nowe both of them comming to the court and proffering large giftes, the sonne of the harlot made suite, that he might haue inlarge, according to the custome of the Tartars. Well, sentence passed against Melich, that Dauid being his elder brother, should haue superioritie ouer him, and should quietly and peaceably possesse the portion of land granted vnto him by his father. Whensoeuer a Tartar hath many wiues, each one of them hath her family and dwelling place by her selfe. And sometime the Tartar eateth, drinketh and lieth with one, and sometime with another. One is accompted chiefe among the rest, with whom hee is oftener conuersant, then with the other. And notwithstanding (as it hath bin said) they are many, yet do they seldome fal out among themselues.

Melich & Dauid two brothers.

Of their superstitious traditions. *Chap. 7.*

Superstitious traditions.

But by reason of certain traditions, which either they or their predecessors haue deuised, they accompt some things indifferent to be faults. One is to thrust a knife into the fire, or any way to touch the fire with a knife, or with their knife to take flesh out of the caudron, or to serue with an hatchet neare vnto the fire. For they think by that means to take away the heat or force from the fire. Another is to leane vpon the whip, wherewith they beate their horses: for they ride not with spurs. Also, to touch arrowes with a whip, to take or kill yong birds, to strike an horse with the raine of their bridle, and to breake one bone against another. Also, to powre out milke, meate, or any kinde of drinke vpon the ground, or to make water within their tabernacle: which whosoeuer doth willingly, he is slaine, but otherwise he must pay a great summe of money to the inchanter to be purified. Who likewise must cause the tabernacle with all things therein, to passe betweene two fires. Before it be on this wise purified, no man dare once enter into it, nor conueigh any thing therevnto. Besides, if any man hath a mo[illegible] giuen him, which he is not able to swallow, and for that cause casteth it out of his mouth, there is an hole made vnder his tabernacle, by which hee is drawen forth and slaine without all compassion. Likewise, whosoeuer treades vpon the threshold of any of their dukes tabernacles, he is put to death. [illegible] other things there be, like vnto these, which they take for heinous offences. But to slay men, to inuade the dominions of other people, and to rifle their goods, to transgresse the commandements and prohibitions of God, are with them no offences at all. They know nothing concerning eternall life, and euerlasting damnation, and yet they thinke, that after death they shall liue in another world, that they shall multiply their cattell, that they shall eate and drinke and doe other things which liuing men performe here vpon earth. At a new moone, or a full moone, they begin all enterprises that they take in hand, and they call the moone the Great Emperour, and worship it vpon their knees. All men that abide in their tabernacles must be purified with fire: Which purification is on this wise, They kindle two fires, and pitch two lances into the ground neere vnto the said fires, binding a rope to the tops of the lances. And about the rope they tye certaine iagges of buckram, vnder which rope, and betweene which fires, men, beasts, and tabernacles do passe. There stand two women also, one on the right side, and another on the left calling water, and repeating certaine charmes. If any man be slaine by lightning, all that dwell in the same tabernacle with him must passe by fire in maner aforesaid. For their tabernacles, beds, and carters, their felts and garments, and whatsoeuer such things they haue, are touched by no man, yea, and are abandoned by all men as things vncleane. And to be short, they thinke that all things are to be purged by fire. Therefore, when any ambassadours, princes, or other personages whatsoeuer come vnto them, they and their gifts must passe betweene two fires to be purified. And [illegible] they haue purified some [illegible], or haue brought some present or other merchandise with them.

The Tartars honor the moone.

Their customs of purifying.

Of

Of the beginning of their empire or gouernment. *Chap.7.*

The Call countrie, whereof wee haue entreated, which is called Mongal, is reported to haue had of olde time foure sortes of people. One of their companions was called Yeka Mongal, that is the great Mongals. The second company was called Sumongal, that is, the Water-Mongals, who called themselues Tartars of a certaine riuer running through their countrey named Tartar. The third was called Merkat, and the fourth Metrit. All these people had one and the same person, attire of body and language, albeit they were diuided by princes and prouinces. In the prouince of Yeka Mongal, there was a certaine man called Chingis. This man became a mighty hunter. For he learned to steale men, & to take them for a pray. He ranged into other countries taking as many captiues as he could, and ioining them vnto himselfe. Also hee allured the men of his owne countrey vnto him, who followed him as their captaine and ringleader to doe mischiefe. Then began he to make warre vpon the Sumongals or Tartars, and slewe their captaine, and after many conflicts, subdued them vnto himselfe, and brought them all into bondage. Afterward he vsed their helpe to fight against the Merkats, dwelling by the Tartars, whom also he banquished in battell. Proceeding from thence, he fought against the Metrites, and conquered them also. The Naimani hearing that Chingis was thus eralted, greatly disdained thereat. For they had a mighty & puissant Emperour, vnto whom all the foresaid nations payed tribute. Whose sonnes, when he was dead, succeeded him in his Empire. Howbeit, being young and foolish, they knew not howe to gouerne the people, but were diuided, and fell at variance among themselues. Now Chingis being eralted, as is aforesaid, they neuertheless inuaded the forenamed countries, put the inhabitants to the sword, and carried away their goods for a pray. Which Chingis hauing intelligence of, gathered all his subiects together. The Naimani also, and the people called Karakitay assembled and banded themselues at a certaine straight valley, where, after a battell fought ther they were banquished by the Mongals. And being thus banquished, they were, the greatter part of them, slaine; and others, which could not escape, were carried into captiuitie. In the land of the foresayd Karakytayans, Occoday Cham, the sonne of Chingis Cham, after he was created Emperour, built a certaine citie, which he called Chanyl. Neare vnto which citie, on the South side, there is an huge desert, wherein wilde men are certainely reported to inhabite, which cannot speake at all, and are destitute of ioynts in their legges, so that if they fall, they cannot rise alone by themselues. Howbeit, they are of discretion to make felts of Camels haire, wherewith they clothe themselues, and which they holde against the winde. And if at any time, the Tartars pursuing them, chance to wound them with their arrowes, they put herbes into their wounds, and flye strongly before them.

The people of Tartaria.

The original & the exploits of Chingis.

The Naimani.

The discords of brethren.

Occoday Cham.

Of the mutuall victories betweene them, and the people of Kythay. *Chap.9.*

But the Mongals returning home into their owne countrey, prepared themselues to battell against the * Kythayans: Which their Emperour hearing, set forward against them with his armie, and they fought a cruell battell, wherein the Mongals were ouercome, and all their nobles in the armie, except seuen, were slaine. And for this cause, when they, purposing to inuade anie region, are threatned by the inhabitants thereof to be slaine, they vse, to this day, and were: in old time also our whole number besides being slaine, we remayned but seuen of vs alme, and yet notwithstanding we are now growen vnto a great multitude, thinke not therefore to daunt vs with such brags. But Chingis and the residue that remained alme, fled home into their countrey: And hauing breathed him a little, he prepared himselfe to warre, and went forth against the people called Huyri: These men were Christians of the sect of Nestorius. And these also the Mongals ouercame, and receiued letters or learning from them: for before that time they had not the arte of writing, and nowe they call it the hand or letters of the Mongals. Immediately after, hee marched against the countrey of Saruyur, and of the Karanites, and against the land of Hudirat; all which he banquished. Then returned he home into his owne countrey, and breathed himselfe. Afterward, assembling his warlike troupes, they marched with one accorde against the Kythayans, and waging warre with them a long time, they conquered a great part of their land, and shut vp their Emperour into his greatest citie: which citie they had so long time besieged, that they began to want necessary prouision for their armie. And when they had no victuals to feede vpon, Chingis Cham commaunded his souldiers, that they should eate euery tenth man of the companie.

Heython & Paulus Venetus call them Cathayans.

New victories

Letters.

But

Siluer cast at the enemie in stead of stones.

But they of the citie fought manfully against them, with engines, dartes, and arrowes, and when stones wanted they threwe siluer, and especially melted siluer: for the same citie abounded with great riches. Also, when the Mongals had fought a long time and could not preuayle by warre, they made a great trench vnderneath the ground from the armie vnto the middest of the citie, and there issuing foorth they fought against the citizens, and the remnant also without the walles fought in like manner. At last, breaking open the gates of the citie, they entred, and putting the Emperour, with many other to the sworde, they tooke possession thereof and conueighed away the golde, siluer, and all the riches therein. And hauing appointed certaine deputies ouer the countrey, they returned home into their owne lande. This is the first time, when

Chingis Cham proclaimed Emperour.

the Emperour of the Kythayans being vanquished, Chingis Cham obtayned the Empire.

Part of Cathay in the sea.

But some parte of the countrey, because it lyeth within the sea, they could by no meanes conquere vnto this day. The men of Kytay are Pagans, hauing a speciall kinde of writing by themselues, and (as it is reported) the Scriptures of the olde and newe Testament. They

The letters, & the religion of the Cathayans.

haue also receyued in hystories the liues of their forefathers: and they haue Eremites, and certaine houses made after the manner of our Churches, which in those dayes they greatly reuerted vnto. They say that they haue diuers Saints also, and they worship one God. They adore and reuerence CHRIST IESVS our Lorde, and beleeue the article of eternall life, but are not baptized. They doe also honourably esteeme and reuerence our Scriptures. They loue Christians, and bestowe much almes, and are a very courteous and gentle people. They haue no beardes, and they agree partly with the Mongals in the disposition of their countenance.

Their excellent workmanship.

In all occupations which men practise, there are not better artificers in the whole worlde. Their countrey is exceeding rich, in corne, wine, golde, silke, and other commodities.

Of their warre against *India maior* and *minor*. *Chap.* 10.

Thoshut Can sonne of Chingis.

AND when the Mongals with their emperour Chingis Cham had a while rested themselues after the forepayd victorie, they diuided their armies. For the Emperour sent one of his sonnes named Thoshut (whom also they called Can, that is to say, Emperour) with an armie against the people of Comania, whom he vanquished with much warre, and afterward returned into his owne country. But he sent his other sonne with an armie against the Indians, who also subdued India minor. These Indians are the blacke Saracens, which are also called Æthiopians. But

India minor subdued.

here the armie marched forward to fight against Christians dwelling in India maior. Which the King of that countrey hearing (who is commonly called Presbiter Iohn) gathered his souldiers together, and came foorth against them. And making mens images of copper, he set each of them

The stratagem of the king of India.

vpon a saddle on horseback, and put fire within them, and placed a man with a paire of bellowes on the horse backe behinde euery image. And so with many horses and images in such sorte furnished, they marched on to fight against the Mongals or Tartars. And comming neare vnto the place of the battell, they first of all sent those horses in order one after another. But the men that sate behind laide I wote not what vpon the fire within the images, and blew strongly with their bellowes. Wherevpon it came to passe, that the men and the horses were burnt with wilde fire, and the ayre was darkened with smoake. Then the Indians cast dartes vpon the Tartars, of whom many were wounded and slain. And so they expelled them out of their dominions with great confusion, neither did we heare, that euer they returned thither againe.

How being repelled by monstrous men shapen like dogs, they ouercame the people of *Burithabeth*. *Chap.* 11.

A strange report of certain monstrous women and dogs.

BVt returning through the deserts, they came into a certaine countrey, wherin (as it was reported vnto vs in the Emperours court, by certaine clergie men of Russia, and others, who were long time among them, and that by strong and stedfast affirmation) they found certaine monsters resembling women: who being asked by many interpreters, where the men of that land were, they answered, that whatsoeuer women were borne there, were indued with the shape of mankinde, but the males were like vnto dogges. And delaying the time, in that countrey they met with the said dogges on the other side of the riuer. And in the midst of sharpe winter, they cast themselues into the water: Afterward they wallowed in the dust vpon the maine land, and so the dust being mingled with water, was frozen to their backes, and hauing often times so done, the ice being strongly frozen vpon them, with great fury they came to fight against the Tartars. And when the Tartars threwe their dartes, or shot their arrowes among them, they rebounded backe againe,

as

as if they had lighted vpon ſtones. And the reſt of their weapons could by no meanes hurt them. Howbeit, the Dogges made an aſſault vpon the Tartars, and wounding ſome of them with their teeth, and ſlaying others, at length they draue them out of their countries. And thereupon they haue a Prouerbe of the ſame matter, as yet vſe among them, which they ſpeake in telling ſome one to another; My father or my brother was ſlaine of Dogges. The women which they tooke, they brought into their owne countrey, who remayned there till their dying day. And in trauelling homewardes, the ſayd armie of the Mongals came vnto the lande of Burkhabeth (the inhabitants whereof are Pagans) and conquered the people in battell. Theſe people haue a ſtrange or rather a miſerable kinde of cuſtome. For when anie mans father deceaſeth, he aſſembleth all his kindred, and they eate him. Theſe men haue no beards at all, for we ſaw them carie a certaine iron inſtrument in their hands, where with, if any haires growe vpon their chinne, they preſently plucke them out. They are alſo very deformed. From thence the Tartars armie returned to their owne home.

The region of Burkhabeth.

The maners of the people.

How they had the repulſe at the *Caſpian* mountaynes, and were driuen backe by men dwelling in caues. *Chap.* 12.

Another expedition of Chingis.

MOreouer Chingis Cham, at the ſame time when he ſent other armies againſt the Eaſt, hee himſelfe marched with a power into the lande of Kergis, which notwithſtanding, he conquered not in that expedition, and as it was reported vnto vs, he went on forward euen to the Caſpian mountaines. But the mountaines on that part where they encamped themſelues, were of adamant, and therefore they drew vnto them their arrowes, and weapons of iron. And certaine men contained within thoſe Caſpian mountaynes, bearing, as it was thought, the nopſe of the armie, made a breach through, ſo that when the Tartars returned vnto the ſame place tenne yeeres after, they found the mountaine broken. And attempting to goe vnto them, they could not: for there ſtood a cloud before them, beyond which they were not able to paſſe, being depriued of their ſight ſo ſoone as they approched thereunto. But they on the contrary ſide thinking that the Tartars durſt not come nigh them, gaue the aſſault, & when they came at the cloud, they could not proceed for the cauſe aforeſaid. Alſo the Tartars before they came vnto the ſaid mountaines, paſſed for the ſpace of a moneth and more, through a vaſt wilderne, & departing thence towards the Eaſt, they were about a moneth trauelling through another huge deſert. At length, they came vnto a land wherin they ſaw beaten waies, but could not find any people. Howbeit, at the laſt, diligently ſeeking, they found a man & his wife, whom they preſented before Chingis Cham: and demanding of them where the people of that countrey were, they anſwered, that the people inhabited vnder the ground in mountains. Then Chingis Cham keeping ſtill the woman, ſent her husband vnto thē, giuing thē charge to come at his commaund. And going vnto them, he declared all things that Chingis Cham had commanded them. But they anſwered, that they would vpon ſuch a day viſite him, to ſatisfie his deſire. And in the meane ſeaſon, by blinde & hidden paſſages vnder the earth, aſſembling themſelues, they came againſt the Tartars in warlike manner, and ſuddenly iſſuing forth, they ſlewe a great number of them. This people were not able to endure the terrible noiſe, which in that place the Sunne made at his vpriſing: for at the time of the Sunne riſing, they were inforced to lay one eare vpon the ground, and to ſtoppe the other cloſe, leaſt they ſhould heare that dreadfull ſound. Neither could they ſo eſcape, for by this meanes many of them were deſtroyed. Chingis Cham therefore and his company, ſeeing that they preuailed not, but continually loſt ſome of their number, fled and departed out of that land. But the man and his wife aforeſaid they caried along with them, who all their life time continued in the Tartars countrey. Being demaunded why the men of their countrey doe inhabite vnder the ground, they ſayd, that at a certeine time of the yeare, when the ſunne riſeth, there is ſuch an huge noiſe, that the people cannot endure it. Moreouer, they vſe to play vpon cymbals, drums, and other muſicall inſtruments, to the ende they may not heare that ſounde.

A fabulous narration of the ſun riſing.

Of the ſtatutes of *Chingis Cham*, of his death, of his ſonnes, and of his dukes. *Chap.* 13.

BVt as Chingis Cham returned out of that countrey his people wanted victuals, & ſuffered extreme famin. Then by chance they found the freſh tracke of a beaſt which they tooke, & roſting away the vnng thereof, cauſed it to be ſodden, brought it before Chingis Cham, & did eat therof. And hereupon Chingis Cham enacted, that neither the blood, nor the fat, nor any other part of a beaſt

The lawes of Chingis.

beast which might be eaten, should be cast away, saue onely the bunge. Wherefore he returned thence into his owne land, and there he ordeined lawes and statutes, which the Tartars doe most strictly and inuiolably obserue, of the which we haue before spoken. He was afterward slaine by a thunderclap. He had foure sonnes: the first was called Occoday, the second Thossut Can, the third Thiaday: the name of the fourth is vnknowen. From these foure descended all the dukes of the Mongals. The first sonne of Occoday is Cuyne, who is now Emperour: his brothers be Cocten and Chyrinen. The sonnes of Thossut Can are Bathy, Ordu, Siba, and Bora. Bathy, next vnto the Emperour, is richer and mightier then all the rest. But Ordu is the seigniour of all the dukes. The sonnes of Thiaday be Hurin and Cadan. The sonnes of Chingis Cham his other sonne, whose name is vnknowen, are Mengu, Bithat, and certaine others. The mother of Mengu was named Seroctan, and of all others most honoured among the Tartars, except the Emperours mother, and mightier then any subiect except Bathy. These be the names of the dukes: Ordu, who was in Poland and in Hungarie: Bathy also & Hurin & Cadan, and Siban, and Ouygar, all which were in Hungarie. In like maner Cyrpodan, who is as yet beyond the sea, making war against certaine Soldans of the Saracens, and other inhabitants of farre countries. Others remained in the land, as namely Mengu, Chyrinen, Hubilai, Sinocur, Cara, Gay, Sybedey, Bora, Berca, Corensa. There be many other of their dukes, whose names are vnknowen vnto vs.

The death of Chingis. His sonnes.

His grandchildren.

The Tartarian dukes.

Of the authoritie of the Emperour, and of his dukes. *Chap.* 14.

The absolute and lordly dominion of the Tartarian Emperour ouer his subiects.

MOreouer, the Emperour of the Tartars hath a wonderfull dominion ouer all his subiects. For no man dare abide in any place, vnles he hath alligned him to be there. Also he himselfe appointeth to his dukes where they should inhabite. Likewise the dukes alligne places vnto euery Millenarie, or conducter of a thousand souldiers, the Millenaries vnto each captaine of an 100. the captaines vnto euery composall of ten. Whatsoeuer is giuen them in charge, whensoeuer, or wheresoeuer, he it to fight or to lose their liues, or howsoeuer it be, they obey without any gainsaying. For if he demandeth any mans daughter, or sister being a virgine, they presently deliuer her vnto him without all contradiction: yea, oftentimes he makes a collection of virgines throughout all the Tartars dominions, and those whom he meanes to keepe, he retaineth vnto himselfe, others he bestoweth vpon his men. Also, whatsoeuer messenger he sendeth, or whithersoeuer, his subiects must furnish and lay for them hoyses and other necessaries. In like sorte, from what countrey soeuer tribute papers, or ambassadours come vnto him, they must haue hoyses, carriages, and expenses allowed them. Notwithstanding ambassadours comming from other places do suffer great misery, and are in much waute both of victuals, and of apparel: especially when they come to any of the dukes, and there they are constrayned to make some lingering abode. Then ten men are allowed so little sustenance, that scarcely two could liue thereof. Likewise, if any iniuries be offered them, they cannot without danger make complaint. Many gifts also are demaunded of them, both by dukes and others, which if they doe not bestow, they are basely esteemed, and set at nought. And hereupon, wee were of necessitie enforced to bestowe in giftes a great part of those things which were giuen vs by well disposed people, to defray our charges. To be short, all things are so in the power and possession of the Emperour, that no man dare say, This is mine, or, this is my neighbours; but all, both goods, cattell and men are his owne. Concerning this matter also he published a statute of late. The very same authority and iurisdiction, doe the dukes in like sorte exercise vpon their subiects.

Their barbarous inhumanitie towards ambassadours.

Of the election of Emperour Occoday, and of the expedition of duke Bathy. *Chap.* 15.

Occoday succeedeth his father.

The expedition of Bathy.

The citie of Barchin.

AFter the death of Chingis Cham afterward, the dukes assembled themselues and chose Occoday his sonne to be their Emperour. And he, entering into consultation with his nobles, diuided his armies, and sent duke Bathy his nephew against the countrie of Altisoldan, and against the people called Bisermini, who were Saracens, but spake the language of Comania. The Tartars inuading their countrey, fought with them and subdued them in battel. But a certeine citie called Barchin resisted them a long time. For the citizens had cast vp many ditches and trenches about their citie, in regard whereof the Tartars could not take it, till they had filled the said ditches. But the citizens of Sarguit hearing this, came forth to meete them, perswading themselues vnto them of their owne accord. Whereupon their citie was not destroyed, but they slue many of them and others they carried away captiue, and taking spoyles, they filled the

the citie with other inhabitants, and to marched forth againſt the citie of Orna. This towne was very populous and exceeding rich. For there were many Chriſtians therein, as namely Gazarians, Ruſſians, and Alanians, with others, and Saracens alſo. The gouernment of the citie was in the Saracens hande. It ſtandeth vpon a mighty riuer, and is a kinde of poyre towne, hauing a great marte exerciſed therein. And when the Tartars could not otherwiſe ouercome it, they turned the ſaid riuer, running through the citie, out of his chanell, and ſo drowned the citie with the inhabitantes and their goods. Which being done, they ſet forward againſt Ruſſia, and made foule hauocke there, deſtroying cities and caſtles and murthering the people. They layd ſiege a long while vnto Kiow the chiefe citie of Ruſſia, and at length they tooke it and ſlue the citizens. Whereupon, trauelling through that countrey, wee found an innumerable multitude of dead mens ſkulles and bones lying vpon the earth. For it was a very large and a populous citie, but it is nowe in a manner brought to nothing: for there doe ſcarce remaine 200. houſes, the inhabitants whereof are kept in extreame bondage. Moreouer, out of Ruſſia and Comania, they proceeded forward againſt the Hungarians, and the Polonians, and three manie of them were ſlaine, as is aforeſaid: and had the Hungarians manfully withſtood them, the Tartars had beene confounded and driuen backe. Returning from thence, they inuaded the countrey of the Morduans being pagans, and conquered them in battell. Then they marched againſt the people called Byleri, or Bulgaria magna, & vtterly waſted the countrey. From hence they proceeded towards the North againſt the people called Baſkarci or Hungaria magna, and conquered them alſo. And ſo going on further North, they came vnto the Paroſſitæ, who hauing little ſtomacks and ſmall mouthes, eate not any thing at all, but ſeething fleſh they ſtand ouer the potte, and receiuing the ſteame or ſmoke thereof, are therewith onely nourished, and if they eate anie thing it is very little. From hence they came to the Samogets, who liue onely vpon hunting, and vſe to dwell in tabernacles onely, and to weare garments made of beaſtes ſkinnes. From thence they proceeded vnto a countrey lying vpon the Ocean ſea, where they found certaine monſters, who in all things reſembled the ſhape of men, ſauing that their feete were like the feete of an oxe, and they had in deede mens heads but dogges faces. They ſpake, as it were, two words like men, but at the third they barked like dogges. From hence they retired into Comania, and there ſome of them remaine vnto this day.

Orna.

The Mordoans.

Bulgaria magna.

Hungaria magna.

Paroſſitæ.

Samogetæ.

The North ocean.

Northerne monſters.

Of the expedition of duke *Cyrpodan*. *Chap.* 16.

At the ſame time Occoday Can ſent duke Cyrpodan with an armie againſt Kergis, who alſo ſubdued them in battell. Theſe men are Pagans, hauing no beardes at all. They haue a cuſtome when any of their fathers die, for griefe and in token of lamentation to drawe as it were, a leather thong ouerthwart their faces, from one eare to the other. This nation being conquered, duke Cyrpodan marched with his forces Southward againſt the Armenians. And trauailing through certain deſert places, they found monſters in the ſhape of men, which had each of them but one arme & one hand growing out of the midſt of their breaſt, and but one foote. Two of them vſed to ſhoote in one bowe, and they ran ſo ſwiftly, that horſes could not ouertake them. They ran alſo vpon that one foote by hopping and leaping, and being weary of ſuch walking, they went vpon their hand and their foote, turning themſelues round, as it were in a circle. And being weary of ſo doing, they ran againe according to their wonted manner. Iſidore calleth them Cyclopedes. And as it was told vs in court, by the clergie men of Ruſſia, who remaine with the forenamed Emperour, many ambaſſadours were ſent from them vnto the Emperours court, to obtaine peace. From thence they proceeded forth into Armenia, which they conquered in battell, and part alſo of Georgia. And the other part is vnder their iuriſdiction, paying as yet euery yeare vnto them for tribute, 10000. pieces of coyne called Yperpers. From thence they marched into the dominions of the puiſſant and mighty Soldan called Deurum, whom alſo they vanquiſhed in fight. And to be ſhort, they went on farther ſacking and conquering, euen vnto the Soldan of Aleppo his dominions, and now they haue ſubdued that land alſo, determining to inuade other countries beyond it: neither returned they afterward into their owne land vnto this day. Likewiſe the ſame armie marched forward againſt the Caliph of Baldach his countrey, which they ſubdued alſo, & exacted at his handes the double tribute of 200. Byzantines, beſides Baldakines and other gifts. And euery yeare they ſend meſſengers vnto the Caliph moning him to come vnto them. Who ſending backe great gifts together with his tribute beſeecheth the to be fauourable vnto him. Howbeit the Tartarian Emperour receiueth all his gifts, & yet ſtill neuertheleſs ſends for him, to haue him com-

Kergis.

Cyclopedes.

Armenia & Georgia conquered.

The Soldan of Aleppo his land

The Caliph of Baldach.

How the *Tartars* behaue themſelues in warre. *Chap.17.*

The military diſciplins of the Tartars.

CHingis Cham diuided his Tartars by captaines of ten, captaines of an 100. and captaines of a 1000. And ouer ten Pillenaries or captains of a 1000, he placed, as it were, one Colonel, and yet not withſtanding ouer one whole armie he authoriſed two or three dukes, but yet ſo that all ſhould haue eſpeciall regard vnto one of the ſaid dukes. And when they ioine battel againſt any other nation, vnles they do all with one conſent giue backe, euery man that flies is put to death. And if one or two, or more of ten proceed manfully to the battel, but the reſidue of thoſe ten draw backe & follow not the company, they are in like maner ſlaine. Alſo, if one among ten or more bee taken, their fellowes, if they reſcue thē not, are puniſhed with death. Moreouer they are enioined to haue

Their weapōs

theſe weapons following. Two long bowes or one good one at the leaſt, three quiuers full of arrowes, & one axe, and ropes to draw engines withal. But the richer ſort haue ſingle edged ſwords, with sharpe points, and ſomewhat crooked. They haue alſo armed horſes with their ſhoulders and breaſts defenced, they haue helmets and brigandines. Some of them haue iackes, and capariſons for their horſes made of leather artificially doubled or trebled vpon their bodies. The vpper part of their helmet is of iron or ſteele, but that part which compaſſeth about the neche and the throate is of leather. Howbeit ſome of them haue all their foreſaide furniture of iron framed in maner following. They beate out many thinne plates a finger broad, and a handful long, and making in euery one of them eight little holes, they put thereunto three ſtrong and ſtreight leather thongs. So they ioine the plates one to another, as it were, aſcending by degrees. Then they tie the plates vnto the ſaid thongs, with other ſmall and ſlender thongs, drawen through the holes aforeſaid, and in the vpper part, on each ſide therof, they faſten one ſmall doubled thong vnto another, that the plates may firmely be knit together. Theſe they make, as well for their horſes capariſons, as for the armour of their men: And they ſhowre them ſo bright that a man may behold his face in them. Some of them vpon the necke of their launce haue an hooke, wherewithall they attempt to pull men out of their ſaddles. The heads of their arrowes are exceedingly sharpe cutting both wayes like a two edged ſworde, and they alwaies carie a file in their quiuers to whet their arrowheads. They haue targets made of wickers, or of ſmall rodes. Howbeit they doe not (as we ſuppoſe) accuſtome to carrie them, but onely about the tents, or in the Emperours or dukes guardes, & that only in the night ſeaſon. They are moſt politique in warres, hauing bene exerciſed therein with other nations for the ſpace of theſe 42. yeres. When they come at any riuers, the chiefe men of the com-

Their experience & cunning in warres.

Their maner of paſſing ouer riuers.

pany haue a round and light piece of leather, about the borders whereof making many loopes, they put a rope into them to draw it together like a purſe, and ſo tying it into the rounde forme of a ball, which leather they fill with their garments and other neceſſaries, truſſing it vp moſt ſtrongly. But vpon the midſt of the vpper parte thereof, they lay their ſaddles and other hard things, there alſo doe the men themſelues ſit. This their boate they tye vnto an horſe tayle, cauſing a man to ſwimme before, & to guide ouer the horſe, or ſometime they haue two oares to row themſelues ouer. The firſt horſe therefore being driuen into the water, all the other horſes of the company followe him, and ſo they paſſe through the riuer. But the poorer ſort of common ſouldiers haue euery man his leather bag or ſachell well ſowen together, wherin he packs vp all his trinkets, and ſtrongly truſſing it vp hangs it at his horſes tayle, and ſo paſſeth ouer, in maner aforeſaid.

Howe they may be reſiſted. *Chap 18.*

IDeeme not any one kingdome or prouince able to reſiſt them: becauſe they vſe to take vp ſouldiers out of euery countrey of their dominions. And if ſo be the neighbour prouince which they inuade, will not aide them, vtterly walking it, with the inhabitants therof, whom they take from thence with them, they proceed on to fight againſt another countrey. And placing their captiues in

Counſel how to wage warre againſt the Tartars.

the forefront of the battell, if they fight not courageouſly, they put them to the ſworde. Wherefore, if Chriſtians would withſtande them, it is expedient, that the prounces and gouernours of countreies ſhould agree in one, and ſo by common counſell, ſhould giue them reſiſtance. Their ſouldiers alſo muſt be furniſhed with ſtrong hand-bowes & croſ-bowes, which they greatly dread, & with ſufficiēt arrowes, with maces alſo of good iron, or an axe with a long handle or ſtaffe. When

A notable temper of iron or ſteele.

they make their arrow heads, they muſt (according to ꝑ Tartars cuſtome) dip thē red-hot into water mingled with ſalte, that they may be ſtrong to pierce the enemies armour. They that will may haue ſwords alſo & iaueis with hooks at the ends, to pull thē from their ſaddles, out of which they are eaſilie remoued. They muſt haue helmets like wiſe & other armour to defend thēſelues & their horſes frō the Tartars weapons & arrowes, & they that are vnarmed, muſt (according to ꝑ Tartars cuſtome)

march

march behinde their fellowes, and discharge at the enemie with long bowes and crosse-bowes. And (as it is aboue said of the Tartars) they must orderly dispose their bandes and troupes, and ordeine lawes for their souldiers. Whosoeuer runneth to the pray or spoyle, before the victorie be atchieued, must vndergoe a most seuere punishment. For such a fellow is put to death among the Tartars without all pitie or mercie. The place of battel must be chosen, if it be possible, in a plaine fielde, where they may see round about, neither must all be in one company, but in manie and seuerall bandes, not very farre distant one from another. They which giue the first encounter must sende one band before, and must haue another in a readynesse to relieue and second the former in time conuenient. They must haue spies also on euery side to giue them notice when the rest of the enemies bandes approch. For therefore ought they alwayes to send forth band against band & troupe against troupe, because the Tartar euer practiseth to gette his enemie in the midst and so to enuiron him. Let our bands take this caueat also, if the enemie retire, not to make any long pursuit after him, lest peraduenture (according to his custome) he might draw them into some secret ambush: for the Tartar fighteth more by policie then by maine force. And againe, lest our horses bee tired: for we are not so well stored with horses as they. Those horses which the Tartars vse one day, they ride not vpon three or foure dayes after. Moreouer, if the Tartars draw homeward, our men must not therefore depart and cast their bandes, or separate themselues vnder: because they doe this vpon policie, namely to haue our armie diuided, that they may more securely inuade and waste the countrey. And in very deede, our captaines ought both day and night to keepe their armie in a readines: and not to lie out of their armour, but at all assayes, to bee prouided for battell. For the Tartars like diuels are alwaies watching and deuising howe to practise mischiefe. Furthermore, if in battell any of the Tartars be cast off their horse backes, they must presently bee layd holde on and taken, for being on foote they shoote strongly, wounding and killing both horses and men.

Of the iourney of frier * *Iohn* vnto the first guard of the *Tartars*, *Chap.* 19.

*Iohannes de plano Carpini.

WE therefore by the commaundement of the sea apostolique setting forth towards the ne- tions of the East, chose first to trauel vnto the Tartars, because we feared that there might be great danger imminent vpon the Church of God next vnto them, by their inuasions. Proceeding on therefore, we came to the king of Bohemia, who being of our familiar acquaintance, aduised vs to take our iourney through Polonia and Russia. For we had kinsfolkes in Polonia, by whose assistance, we might enter into Russia. Hauing giuen vs his letters, hee caused our charges also to be defrayed, in all his chiefe houses and cities, till we came vnto his nephew Boleslaus duke of Slesia, who also was familiar and well knowen vnto vs. The like fauour he shewed vs also, till wee came vnto Conradus duke of * Lautiscia, vnto whome then (by Gods especiall fauour towards vs) lord Wasilico duke of Russia was come, from whose mouth we heard more at large concerning the deedes of the Tartars: for he had sent ambassadours thither, who were returned backe vnto him. Wherefore, it being giuen vs to vnderstand, that we must bestow giftes vpon them, we caused certaine skinnes of beuers and other beastes to be bought with part of that money, which was giuen vpon almes to succour vs by the way. Which thing duke Conradus and the *duches of Cracow, and a bishop, and certaine souldiers being aduertised of, gaue vs likewise more of the same skins. And to be short, duke Wasilico being earnestly requested by the duke of Cracow, and by the bishop and barons, on our behalfe, conducted vs with him, vnto his owne land, and there for certaine daies, entertained vs at his owne charges, to the ende that we might refresh our selues a while. And when, being requested by vs, he had caused his bishops to resort vnto him, we reade before them the Popes letters, admonishing them to returne vnto the vnitie of the Church. To the same purpose also, we our selues admonished them, and to our abilitie, induced as well the duke as the bishops and others thereunto. Howbeit because duke Daniel the brother of Wasilico aforesaid (hauing as then taken his iourney vnto Bacy) was absent, they could not at that time, make a finall answere. After these things duke Wasilico sent vs forward with one of his seruants as farre as Kiow the chiefe citie of Russia. Howbeit we went alwayes in danger of our liues by reason of the Lituanians, who did often inuade the borders of Russia, euen in those verie places by which we were to passe. But in regard of the foresayd seruant, wee were out of the Russians daunger, the greatest part of whome were either slaine, or caried into captiuitie by the Tartars. Moreouer, at Danilon in a waggon through the snowe and extreme colde) And being come vnto Kiow, wee consulted with the Pillenary, & other noble men there concerning our iourney. They told vs, that if wee

The iourney of frier Iohn & his fellow hee gaue.

Boleslaus duke of Silesia.
*Macouia.

*Crimelaus.

Daniel brother vnto Wasilico.

The Lituanians

carried those horses which wee then had, vnto the Tartars, great store of snowe lying vpon the ground, they would all dye: because they knew not howe to digge vp the grasse vnder the snow, as the Tartarian horses doe, neither could there bee ought found for them to eate, the Tartars hauing neither hay nor strawe, nor any other fodder. We determined therefore to leaue them behind at Kiow with two seruants appointed to keepe them. And wee were constrained to bestow gifts vpon the Pillenary, that we might obtaine his fauour to allowe vs poste horses and a guide. Wherefore beginning our iourney the second daye after the feast of the Purification, wee arriued at the towne of Canow, which was immediatly vnder the dominion of the Tartars. The gouernour whereof allowed vs horses and a guide vnto another towne, wherein wee found one Michæas to be gouernour, a man full of all malice and despight. Who not withstanding, hauing receiued gifts at our handes, accoyding to his maner conducted vs to the first guarde of the Tartars.

The fodder of the Tartarian horses.

Michæas the mischieuous.

How he and his company were at the first receiued of the *Tartars*. *Chap.* 20.

WHerefore, the first saturday next after Ashwednesday, hauing about the Sunne going downe, taken vp our place of rest, the armed Tartars came rushing vpon vs in vncouth and horrible maner, being very inquisitiue of vs what maner of persons, or of what condition we were: & when we had answered them that we were the Popes Legates, receiuing some victuals at our handes, they immediatly departed. Moreouer in the morning rising and proceeding on our iourney, the chiefe of them which were in the guard met with vs, demaunding why, or for what intent and purpose we came thither: and what busines we had with them: Vnto whom we answered, We are the legates of our lord the Pope, who is the father & lord of the Christians. He hath sent vs as well vnto your Emperour, as to your princes, and all other Tartars for this purpose, because it is his pleasure, that all Christians should be in league with the Tartars, and should haue peace with them. It is his desire also that they should become great or in fauour with God in heauen, therfore he admonisheth them aswel by vs, as by his own letters, to become Christians, and to embrace the faith of our Lord Iesu Christ, because they could not otherwise be saued. Moreouer, he giues them to vnderstand, that he much marueileth at their monstrous slaughters & massacres of mankind, & especially of Christians, but most of al of Hungarians, Mountaineirs, & Polonians, being al his subiects, hauing not iniuried them in ought, nor attempted to doe them iniurie. And because the Lord God is grieuously offended thereat, he aduiseth them from henceforth to beware of such dealing, & to repent them of that which they had done. He requesteth also, that they would write an answere vnto him, what they purpose to doe hereafter, and what their intention is. All which things being heard and vnderstood, the Tartars sayd that they would appoint vs poste horses and a guide vnto Corensa. And immediately demanding gifts at our handes, they obtained them. Then receiuing the same horses, from which they dismounted, together with a guide wee tooke our iourney vnto Corensa. But they riding a swift pace, sent a messenger before vnto the sayd duke Corensa, to signifie the message, which we had deliuered vnto them. This duke is gouernour of all them, which lie in guard against the nations of the West, least some enemy might on the sudden and at vnawares breake in vpon them. And hee is said to haue 600 men vnder him.

The contents of the legacie.

Corensa.

The duke of the Westerne marches.

How they were receiued at the court of *Corensa*. *Chap.* 21.

BEing come therefore vnto his court, hee caused our tent to bee placed farre from him, and sent his agents to demaund of vs with what we would incline vnto him, that is to say, what gifts we would offer, in doing our obeisance vnto him. Vnto whome wee answered, that our lord the Pope had not sent any gifts at all, because he was not certaine that wee should euer bee able to come at them: for we passed through most dangerous places. Notwithstanding, to our ability, we will honour him with some part of those things which haue bene, by the goodnes of God, & the fauour of the Pope, bestowed vpō vs for our sustenance. Hauing receiued our gifts, they conducted vs vnto the Orda or tent of the duke, & we were instructed to bow thrise with our left knee before the dooze of the tente, and in any case to beware, lest wee set our foote vpon the threshold of the sayd dooze. And that after we were entred, wee should rehearse before the duke and all his nobles, the same wordes, which wee had before sayde, kneeling vpon our knees. Then presented wee the letters of our lord the Pope: but our interpreter whome we had hired and brought with vs from Kiow was not sufficiently able to interpret them, neither was there any other esteemed to bee meete for the same purpose. Here certaine poste horses and three Tartars were appointed for vs

The maner of saluting the Tartarian princes.

vnto conduct vs from hence with all peace vnto duke Bathy. This Bathy is the mightieſt prince among them except the Emperour, & they are bound to obey him before all other princes. We began our iourney towards his court the ſixt day of Iune in Lent, and riding as faſt as our horſes could trot (for we had freſh horſes almoſt three or foure times a day) we poſted from morning till night, yea ſometime in the night ſeaſon alſo, and yet could we not come at him before Maunde thurſday. All this iourney we went through the land of Comania, which is all plaine ground, and hath ſome mighty riuers running through it: The firſt is called †Neper, on the ſide whereof towards Ruſſia, duke Corenſa & Mony marched vp and downe, which Mony is on the other ſide vpon the plaines is greater then he. The ſecond is called ‡Don, vpon the banke whereof marcheth a certain prince hauing in marriage the ſiſter of Bathy, his name is Tubon. The third is called ‖Volga, which is an exceeding great riuer, vpon the bankes whereof duke Bathy marcheth. The fourth is called Iaec, vpon which two ¶Hillenaries doe march, on each ſide of the riuer one. All theſe, in the winter time, deſcend down to the ſea, & in ſummer aſcend backe by the bankes of the ſaid riuers vp to the mountains. The ſea laſt named is the ‖Great ſea, out of which the arme of S. George proceedeth, which runneth by Conſtantinople. Theſe riuers do abound with plenty of fiſhes, but eſpecially Volga, & they exonerate themſelues into the Grecian ſea, which is called Mare maior. Ouer Neper we went many daies vpon the ice. Along the ſhore alſo of the Grecian ſea we went very dangerouſly vpon the ice in ſundry places, & that for many daies together. For about the ſhore the waters are frozen three leagues vnto the ſea. But before we came vnto Bathy, two of our Tartars rode afore, to giue him intelligence of all the ſayings which we had vttered in the preſence of Corenſa.

Duke Bathy & his power.

† Boriſthenes.

‡ Tanais.

‖ Rha.

¶ Rhymni.

‖ Pontus Euxinus. Iaec is deſcribed for Albert Neper & Don run into Mare maior: yet Volga & Iaec ſeeme into the Caſpian ſea.

How we were receiued at the court of the great prince *Bathy*. *Chap.* 22.

MOreouer, when we came vnto Bathy in the land of Comania, we were ſeated a good league diſtant from his tabernacles. And when we ſhould be conducted vnto his court, it was told vs that we muſt paſſe betweene two fires. But we would by no meanes be induced thereunto. Whereupon they ſaid vnto vs: you may paſſe through without all danger: for we would haue you to doe it for none other cauſe, but only that if you intend any miſchiefe againſt our lord, or bring any poyſon with you, fire may take away all euill. Vnto whom we anſwered, that to the end we might cleare ourſelues from all ſuſpition of any ſuch matter, we were contented to paſſe through. When therefore we were come vnto the Orda, being demanded by his agent Eldegay with what preſent or gift we would do our obeiſance: We gaue the ſame anſwere which we did at the court of Corenſa. The gifts being giuen and receiued, the cauſes of our iourney alſo being heard, they brought vs into the tabernacle of the prince, firſt bowing our ſelues at the doore, & being admoniſhed, as before, not to tread vpon the threſhold. And being entred, we ſpake vnto him kneeling vpon our knees, & deliuered him our letters, and requeſted him to haue interpreters to tranſlate them. Who accordingly on good friday were ſent vnto vs, and we together with them, diligently tranſlated our ſayd letters into the Ruſſian, Tartarian, and Saracen languages. This interpretation was preſented vnto Bathy, which he read & attentiuely noted. At length wee were conducted home againe vnto our owne lodging, howbeit no victuals were giuen vnto vs, except it were once a little Millet in a diſh, the firſt night of our comming. This Bathy caries himſelfe very ſtately & magnificently, hauing poyters and all officers after the maner of the Emperour, and ſitteth in a lofty ſeate or throne together with one of his wiues. The reſt, namely, as well his brethren and ſonnes, as other great perſonages ſit vnderneath him in the midſt vpon a bench, and others ſit downe vpon the ground, behinde him, but the men on the right hand and the women on the left. He hath very faire and large tentes of linnen cloth alſo, which were once the kings of Hungaria. Neither dare any man come into his tent (beſides them of his owne family) vnles he be called, be he neuer ſo mighty and great, except perhaps it be knowen that it is his pleaſure. Wee alſo, for the ſame cauſe, ſate on the left hand; for ſo doe all ambaſſadors in going: but in returning from the Emperour, we were alwaies placed on the right hand. In the middeſt ſtands his table, neare vnto the doore of the tent, vpon the which there is drinke filled in golden and ſiluer veſſels. Neither doth Bathy at any time drinke, nor any other of the Tartarian princes, eſpecially being in a publique place, but they haue ſinging and muſicke before them. And alwaies, when hee rides, there is a canopie or ſmall tent carried ouer his head vpon the point of a launce line. And ſo doe all the great princes of the Tartars, & their wiues alſo. The ſayd Bathy is courteous enough vnto his owne men, and yet is hee ſtout in great awe by them: he is moſt cruel in fight: he is exceedingly prudent and politique in warre, becauſe he hath now continued a long time in martiall affaires.

Eldegay.

Bathy heareth the Legates.

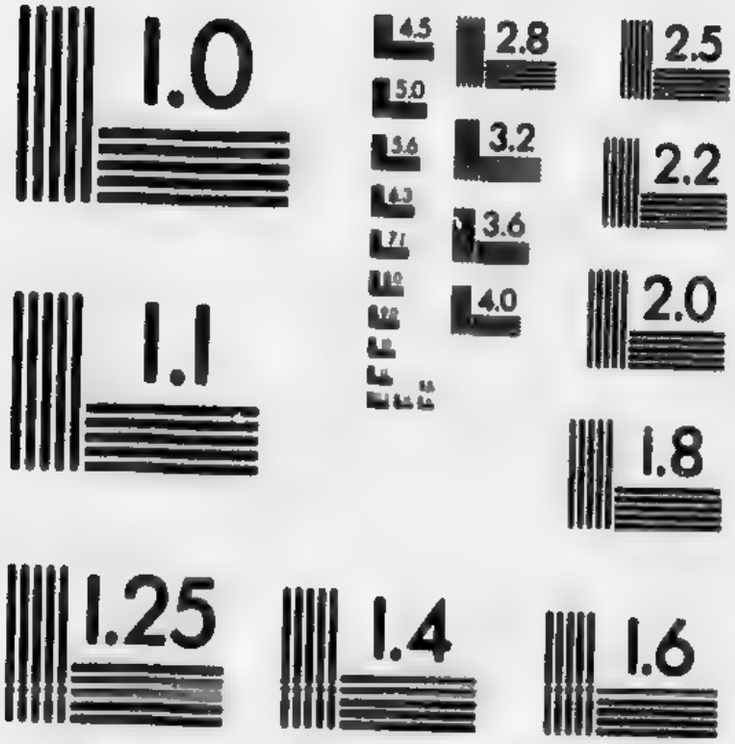
He behaues himſelfe like a king.

Their cuſtome of drinking at the ſound of muſicke.



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How departing from *Bathy*, they passed through the land of *Comania*, and of the *Kangittæ*. *Chap.* 23.

They trauelled post from Easter day to the 22. of July Eastward of Volga.

MOreouer, vpon Easter euen we were called vnto the tent, and there came forth to meete vs the foresaid agent of Bathy, saying on his masters behalfe, that we should go into their land, vnto the Emperor Cuyne, detaining certaine of our company with this pretence, that they would send them backe vnto the Pope, to whom we gaue letters of al our affaires to deliuer vnto him. But being come as farre as duke Montij aforesaid, there they were kept vntill our returne. Upon Easter day, hauing said our prayers, and taken a slender breakfast, in the company of two Tartars, which were assigned vnto vs by Corensa we departed with many teares, not knowing whether we went to death or to life. And we were so feeble in bodie, that we were scarce able to ride. For all that Lent through, our meat was Millet onely with a little water and salte. And so likewise vpon other fasting dayes. Neither had we ought to drinke, but snowe melted in a skillet. And passing through Comania we rode most earnestly, hauing change of horses fiue times or oftener in a day, except when we went through deserts, for then we were allowed better and stronger horses, which could vndergoe the whole labour. And thus farre had we trauailed from the beginning of Lent vntill eight dayes after Easter. The land of Comania on the North side immediately after Russia hath the people called Morduyni Byleri, that is, Bulgaria magna, the Bastarci, that is, Hungaria magna, next vnto the Bastarci, the Parositæ and the Samogetæ. Next vnto the Samogetæ are those people which are sayd to haue dogges faces, inhabiting vpon the desert shores of the Ocean. On the South side it hath the Alani, the Circassi, the Gazari, Greece and Constantinople; also the land of Iberia, the Cathes, the Brutaches who are said to be Iewes shauing their heads all ouer, the landes also of Scythia, of Georgia, of Armenia, of Turkie. On the West side it hath Hungaria, and Russia. Also Comania is a most large and long countrey. The inhabitantes whereof called Comani the Tartars slewe, some notwithstanding fled from them, and the rest were subdued vnder their bondage. But most of them that fled are returned againe. Afterward wee entred the lande of the Kangittæ, which in many places hath great scarcetie of waters, wherein there are but fewe inhabitants by reason of the foresayd defect of water. For this cause diuers of the seruants of Ieroslaus duke of Russia, as they were traueiling towards him into the land of Tartaria, died for thirst, in that desert. As before in Comania, so likewise in this countrey, wee found many skulles and bones of dead men lying vpon the earth like a dunghill. Through this countrey we were traueiling from the eight day after Easter vntill Ascension day. The inhabitants therof were Pagans, and neither they nor the Comanians vsed to till the ground, but liued onely vpon cattell, neither built they any houses but dwelled in tents. These men also haue the Tartars rooted out, and doe possesse and inhabite their countrey, howbeit, those that remained are reduced into their bondage.

A description of Comania.

The North Ocean.

The land of the Kangittæ.

Ieroslaus duke of Russia.

How they came vnto the first court of the new Emperour. *Chap.* 24.

The land of the Bisermini.

Alti Soldanus.

Huge mountaines.

Burin and Cadan.

The North ocean.

Syban brother vnto Bathy.

The blacke Kythayans.

A small sea.

MOreouer, out of the land of the Kangittæ, we entered into the countrey of ỳ Bisermini, who speake the language of Comania, but obserue the law of the Saracens. In this countrey we found innumerable cities with castles ruined, & many towns left desolate. The lord of this countrey was called Soldan Alti, who with al his progenie, was destroyed by the Tartars. This country hath most huge mountains. On the South side it hath Ierusalem and Baldach, and all the whole countrey of the Saracens. In the next territories adioyning doe inhabite two carnall brothers dukes of the Tartars, namely, Burin and Cadan, the sonnes of Thyaday, who was the sonne of Chingis Can. On the North side thereof it hath the land of the blacke Kythayans, and the Ocean. In the same countrie Syban the brother of Bathy remaineth. Through this countrie we were traueiling from the feast of Ascension, vntil eight daies before the feast of S. Iohn Baptist. And then we entred into the land of the blacke Kythayans, in which the Emperour built an house, where we were called in to drinke. Also the Emperours deputy in that place caused the chiefe men of the citie and his two sonnes to daunce before vs. Departing from hence, wee founde a certaine small sea, vpon the shore whereof stands a little mountaine. In which mountaine is reported to be a hole, from whence, in winter time such vehement tempests of winds doe issue, that trauellers can scarcely, and with great danger passe by the same way. In summer time, the noise in deede of the winde is heard there, but it proceedeth gently out of the hole. Along the shores of the foresaid sea we trauailed for the space of many dayes, which although it bee not very great, yet hath it many illandes, and wee passed by leauing it on our left hande. In this lande dwelleth Ordu, whome wee sayde to bee auncient vnto all the Tartarian dukes. And it is the Orda or court of his father which hee inhabiteth, and one of his wiues heareth rule there.

Many dayes.

Ordu cap. 13.

For

For it is a custome among the Tartars, that the Courts of Princes or of noble men are not dissolued, but alwayes some women are appointed to keepe and gouerne them, vpon whom certain gifts are bestowed, in like sort as they are giuen vnto their Lord. And so at length we arriued at the first court of the Emperour, wherein one of his wiues dwelt. The first court of the Emperour.

Howe they came vnto *Cuyne* himselfe, who was forthwith to be chosen Emperour. *Chap. 25.*

BVt because we had not as yet seene the Emperour, they would not inuite vs nor admit vs into his Orda, but caused good attendance and entertainement, after the Tartars fashion, to be giuen vnto vs in our owne tent, and they caused vs to stay there, and to refresh our selues with them one day. Departing thence vpon the euen of Saint Peter and Saint Paul, wee entered into the land of the Naymani, who are Pagans. But vpon the very feast day of the saide Apostles, there fell a mightie snowe in that place, and wee had extreame colde weather. This lande is full of mountaines, and colde beyonde measure, and there is little plaine ground to bee seene. These two nations last mentioned vsed not to till their grounde, but, like vnto the Tartars, dwelt in tents, which the sayde Tartars had destroyed. Through this countrey wee were trauailing many dayes. Then entered wee into the lande of the Mongals, whome wee call Tartars. Through the Tartars lande wee continued our trauaile (as wee suppose) for the space of some three weekes, riding alwayes hastily and with speede, and vpon the day of Marie Magdalene we arriued at the court of Cuyne the Emperour elect. But therefore did we make great haste all this way, because our Tartarian guides were straightly commaunded to bring vs vnto the court Imperiall with all speede, which court hath beene these many yeeres, ordained for the election of the Emperour. Wherefore rising earely, wee trauailed vntill nighe without eating of any thing, and oftentimes wee came so late vnto our lodging, that we had no time to eate the same nighe, but that which we should haue eaten ouer nighe, was giuen vs in the morning. And often changing our horses, wee spared no horse-flesh, but rode swiftly and without intermission, as fast as our horses could trot. The land of Naymani. The 22. of July.

How *Cuyne* enterteined the Minorite Friers. *Chap. 26.*

BVt when wee were come vnto the court of Cuyne, hee caused (after the Tartars manner) a Tent and all expenses necessarie to bee prouided for vs. And his people entreated vs with more regarde and courtesie, then they did anie other Ambassadours. Howbeeit wee were not called before his presence, because hee was not as yet elected, nor admitted vnto his empire. Notwithstanding, the interpretation of the Popes letters, and the message which we deliuered, were sent vnto him by the foresaid Bathy. And hauing staied there fiue or sixe dayes, hee sent vs vnto his mother, vnder whome there was mainteyned a verie solemne and royall court. And being come thither, we saw an huge tent of fine white cloth pitched, which was, to our iudgement, of so great quantitie, that more then two thousand men might stand within it, and round about it there was a wall of planks set vp, painted with diuers images. Wee therefore with our Tartars assigned to attende vpon vs, tooke our iourney thither, and there were all the Dukes assembled, eche one of them riding vp and downe with his traine ouer the hilles and dales. The first day they were all clad in white, but the second in skarlet robes. Then came Cuyne vnto the saide tent. Moreouer, the third day they were all in blew robes, and the fourth in most rich robes of Baldakin cloth. In the wall of boardes, about the tent aforesaid, were two great gates, by one of the which gates, the Emperour only was to enter, and at that gate there was no gard of men appointed to stand, although it stood continually open, because none durst go in or come out the same way: all that were admitted, entred by another gate, at which there stood watchmen, with bowes, swords, & arrowes. And whosoeuer approched vnto the tent beyond the bounds and limit assigned, being caught, was beaten, but if he fled, he was shot at with arrowes or iron. There were many that to our iudgement, had vpon their hydles, trappers, saddles, and such like furniture, to the value of 20. markes in pure gold. The foresaid Dukes (as we thinke) communed together within the tent, and consulted about the election of their Emperor. But all the residue of the people were placed farre away without the walles of board, & in this maner they staied almost til noone. Then began they to drink mares milk, & so continued drinking til euen time, and that in so great quantity, as it was wonderfull. And they called vs in vnto them, and gaue vs of their ale, because we could not drink their mares milke. And this they did vnto vs in token of great honor. But they compelled vs to drink so much, that in regard of our customary diet, wee coulde by no meanes endure it. Whereupon, giuing them to vnderstand, The courtesie of Cuyne towards Ambassadors. The tent royal. A generall assemblie. The banquet of the Nobles.

that

Ieroslaus Duke of Susdal.

Ambassadors of sundry nations.

that it was hurtful vnto vs, they ceased to compel vs any more. Without the doore stoode Duke Ieroslaus of Susdal, in Russia, and a great many Dukes of the Kythayans, and of the Solangi. The two sonnes also of the king of Georgia, the sister of the Caliph of Baldach, who was a Soldan, and (as we thinke) aboue ten Soldans of the Saracens beside. And, as it was tolde vs by the agents, there were more then 4000. ambassadors, partly of such as paide tributes, and such as presented gifts, and other Soldans, and Dukes, which came to yeeld themselues, and such as the Tartars had sent for, and such as were gouernours of lands. All these were placed without the lists, and had drinke giuen vnto them. But almost continually they all of them gaue vs and Duke Ieroslaus the vpper hand, when we were abroad in their companie.

How he was exalted to his Empire. *Chap.* 27.

The beginnings of Cuyne his empire.

AND to our remembrance, we remained there, about the space of foure weekes. The election was to our thinking there celebrated, but it was not published and proclaimed there. And it was greatly suspected so to be, because alwayes when Cuyne came forth out of the tent, he had a noyse of musicke, and was bowed vnto, or honoured with faire wands, hauing purple wooll vpon the tops of them, and that, so long as he remained abroad: which seruice was performed to none of the other Dukes. The foresaid tent or court is called by them Syra Orda. Departing thence, wee all with one accord rode 3. or 4. leagues vnto another place, where, in a goodly plaine, by a riuers side, betweene certaine mountaines, there was another tent erected, which was called the golden Orda. For there was Cuyne to be placed in the throne Emperiall, vpon the day of the Assumption of our Ladie. But, for the abundance of haile which fell at the same time, as is aboue said, the matter was deferred. There was also a tent erected vpon pillars, which were couered with plates of golde, and were ioyned vnto other timber with golden nailes. It was couered aboue with Baldakin cloth, but there was other cloth spread ouer that, next vnto the eye. Wee abode there vnto the feast of Saint Bartholomew, what time there was assembled an huge multitude standing with their faces towards the South. And a certaine number of them being a stones cast distant from the residue, making continuall prayers, and kneeling vpon their knees, proceeded farther and farther towards the South. Howbeit wee, not knowing whether they vsed inchantments, or whether they bowed their knees to God or to some other, would not kneele vpon the grounde with them. And hauing done so a long time, they returned to the tent, and placed Cuyne in his throne imperiall, and his Dukes bowed their knees before him. Afterwarde the whole multitude kneeled downe in like maner, except our selues, for wee were none of his subiects.

Syra Orda.

The golden Orda.

The 15. of August.

Woollen cloth.

Of his age and demeanour, and of his seale. *Chap.* 28.

THis Emperour, when hee was exalted vnto his gouernment, seemed to bee about the age of fourty or fourty fiue yeeres. He was of a meane stature, very wise and politike, and passing seriouis and graue in all his demeanour. A rare thing it was, for a man to see him laugh or behaue himselfe lightly, as those Christians report, which abode continually with him. Certaine Christians of his familie earnestly and strongly affirmed vnto vs, that he himselfe was about to become a Christian. A token and argument whereof was, that hee receiued diuers Cleargie men of the Christians. Hee had likewise at all times a Chappell of Christians, neere vnto his great Tent, where the Clearkes (like vnto other Christians, and according to the custome of the Grecians) doe sing publiquely and openly, and ring belles at certaine houres, bee there neuer so great a multitude of Tartars, or of other people in presence. And [illegible] of their Dukes doe the like. It is the manner of the Emperour neuer to talke his owne [illegible]self a stranger, though he be neuer so great, but heareth and answereth by a speaker. And when any of his subiects (howe great soeuer they bee) are in propounding anie matter of importaunce vnto him, or in hearing his answeare, they continue kneeling vpon their knees vnto the ende of their conference. Neither is it lawfull for any man to speake of any affaires, after they haue beene determined of by the Emperour. The saide Emperour, hath in his affaires both publike and priuate, an Agent, and Secretary of estate, with Scribes and all other Officials, except aduocates. For, without the noyse of pleading, or sentence giuing, all things are done according to the Emperours will and pleasure. Other Tartarian princes do the like in those things which belong vnto thē. But, be it knowen vnto al men, that whilest we remained at the said Emperors court, which hath bin ordained and kept by these many yeeres, the saide Cuyne being Emperor new elect, together with al his princes, erected a flag of defiance against the Church of God, & the Romane empire, and against al

His inclination to Christianitie.

His maiestie.

Maiestie and grauitie.

Christian

Warre intended against all Christians.

Christian kingdomes and nations of the West, vnlesse peraduenture (which God forbid) they will condescend vnto those things, which he hath inioined vnto our lord the Pope, & to all potentates and people of the Christias, namely, that they will become obedient vnto him. For, except Christendom, there is no land vnder heauē, which they stand in feare of, and for that cause they prepare themselues to battel against vs. This Emperors father, namely Occoday was poisoned to death, which is the cause why they haue for a short space abstained from warre. But their intent and purpose is (as I haue aboue said) to subdue the whole world vnto themselues, as they were commanded by Chingis Can. Hence it is that the Emperor in his letters writeth after this maner: The power of God, & Emperour of all men. Also, vpon his seale, there is this posie ingrauen: God in heauen, and *Cuyne Can* vpon earth, the power of God: the seale of the Emperour of all men.

Of the admission of the Friers and Ambassadours vnto the Emperour. Chap. 29.

Cuyne heareth the Legates.

IN the same place where the Emperour was established into his throne, we were summoned before him. And Chingay his chiefe secretary hauing written downe our names, and the names of them that sent vs, with the name of the Duke of Solangi, & of others, cried out with a loude voice, rehearsing the said names before the Emperour, and the assembly of his Dukes. Which beeing done, eche one of vs bowed his left knee foure times, & they gaue vs warning not to touch the threshold. And after they had searched vs most diligently for knives, and could not find any about vs, we entred in at the doore vpon the East side: because no man dare presume to enter at the West doore, but the Emperour onely. In like maner, euery Tartarian Duke entreth on the West side into his tent. Howbeit the inferiour sort doe not greatly regard such ceremonies. This therefore was the first time, when we entred into the Emperours tent in his presence, after he was created Emperour. Likewise all other ambassadours were there receiued by him, but very fewe were admitted into his tent. And there were presented vnto him such abundance of gifts by the saide Ambassadours, that they seemed to be infinite, namely in Samites, robes of purple, and of Baldakin clothe, silke girdles wrought with golde, and costly skinnes, with other gifts also. Likewise there was a certaine Sun Canopie, or small tent (which was to bee caried ouer the Emperours head) presented vnto him, being set full of precious stones. And a gouernour of one Prouince brought vnto him a companie of camels couered with Baldakins. They had sadoles also vpon their backs, with certaine other instruments, within the which were places for men to sitte vpon. Also they brought many horses & mules vnto him furnished wt trappers and caparisons, some being made of leather, and some of iron. And we were demanded whether we would bestow any gifts vpō him or no? But wee were not of abilitie so to doe, hauing in a maner spent all our prouision. There were also vpon an hill standing a good distance from the tents, more then 500. carts, which were all ful siluer and of gold, and silke garments. And they were all diuided betweene the Emperour and his Dukes, and euery Duke bestowed vpon his owne followers what pleased him.

Gifts presented vnto him.

500. Carts ful of treasure.

Of the place where the Emperor and his mother tooke their leaues one of another, and of *Ieroslaus* Duke of *Russia*. *Chap.* 30.

A tent of purple.

DEparting thence, we came vnto another place, where a wonderfull braue tent, all of red purple, giuen by the Kythayans, was pitched. Wee were admitted into that also, and alwaies when we entred, there was giuen vnto vs ale and wine to drinke, & sodden flesh (when we would) to eate. There was also a lofty stage built of boords, where the Emperours throne was placed, being very curiously wrought out of iuorie, wherein also there was golde and precious stones, and (as we remember) there were certain degrees or staires to ascend vnto it. And it was round vpon the top. There were benches placed about the saide throne, whereon the ladies sate towarde the left hand of the Emperour vpon stooles, (but none sate aloft on the right hande) and the Dukes sate vpon benches below, the said throne being in the midst. Certaine others sate behinde the Dukes, and euery day there resorted great companie of Ladies thither. The three tents whereof we spake before, were very large, but the Emperour his wiues had other great and faire tentes made of white felt. This was the place where the Emperour parted companie with his mother: for she went into one part of the land, and the Emperour into another to execute iustice. For there was taken a certaine Concubine of this Emperour, which had poysoned his father to death, at the same time when the Tartars armie was in Hungarie, which, for the same cause returned home. Moreouer, vpon the foresaide Concubine, and many other of her confederats sentence of iudgement was pronounced, and they were put to death. At the same time Ieroslaus the great Duke of Soldal, which

A throne of Iuorie.

The death of Occoday reuenged.

Of Suldal.

which is a part of Russia, deceased. For being (as it were for honours sake) inuited to eate and drink with the Emperours mother, and immediatly after the banquet, returning vnto his lodging, he fell sicke, and within seuen dayes, died. And after his death, his body was of a strange blew colour, and it was commonly reported, that the said Duke was poisoned, to the ende that the Tartars might freely and totally possesse his Dukedome.

How the Friers comming at length vnto the Emperour, gaue, and receiued letters. *Chap. 31.*

Cuyne dissembleth with the Legates.

TO be short, the Tartars brought vs vnto their Emperor, who when he had heard of them, that we were come vnto him, cõmanded that we should return vnto his mother. For he was determined the next day, (as it is aboue said) to set vp a flag of defiãce against al ꝑ countreis of the West, which he would haue vs in no case to know. Wherefore returning, we staied some few dayes with his mother, and so returned backe again vnto him. With whom we continued for the space of one whole moneth in such extreme hunger and thirst, that we could scarce hold life and soule together. For the prouision allowed vs for foure dayes, was scantly sufficient for one day. Neither could we buy vs any sustenance, because the market was too farre off. Howbeit the Lorde prouided for vs

Cosmas a Russian.

a Russian goldsmith, named Cosmas, who being greatly in the Emperours fauour, procured vs some sustenance. This man shewed vnto vs the throne of the Emperour, which hee had made, before it was set in the proper place, and his seale, which he also had framed. After ward the Emperor

The message of Chingay.

sent for vs, giuing vs to vnderstand by Chingay his chief Secretary, that wee should write downe our messages & affaires, and should deliuer them vnto him. Which thing we performed accordingly. After many daies he called for vs againe, demanding whether there were any with our Lord the Pope, which vnderstood the Russian, the Sarracen, or the Tartarian language? To whom we answered, that we had none of those letters or languages. Howbeit, that there were certaine Saracens in the land, but inhabiting a great distance from our Lord the Pope. And wee saide, that wee thought it most expedient, that when they had written their mindes in the Tartarian language, and had interpreted the meaning therof vnto vs, we should diligently translate it into our own tongue, and so deliuer both the letter and the translation thereof vnto our Lord the Pope. Then departed they from vs, and went vnto the Emperour. And after the day of S. Martine, we were called for againe. Then Kadac principal agent for the whole empire, and Chingay, and Bala, with diuers other Scribes, came vnto vs, and interpreted the letter word for word. And hauing written it in Latine, they caused vs to interprete vnto them eche sentence, to wit if we had erred in any word. And when both letters were written, they made vs to reade them ouer twise more, least we should haue mistaken ought. For they said vnto vs: Take heed that ye vnderstand all things throughly, for if you should not vnderstand the whole matter aright, it might breed some inconuenience. They wrote the said letters also in the Saracen tongue, that there might be some found in our dominions which could reade and interprete them, if need should require.

How they were licensed to depart. *Chap. 32.*

The Legates are loath to haue any Ambassadours sent from the Tartars to the Christians.

AND (as our Tartars told vs) the Emperour was purposed to send his ambassadors with vs. Howbeit, he was desirous (as we thought) that we our selues should craue that fauour at his hands. And when one of our Tartars being an ancient man, exhorted vs to make the said petition, we thought it not good for vs, that the Emperor should send his ambassadours. Wherfore we gaue him answere, that it was not for vs to make any such petition, but if it pleased the Emperour of his owne accord to send them, we would diligently (by Gods assistance) see them conducted in safetie. Howbeit, we thought it expedient for vs, that they should not goe, and that for diuers causes. First, because we feared, least they, seeing the dissentions and warres which are among vs, should be the more encouraged to make warre against vs. Secondly, we feared, that they would be insteade of spies and intelligencers in our dominions. Thirdly, we misdoubted that they would be slaine by the way. For our nations be arrogant and proud. For when as those seruants (which at the request of the Cardinall, attended vpon vs, namely the legates of Almaine) returned vnto him in the Tartars attire, they were almost stoned in the way, by the Dutch, and were compelled to put off those garments. And it is the Tartars custome, neuer to bee reconciled vnto such as haue slaine their Ambassadours, till they haue reuenged themselues. Fourthly, least they should bee taken from vs by mayne force. Fiftly, because there could come no good by their ambassade, for they were to haue none other commission, or authoritie, but onely to deliuer their Emperours letter vnto the Pope, and to the Princes of Christendome, which very same letters wee our

selues

selues had, and we knew right well, that much harme might ensue thereof. Wherefore, the third day after this, namely, vpon the feast of Saint Brice, they gaue vs our passe-port and a Letter sealed with the Emperours owne seale, sending vs vnto the Emperours mother, who gaue vnto eche of vs a gowne made of Fore-skinnes, with the furre on the outside, and a piece of purple. And our Tartars stole a parde out of euery one of them. And out of that which was giuen vnto our seruant, they stole the better halfe. Which false dealing of theirs, we knew well inough, but would make no words thereof. November 13. They are rewarded with gifts.

How they returned homewards. *Chap.* 33.

THen taking our iourney to returne, we trauailed all Winter long, lying in the deserts of tentimes vpon the snow, except with our feete wee made a piece of ground bare to lye vpon, For there were no trees, but the plaine champion field. And oftentimes in the morning, we found our selues all couered with snow driuen ouer vs by the winde. And so trauailing till the feast of our Lordes Ascension, we arriued at the court of Bathy. Of whom when wee had enquired, what answere he would send vnto our Lord the Pope, he said that he had nothing to giue vs in charge, but onely that we should diligently deliuer that which the Emperour had written. And, hauing receiued letters for our safe conduct, the thirteenth day after Pentecost, being Saterday, wee were proceeded as farre as Montij, with whome our foresaide associates and seruants remained, which were withheld from vs, and we caused them to be deliuered vnto vs. From hence wee trauailed vnto Correnſa, to whom, requiring gifts the second time at our hands, we gaue none, because we had not where withall. And hee appointed vs two Comanians, which lined among the common people of the Tartars, to be our guides vnto the citie of Kiow in Russia. Howbeit one of our Tartars parted not from vs, till we were past the vtmost gard of the Tartars. But the other guides, namely the Comanians, which were giuen vs by Correnſa, brought vs from the last garde vnto the citie of Kiow, in the space of fiue dayes. And there we arriued fifteene dayes before the feast of Saint John Baptist. Moreouer, the Citizens of Kiow hauing intelligence of our approch, came foorth all of them to meete vs, with great ioy. For they reioyced ouer vs, as ouer men that had bene risen from death to life. So like wise they did vnto vs throughout all Russia, Polonia, and Bohemia. Daniel and his brother Wasilico made vs a royall feast, and interteined vs with them against our willes for the space of eight dayes. In the meane time, they with their Bishops, and other men of account, being in consultation together about those matters which we had propounded vnto them in our iourney towards the Tartars, answered vs with common consent, saying: that they would holde the Pope for their speciall Lord and Father, and the Church of Rome for their Lady & mistresse, confirming like wise al things which they had sent concerning this matter, before our comming, by their Abbate. And for the same purpose, they sent their Ambassadours and letters by vs also, vnto our Lord the Pope. The foure iourneys of the Legates in returning. Bathy. Correnſa. June 8. How they were welcomed at their returne. Bassilius and Daniel Princes.

Itinerarium fratris *Willielmi de Rubruquis* de ordine fratrum Minorum, Galli, Anno gratię 1253. ad *partes Orientales.*

PReellentissimo Domino & Christianissimo, Lodouico Dei gratia Regi Francorum illustri, frater Willielmus de Rubruquis in ordine fratrum Minorum minimus salutem, & semper triumphare in Christo. Scriptum est in Ecclesiastico de sapiente, Interram alienarum gentium transibit, bona & mala in omnibus tentabit. Hoc opus, Domine mi Rex, feci: sed vtinam vt sapiens & non stultus. Multi enim faciunt quod facit sapiens, sed non sapienter, sed magis stultè: de quorum numero timeo me esse. Tamen quocunque modo fecerim; quia dixistis mihi quando recessi à vobis, vt omnia scriberem vobis, quæcunque viderem inter Tartaros, & etiam monuistis vt non timerem vobis scribere longas literas, facio quod iniunxistis: Cum timore tamen & verecundia, quia verba congrua mihi non suppetunt, quæ debeam tantæ scribere Maiestati. Nouerit ergò vestra sancta maiestas, quòd anno Domini millesimo ducentesimo, quinquagesimo tertio, nonas Maij ingressi sumus mare Ponti quod Bulgarici vocant, Maius Mare: & habet mille octo milliaria in longum, vt didici à mercatoribus, & distinguitur quasi in duas partes. Circa medium enim eius sunt duæ prouinciæ terræ, vna ad Aquilonem, & alia ad meridiem. Illa quæ est ad meridiem dicitur Synopolis; & est castrum & portus Soldani Turchiæ. Quæ verò ad Aquilonem est, est Prouincia quædam, quæ nunc dicitur Eccles. 39. ver. 6

dicitur à Latinis Gaſaria, à Græcis verò qui inhabitant eam ſuper littus maris dicitur Caſſaria, hoc eſt Cæſaria. Et ſunt promontoria quædam extendentia ſe in mare, & contra meridiem verſus Synopolim, Et ſunt trecenta milliaria inter Synopolim & Caſſariam. Ita quod ſint ſeptingenta miliaria ab iſtis punctis verſus Conſtantinopolim in longum & latum: & ſeptingenta verſus Orientem: hoc eſt, Hiberiam, quæ eſt prouincia Georgiæ. Ad prouinciam Gaſariæ ſiue Caſariæ applicuimus, quæ eſt quaſi triangularis, ad Occidentem habens ciuitatem, quæ dicitur Kerſoua, in qua fuit Sanctus Clemens martirizatus. Et nauigantes corâ ea vidimus inſulam in qua eſt templum illud quod dicitur Angelicis manibus præparatum. In medio verò quaſi in cuſpide ad meridiem habet ciuitatem quæ dicitur Soldaia, quę ex tranſuerſo reſpicit Synopolim: Et illuc applicant omnes Mercatores venientes de Turchia volentes ire ad terras Aquilonares, & è contrario venientes de Roſſia & terris Aquilonaribus, volentes tranſire in Turchiam. Illi portant varium & griſiam, & alias pelles pretioſas. Alij portant telas de cotone ſiue bombaſio, & pannos ſericos & ſpecies aromaticas. Ad Orientē verò illius prouinciæ eſt ciuitas quæ dicitur Matriga, vbi cadit fluuius Tanais in mare Pontiper orificium habens latitudinem duodecem milliarium. Ille enim fluuius antequam ingrediatur mare Ponti, facit quoddam mare verſus Aquilonem, habens in latitudine & longitudine ſeptinginta milliaria, nuſquam habens profunditatem vltra ſex paſſus, vnde magna vaſa non ingrediuntur illud. Sed mercatores de Conſtantinopoli applicantes ad prædictam ciuitatem Matertam, mittunt barcas ſuas vſque ad flumen Tanaim, vt emant piſces ſiccatos, ſturiones, thoſas, borbatas, & alios piſces infinitæ multitudinis. Prædicta verò prouincia Caſſaria cingitur mari in tribus lateribus: ad Occidentem ſcilicet, vbi eſt Kerſoua ciuitas Clementis, ad meridiem vbi eſt ciuitas Soldaia, ad quam applicuimus, quæ eſt cuſpis prouinciæ, & ad Orientem Maricandis, vbi eſt ciuitas Materta, & orificium Tanais. Vltra illud orificium eſt Zikia, quæ non obedit Tartaris: Et Sueui & Hiberi ad Orientem, qui non obediunt Tartaris. Poſteà verſus meridiem eſt Trapeſunda quę habet proprium Dominum nomine Guidonem, qui eſt de genere imperatorum Conſtantinopolitanorum, qui obedit Tartaris: poſteà Synopolis quæ eſt Soldani Turchiæ qui ſimiliter obedit: poſteà terra Vaſtacij cuius filius dicitur Aſtar ab auo materno, qui non obedit. Ab orificio Tanais verſus Occidentem vſque ad Danubium totum eſt ſubditum. Etiam vltrà Danubium verſus Conſtantinopolim, Valakia, quæ eſt terra Aſſani, & minor Bulgaria vſque in Solonomam omnes ſoluunt eis tributum. Et etiam vltra tributum conditum ſumpſerunt annis nuper, tranſactis de qualibet domo ſecurim vnam, & totum frumentum quod inuenerunt in maſſa. Applicuimus ergò Soldaię in 12. Kalendas Iunij; & præuenerant nos quidam mercatores de Conſtantinopoli, qui dixerunt venturos illuc nuncios de terra ſancta volentes ire ad Sartach. Ego tamen prędicaueram publicè in Ramis Palmarum apud Sanctam Sophiam, quod non eſſem nuncius, nec veſter, nec alicuius, ſed ibam apud illos incredulos ſecundùm regulam noſtram. Tunc cùm applicuiſſem, monebant me dicti mercatores vt cautè lo[illegible]rer, quia dixerunt me eſſe nuncium, & ſi non dicerem me eſſe nuncium, quod non præberetur mihi tranſitus. Tunc loquutus ſum hoc modo ad capitaneos ciuitatis, imò ad vicarios capitaneorum, quia capitanei uerant ad Baatu portantes tributum, & non fuerant adhuc reuerſi. Nos audiuimus, dixi, de Domino veſtro Sartach in Terra Sancta quod eſſet Chriſtianus: & gauiſi ſunt inde vehementer Chriſtiani, & præcipuè Dominus Rex Francorum Chriſtianiſſimus, qui ibi peregrinatur, & pugnat contra Saracenos, vt eripiat loca ſancta de manibus eorum: vnde volo ire ad Sartach, & portare ei literas Domini Regis, in quibus monet eum de vtilitate totius Chriſtianitatis. Et ipſi receperunt nos grauiter, & dederunt nobis hoſpitium in eccleſia Epiſcopali. Et Epiſcopus ipſius eccleſiæ fuerat ad Sartach, qui multa bona dixit mihi de Sartach, quæ ego poſtea non inueni. Tunc dederunt nobis optionem vtrum vellemus habere bigas cum bobus ad portandum res noſtras vel equos pro ſummarijs. Et mercatores Conſtantinopolitani conſuluerunt mihi quod non acciperem bigas, imò quod emerem proprias bigas coopertas, in quibus apportant Ruteni pelles ſuas, & in illis includerem res noſtras quas vellem quotidiè deponere, quia ſi acciperem equos, oporteret me in qualibet Herbergia deponere & reponere ſuper alios, & prætereà equitarem lentiori greſſu iuxta boues. Et tunc acquieui conſilio eorum malo, tum quia fui in itinere veſq; Sarthach duobus menſibus, quod potuiſſem vno menſe feciſſe, ſi iuiſſem equis. Attuleram mecum de Conſtantinopoli fructus & vinum muſcatum, & biſcoctum delicatum de conſilio mercatorum ad preſentandū capitaneis primis, vt faciliùs pateret mihi tranſitus; quia nullus apud eos reſpicitur rectis oculis, qui venit vacua manu. Quæ omnia poſui in vna biga, quando nō inueni ibi capitaneos ciuitatis, quia dicebāt mihi, quod gratiſſima foret Sarthach, ſi poſſem deferre ea vſq; ad eū. Arripuimus ergo iter tunc circa Kalend. Iunij cum bigis noſtris quatuor coopertis & cū alijs duabus quas accepimus ab eis, In quibus portabantur lectiſternia ad dormiendū de nocte, & quinque equos dabant nobis ad equitandum. Eramus enim quinq;

Soldaia.

Matriga ciuitas.

Zikia.

perſonæ.

perſonæ. Ego & ſocius meus frater Bartholomeus de Cremona, & Goſet lator præſentium,& homo dei Turgemannus, & puer Nicolaus, quem emeram Conſtantinopoli de noſtra elee-moſyna. Dederunt etiam duos homines qui ducebant bigas & cuſtodiebant boues & equos. Sunt autem alta promontoria ſuper Mare à Kerſoua vſque ad orificium Tanais: & ſunt quaedraginta caſtella inter Kerſouam & Soldaiam, quorum quodlibet fere habet proprium idioma: inter quos erant multi Goti, quorum idioma eſt Teutonicum. Poſt illa montana verſus Aquilonem eſt pulcherrima ſylua in planicie, plena fontibus & riuulis: Et poſt illam ſyluam eſt planicies maxima, quæ durat per quinque dietas vſque ad extremitatem illius prouinciæ ad aquilonem, quæ coarctatur habens Mare ad Orientem & Occidentem: Ita quod eſt vnum foſſatum magnum ab vno Mari vſque ad aliud. In illa planicie ſolebant eſſe Comani antequam venirent Tartari, & cogebant ciuitates prædictas & caſtra vt darent eis tributum. Et cum venerunt Tartari, tanta multitudo Comanorũ intrauit prouinciam illam, qui omnes fugerunt vſque ad ripam Maris, quod comedebant ſe mutuo viui morientes: ſecundum quod narrauit mihi quidam mercator, qui hoc vidit: Quod viui deuorabant & lacerabant dentibus carnes crudas mortuorum, ſicut canes cadauera. Verſus extremitatem illius prouinciæ intrat lacum, efficit ſalem durum ad modum glaciei. Et de illis ſalinis habent Baatu & Sartach magnos reditus: quia de tota Ruſſia veniunt illuc pro ſale: & de qualibet biga onuſta dant duas telas de cottone valentes dimidiam Ipperperam. Veniunt & per Mare multæ naues pro ſale, quæ omnes dant tributum ſecundum ſui quantitatem. Poſtquam ergo rec. ſſimus de Soldaia, tertia die inuenimus Tartaros: inter quos cùm intraueram, viſum fuit mihi recte quod ingrederer quoddam aliud ſæculum. Quorum vitam & mores vobis deſcribam prout poſſum.

De Tartaris & domibus eorum.

NVſquam habent manentem ciuitatem, ſed futuram ignorant. Inter ſe diuiſerunt Scythiam, quæ durat à Danubio vſque ad ortum ſolis. Et quilibet Capitaneus, ſecundum quod habet plures vel pauciores homines ſub ſe, ſcit terminos paſcuorum ſuorum, & vbi debet paſcere hyeme & æſtate, vere & autumno. In hyeme enim deſcendunt ad calidiores regiones verſus meridiem. In æſtate aſcendunt ad frigidiores verſus aquilonem. Loca paſcuoſa ſine aquis paſcunt in hyeme quando eſt ibi nix, quia niuem habent pro aqua. Domum in qua dormiunt fundant ſuper rotam de virgis cancellatis, cuius tigna ſunt de virgis, & conueniunt in vnam paruulam rotam ſuperius, de qua aſcendit collum ſurſum tanquam fumigatorium, quam cooperiunt filtro albo: & frequentius imbuunt etiam filtrum calce vel terra alba & puluere oſſium, vt albens ſplendeat, & aliquando nigro. Et filtrum illud circa collum ſuperius decorant pulchra varietate picturæ. Ante oſtium ſimiliter ſuſpendunt filtrum opere polimitario variatum. Conſumunt enim filtrum coloratum in faciendo vites & arbores, aues & beſtias. Et faciunt tales domos ita magnas, quod habent triginta pedes in latitudine. Ego enim menſuraui ſemel latitudinem inter veſtigia rotarum vnius bigæ viginti pedum & quando domus erat ſuper bigam excedebat extra rotas in vtroque latere quinque pedibus ad minus. Ego numeraui in vna biga viginti duos boues trahentes vnam domum: Vndecem in vno ordine ſecundum latitudinem bigæ, & alios vnde[illegible]m ante illos: Axis bigæ erat magnus ad modum arboris nauis: Et vnus homo ſtabat [illegible]olio domus ſuper bigam minans boues. Inſuper faciunt quadrangulos de virgulis fiſſis attenuatis ad quantitatem vnius arcæ magnæ: & poſtea de vna extremitate ad aliam eleuant teſtudinem de ſimilibus virgis, & oſtiolum faciunt in anteriori extremitate: & poſtea coopriunt illam ciſtam ſiue domunculam filtro nigro imbuto ſeuo ſiue lacte ouino, ne poſſit penetrari pluuia: quod ſimiliter decorant opere polimitario vel plumario. Et in talibus arcis ponunt totam ſuppellectilem ſuam & theſaurum: quas ligant fortiter ſuper bigas alteras quas trahunt cameli, vt poſſint tranſuadare flumina. Tales arcas nunquam deponunt de bigis. Quando deponunt domus ſuas manſionarias, ſemper vertunt portam ad meridiem; & conſequenter collocant bigas cum arcis hinc & inde prope domum ad dimidium iactum lapidis: ita quod domus ſtat inter duos ordines bigarum quaſi inter duos muros.

Matronæ faciunt ſibi pulcherrimas bigas, quas neſcirem vobis deſcribere niſi per picturam. ‖Nota.
‖ Imo omnia depinxiſſem vobis ſi ſciuiſſem pingere. Vnus diues Moal ſiue Tartar habet bene tales bigas cum arcis ducentas vel centum. Baatu habet ſexdecem vxores: quælibet habet vnam magnam domum, exceptis alijs paruis, quas collocant poſt magnam, quæ ſunt quaſi cameræ; in quibus habitant puellæ. Ad quamlibet iſtarum domorum appendent ducentæ bigæ. Et quando deponunt domus, prima vxor deponit ſuam curiam in capite occidentali, & poſtea aliæ ſecundum ordinem ſuum: ita quod vltima vxor erit in capite Orientali: & erit ſpacium inter curiam vnius dominæ & alterius, iactus vnius lapidis. Vnde curia vnius diuitis Moal apparebit quaſi vna magna Villa: tunc pauciſſimi viri erunt in ea. Vna muliercula ducet 20. bigas vel 30. Terra enim plana eſt. Et ligant bigas cum bobus vel camelis vnam poſt aliam: & ſedebit muliercula in anteriori minans boues, & omnes aliæ pari greſſu ſequentur. Si contingat venire ad aliquem malum paſſum, ſoluunt eas & tranſducunt ſigillatim: Vadunt enim lento greſſu, ſicut agnus vel bos poteſt ambulare.

De lectis eorum & poculis.

POſtquam depoſuerint domus verſa porta ad meridiem, collocant lectum domini ad partem aquilonarem. Locus mulierum eſt ſemper ad latus Orientale hoc eſt ad ſiniſtrum domini domus cum ſedet in lecto ſuo verſa facie ad meridiem: locus verò virorum ad latus occidentale, hoc eſt ad dextrum. Viri ingredientes domum nullo modo ſuſpenderent phareтram ad partem mulierum. Et ſuper caput Domini eſt ſemper vna imago quaſi puppa & ſtatuuncula de filtro, quam vocant fratrem dominis: alia ſimilis ſuper caput dominæ, quam vocant fratrem dominæ, affixa parieti: & ſuperius inter vtramque illarum eſt vna paruula, macilenta, quæ eſt quaſi cuſtos totius domus. Domina domus ponit ad latus ſuum dextrum ad pedes lecti in eminenti loco pelliculam hœdinam impletam lana vel alia materia, & iuxta illam ſtatuunculam paruulam reſpicientem famulas & mulieres. Iuxta oſtium ad partem mulieris eſt iterum alia imago cum vbere vaccino, pro mulieribus quæ mungunt vaccas. De officio fœminarum eſt mungere vaccas. Ad aliud latus oſtij verſus viros eſt alia ſtatua cum vbere equæ pro viris qui mungunt equas. Et cum conuenerint ad potandum primo ſpargunt de potu illi imagini, quæ eſt ſuper caput domini: poſtea alijs imaginibus per ordinem: poſtea exit miniſter domum cum cipho & potu, & ſpargit ter ad meridiem, qualibet vice flectendo genu; & hoc ad reuerentiam ignis: poſtea ad Orientem ad reuerentiam aeris: poſtea ad Occidentem ad reuerentiam aquæ: ad aquilonem proijciunt pro mortuis. Quando tenet dominus ciphum in manu & debet bibere, tunc primo antequam bibat, infundit terræ partem ſuam. Si bibit ſedens ſuper equum, infundit antequam bibat, ſuper collum vel crinem equi. Poſtquam vero miniſter ſic ſparſerit ad quatuor latera mundi, reuertitur in domum & ſunt parati duo famuli cum duobus ciphis & totidem patenis vt deferant potum domino & vxori ſedenti iuxta eum ſurſum in lecto. Et cum habet plures vxores, illa cum qua dormit in nocte ſedet iuxta eum in die: & oportet quod omnes aliæ veniant ad domum illam illa die ad bibendum: & ibi tenetur curia illa die: & xenia quæ deferuntur, illa deponuntur in theſauris illius dominæ. Bancus ibi eſt cum vtre lactis vel cum alio potu & cum ciphis.

De potibus eorum & qualiter prouocant alios *ad bibendum.*

FAciunt in hyeme optimum potum, de riſio, de millio, de melle: claret ſicut vinum, Et defertur eis vinum à remotis partibus. In æſtate non curant niſi de Coſmos. Stat ſemper infra domum ad introitum portæ, & iuxta illud ſtat citharиſta cum citherula ſua. Citheras & vielas noſtras non vidi ibi, ſed multa alia inſtrumenta, quæ apud nos non habentur. Et cum incipit bibere tunc vnus miniſtrorũ exclamat alta voce, H A: & citharиſta percutit citharum, Et quando faciunt feſtum magnum, tunc omnes plaudunt manibus & ſaltant ad vocem citharæ, viri coram Domino, & mulieres coram domina. Et poſtquam dominus biberit, tunc exclamat miniſter ſicut priùs, & tacet citharиſta: tunc bibunt omnes in circuitu viri & mulieres: & aliquando bibunt certatim valde turpiter & guloſe. Et quando volunt aliquem prouocare ad potũ arripiunt eum per aures & trahunt fortiter vt dilatent ei guttam, & plaudunt & ſaltant coram eo. Item cum aliqui volunt facere magnum feſtum & gaudium, vnus accipit ciphum plenum, & alij duo ſunt ei à dextris & ſiniſtris: & ſic illi tres veniunt cantantes vſque ad illum cui debent porrigere ciphum, & cantant & ſaltant coram eo: & cum porrigit manum ad recipiendum ciphum, ipſi ſubito

Similiter in Florida.

ſubito reſiliunt, & iterum ſicut prius reuertuntur, & ſic illudunt ei ter vel quater retrahendo ciphum, donec fuerit bene exhileratus & bonum habeat appetitum, & tunc dant ei ciphum, & cantant & plaudunt manibus & terunt pedibus donec biberit.

De cibarijs eorum.

DE cibis & victualibus eorum noueritis, quod indifferenter comedunt omnia monticinia ſua. Et inter tot pecora & armenta non poteſt eſſe quin multa animalia moriantur. Tamen in æſtate quamdiu durat eis coſmos, hoc eſt lac equinum, non curant de alio cibo. Vnde tunc ſi contingat eis mori bouem vel equum, ſiccant carnes ſcindendo per tenues pecias & ſuſpendendo ad ſolem & ventum, quæ ſtatim ſine ſale ſiccantur abſque aliquo fœtore. De inteſtinis equorum faciunt andulges meliores quàm de porcis: quas comedunt recentes: reliquas carnes reſeruant ad hyemem. De pellibus boum faciunt vtres magnos, quos miraliter ſiccant ad fumum. De poſteriori parte pellis equi faciunt pulcherrimos ſoculares. De carne vnius arietis dant comedere quinquaginta hominibus vel centum. Scindunt enim minutatim in ſcutella cum ſale & aqua, aliam enim ſalſam non faciunt, & tunc cum puncto culcta in vino, porrigunt cuilibet circumſtantium buccellam vnam vel duas, ſecundum multitudinem comedentium. Dominus antequam proponitur caro arietis in primo ipſe accipit quod placet ei: & etiam ſi dat alicui partem ſpecialem, oportet quod accipiens comedat eam ſolus, & nemini licet dare ei. Si non poteſt totum comedere, aſportat ſecum, vel dat garcioni ſuo, ſi eſt preſens, qui cuſtodiat ei: ſin aliter, recondit in ſaptargat ſuo, hoc eſt in burſa quadrata, quam portant ad recondendum omnia talia, in qua & oſſa recondunt, quando non habent ſpacium bene rodendi ea, vt poſtea rodant, ne pereat aliquid de cibo.

Quomodo faciunt Coſmos.

IPſum Coſmos, hoc eſt lac iumentinum fit hoc modo. Extendunt cordam longam ſuper terram ad duos palos fixos in terra, & ad illam cordam ligant circiter horas tres, pullos equarum quas volunt mungere. Tunc ſtant matres iuxta pullos ſuos & permittunt ſe pacifice mungi. Et ſi aliqua eſt nimis indomita, tunc accipit vnus homo pullum & ſupponit ei permittens parum ſugere, tunc retrahit illum, & emunctor lactis ſuccedit. Congregata ergo multitudine lactis, quod eſt ita dulce ſicut vaccinum, dum eſt recens, fundunt illud in magnum vtrem ſiue bucellam, & incipiunt illud concutere cum ligno ad hoc aprato, quod groſſum eſt inferius ſicut caput hominis & cauatum ſubtus: & quam cito concutiunt illud, incipit bullire ſicut vinum nouũ, & aceſcere ſiue fermentari, & excutiunt illud donec extrahant butirum. Tunc guſtant illud; & quando eſt temperate pungitiuum bibunt: pungit enim ſuper linguam ſicut vinum raſpei dum bibitur. Et poſtquam homo ceſſat bibere, relinquit ſaporem ſuper linguam lactis amygdalini, & multum reddit interiora hominis iucunda, & etiam inebriat debilia capita: multum etiam prouocat vrinam. Faciunt etiam Cara-coſmos, hoc eſt nigrum coſmos ad vſum magnorum dominorum, hoc modo. Lac equinum non coagulatur. Ratio enim eſt: quod nullius animalis lac niſi cuius feret venter non inuenitur coagulum. In ventre pulli equi non inuenitur: vnde lac equæ non coagulatur. Concutiunt ergo lac in tantum, quod omnino quod ſpiſſum eſt in eo vadat ad fundum rectà, ſicut fæces vini, & quod purum eſt remanet ſuperius, & eſt ſicut ſerum, & ſicut muſtum album. Fæces ſunt albæ multum, & dantur ſeruis, & faciunt multum dormire. Illud clarum bibunt domini: & eſt pro certo valde ſuauis potus & bonæ efficaciæ. Baatu habet 20. caſalia circa herbergiam ſuam ad vnam dietam, quorum vnumquodq; qualibet die ſeruit cibo tali lacte centum equarum, hoc eſt, qualibet die lac trium millium equarũ, excepto alio lacte albo, quod deferunt alij. Sicut enim in Syria ruſtici dant tertiam partem fructuum, quam ipſi afferunt ad curias dominorum ſuorum, ita & iſti lac equarũ tertiæ diei. De lacte vaccino primò extrahunt butyrũ & bulliunt illud vſque ad perfectã decoctionẽ, & poſtea recondunt illud in vtribus arietinis quos ad hoc reſeruant. Et non ponunt ſal in butiro: tamen propter magnam decoctionẽ non putreſcit: & reſeruant illud contra hyemem. Re ſiduũ lac quod remanet poſt butirum permittunt aceſcere quantum acrius fieri poteſt & bulliunt illud, & coagulatur bulliendo, & coagulum illud deſiccant ad ſolem, & efficitur durum ſicut ſcoria ferri. Quod recondunt in ſaccis contra hyemem: tempore hyemali quando

deficit

deficit eis lac, ponunt illud acre coagulum, quod ipſi vocant gri-vr, in vtre, & ſuper infundunt aquam calidam, & concutiunt fortiter donec illud reſolvatur in aqua; quæ ex illo efficitur tota acetoſa, & illam aquam bibunt loco lactis. Summè cauent ne bibant aquam puram.

De beſtijs quas comedunt, & de veſtibus, ac *de venatione eorum.*

MAgni domini habent caſalia verſus meridiem, de quibus afferunt eis millium & farinam contra hyemem. pauperes procurant ſibi pro arietibus & pellibus commutando. Sclaui etiam implent ventrem ſuum aqua craſſa, & hac contenti ſunt. Mures cum longis caudis non comedunt & omne genus murium habens curtam caudam. Sunt etiam ibi multæ marmotes, quas ipſi vocant Sogur: quæ conueniunt in vna fouea in hyeme 20. vel 30. pariter, & dormiunt ſex menſibus: quas capiunt in magna multitudine. Sunt etiam ibi, cuniculi habentes longam caudam ſicut cati; & in ſummitate caudæ habent pilos nigros & albos. Habent & multas alias beſtiolas bonas ad comedendum: quas ipſi valde bene diſcernunt. Cervos non vidi ibi, lepores paucos vidi, gaſelos multos. Aſinos ſylueſtres vidi in magna multitudine, qui ſunt quaſi muli. Vidi & aliud genus animalis quod dicitur Artak, quod habet recte corpus arietis & cornua torta, ſed tantæ quantitatis, quod vix poteram vna manu leuare duo cornua: & faciunt de cornibus illis ciphos magnos. Habent falcones, girfalcones, & herodios in magna multitudine: quos omnes portant ſuper manum dexteram: & ponunt ſemper falcori vnam corrigiam paruulam circa collum, quæ pendet ei vſque ad medietatem pectoris: per quam cum proijciunt eum ad prædam, inclinant cum ſiniſtra manu caput & pectus falconis, ne verberetur à vento, vel ne feratur ſurſum. Magnum ergo partem victus ſui acquirunt venatione. De veſtibus & habitu eorum noueritis, quod de Cataya & alijs regionibus Orientis, & etiam de Perſide & alijs regionibus auſtri veniunt eis panni ſerici & aurei, & telæ de bambaſio, quibus induuntur in æſtate. De Ruſſia, de Moxel, & Maiore Bulgaria & Paſcatir, quæ eſt maior Hungaria, & Kerſis: (quę omnes ſunt regiones ad Aquilonem & plenæ ſyluis;) & alijs multis regionibus ad latus aquilonare, quæ eis obediunt, addeuenitur eis pelles precioſæ multi generis: quas nunquã vidi in partibus noſtris: Quibus induuntur in hyeme. Et faciunt ſemper in hyeme duas pelliceas ad minus: vnam, cuius pilus eſt ad carnem: aliam cuius pilus eſt extra contra ventum & niues, quæ multoties ſunt de pellibus lupinis vel vulpibus vel papiombus. Et dum ſedent in domo habent aliam delicatiorem. Pauperes faciunt illas exteriores de canibus & capris. Quum volunt venari feras, conueniunt magna multitudo & circundant regionem in qua ſciunt feras eſſe, & paulatim appropinquant ſibi, donec concludant feras inter ſe quaſi infra circulum, & tunc ſagitant ad eas. faciunt etiam braccas de pellibus. Diuites etiam ſurrant veſtes ſuas de ſtupa ſetæ, quæ eſt ſupra modum mollis, & lenis & calida. Pauperes ſurrant veſtes de tela de bambaſio, de delicatiori lana quam poſſunt extrahere: de proſſiori faciunt filtrum ad cooperiendum domos ſuas & ciſtas, & ad lectiſternia. De lana etiam & tertia parte pilorum equi admixta, faciunt cordas ſuas. De filtro etiam faciunt pauellas ſub ſellis, & capas contra pluuiam. Vnde multum expendunt de lana. Habitum virorum vidiſtis.

Maior Hungaria.

Nota.

De raſura virorum & ornatu mulierum.

VIri radunt in ſummitate capitis quadrangulum, & ab anterioribus angulis ducunt raſuram criſtæ capitis vſque ad tempora. Radunt etiam tempora & collum vſque ad ſummum concauitatis ceruicis: & frontem anterius vſque ad frontinellam, ſuper quam relinquunt manipulum pilorum deſcendentium vſque ad ſupercilia: In angulis occipitis relinquunt crines, quibus faciunt tricas, quas ſuccingunt nodando vſque ad aures. Et habitus puellarum non differt ab habitu virorum, niſi quod aliquantulum eſt longior. Sed in craſtino poſtquam eſt nupta radit caluariam ſuam à medietate capitis verſus frontem, & habet tunicam latam ſicut cucullam monialis, & per omnia latiorem & longiorem, fiſſam ante, quam ligat ſub dextro latere. In hoc enim differunt Tartari à Turcis: quod Turci ligant tunicas ſuas ad ſiniſtram, Tartari ſemper ad dextram. Poſtea habent ornamentum capitis, quod vocant botta, quod fit de cortice arboris vel alia materia, quam poſſunt inuenire, leuiore: & eſt groſſum & rotundum, quantum poteſt duabus manibus complecti; longum vero vnius cubiti & plus, quadrum ſuperius, ſicut capitellum vnius columnæ. Iſtud botta cooperiunt panno ſerico precioſo; & eſt concauum interius: & ſuper capitellum in

medio

medio vel ſuper quadraturã illam ponunt virgulam de calamis pennarum vel cannis gracilibus longitudinis ſcilicet vnius cubiti & plus: & illam ſibi virgulam ornant ſuperius de pennis pauonis, & per longum in circuitu pennulis caudæ malardi, & etiam lapidibus præciosis. Diuites dominæ iſtud ornamentum ponunt in ſummitate capitis quod ſtringunt fortiter cum almucia, quę foramen habet in ſummitate ad hoc aptatũ, & in iſto recondunt crines ſuos quos recolligũt a parte poſteriori ad ſummitatem capitis quaſi in nodo vno & reponunt in illo botta, quod poſtea fortiter ligant ſub gutture. Vnde quum equitant plures dominæ ſimul & valentur à longe, apparent milites, habentes galeas in capitibus cum lanceis eleuatis. Illud enim botta apparet galea deſuper lancea. Et ſedent omnes mulieres ſuper equos ſicut viri diuerſificantes coxas: & ligant cucullas ſuas panno ſerico aerij coloris ſuper renes, & alia faſcia ſtringunt ad mamillas: & ligant vnam peciam albam ſub occulis, quæ deſcendit vſque ad pectus. Et ſunt mulieres miræ pinguedinis, & quæ minus habet de nalo pulchrior reputatur. Deturpant etiam turpiter pinguedine facies ſuas: nunquam cubant in lecto pro puerperio.

De officio mulierum, & operibus earum, ac de *nuptijs earum.*

OFficium fœminarum eſt ducere bigas, ponere domus ſuper eas & deponere, mungere vaccas, facere butirum & griut, parare pelles, & conſuere eas, quas conſuunt filo de neruis. diuidunt enim neruos in minuta fila, & poſtea illa contorquent in vnum longum filum. Conſuunt etiam ſoculares & ſoccos & alias veſtes. Veſtes vero nunquam lauant, quia dicunt quod Deus tunc irascitur, & quod fiant tonitrua ſi ſuſpendantur ad ſiccandum: Imo & ligant vnam peciam albam ſub occulis, quæ deſcendit vſque ad pectus. Et ſunt mulieres miræ pinguedinis, & quæ minus habet de nalo pulchrior reputatur. Deturpant etiam turpiter pinguedine facies ſuas: nunquam cubant in lecto pro puerperio.

lauantes verberant & eis auferunt. Tonitrua ſupra modum timent: tunc omnes extranei emittunt de domibus ſuis; & inuoluunt ſe in filtris nigris, in quibus latitant, donec tranſierit. Nunquã etiã lauant ſcutellos, imo carne cocta alueũ in quo debent ponere eam lauant brodio bulliente de caldaria, & poſtea refundunt in caldariam. faciunt & filtrum & cooperiunt domos. Viri faciunt ſolũm arcus & ſagittas, fabricant ſtrepas & fræna, & faciunt cellas, carpentant domos & bigas: cuſtodiunt equos & mungunt equas, concutiunt ipſum coſmos & lac equinum, faciunt vtres in quibus reconditur: cuſtodiunt etiam camelos, & onerant eos. Oues & Capras cuſtodiunt mixtim & mungunt aliquando viri, aliquando mulieres. De lacte ouium inſpiſſato & ſalſo parant pelles. Cum volunt manus vel caput lauare implent os ſuum aqua & paulatim fundunt de ore ſuo ſuper manus, & eadem humectant crines ſuos, & lauant caput ſuum. De nuptijs eorum noueritis, quod nemo habet ibi vxorem niſi emat eam: vnde aliquando ſunt puellæ multum adultæ ante quam nubant: ſemper eorum & ſecundum: nullum autem ſeruant affinitatis. Habent enim ſimul vel ſucceſſiue duas ſorores. Nulla vidua nubit inter eos, hac ratione; quia credunt quod omnes qui ſeruiunt eis in hac vita ſeruient in futura. Vnde de vidua credunt, quod ſemper reuertitur poſt mortem ad primum maritum. Vnde accidit turpis conſuetudo inter eos quod filius ſcilicet ducit aliquando omnes vxores patris ſui, excepta matre. Curia enim patris & matris ſemper accidit iuniori filio. Vnde oportet quod ipſe prouideat omnibus vxoribus patris ſui, quia aduenium eæ cum curia paterna. Et tunc ſi vult vtitur eis pro vxoribus, quia non reputat ſibi iniuriam, ſi reuertatur ad patrem poſt mortem. Cum ergo aliquis fecerit pactum cum aliquo de filia accipienda, facit pater puellæ conuiuium, & illa fugit ad conſanguineos, vbi lateat: Tunc pater dicit, Ecce filia mea tua eſt, accipe eam vbicunque inueneris: Tunc ille quærit eam cum amicis ſuis, donec inveniat eam, & oportet, quod vi capiat eam, & ducat eam quaſi violenter ad domum.

Pellium paratio

De iuſticijs eorum & iudicijs, et de morte ac *ſepultura eorum.*

DE iuſticijs eorum noueritis, quod quando duo homines pugnant, nemo audet ſe intermittere. Etiam pater non audet iuuare filium. Sed qui peiorem partem habet, appellat ad curiam domini. Et ſi alius poſt appellationem tangat eum, interficitur. Sed oportet quod ſtatim abſque dilatione vadat: Et ille qui paſſus eſt iniuriam ducit eum quaſi captiuum. Nemem puniunt capitali ſententia, niſi deprehenſus fuerit in facto, vel confeſſus. Sed quum diffamatus eſt à pluribus, bene torquent eum, vt confiteatur. Homicidiũ puniunt capitali ſententia, & etiam coitum cum non ſua. Non ſuam dico vel vxorem vel famulam: Sua enim ſclaua licet vti

prout libet. Item enorme furtum puniunt morte. Pro leui furto, ſicut pro vno ariete, dummodo non fuerit ſæpe deprehenſus in hoc, verberant crudeliter. Et ſi dant centum ictus oportet quod habeant centum bàculos, de illis dico, qui verberantur ſententia curiæ. Item falſos nuncios, quia faciunt ſe nuncios & non ſunt, interficiunt. Item ſacrilegas, de quibus dicam vobis poſtea plenius, quia tales reputant veneficas. Quando aliquis moritur plangunt vehemẽter vlulando: & tunc ſunt liberi quod non dant vectigal vſque ad annum. Et ſi quis intereſt morti alicujus adulti, non ingreditur domum ipſius Mangucham vſque ad annum. Si paruulus eſt qui moritur, non ingreditur vſque poſt lunationem. Iuxta ſepulturam defunẽti ſemper relinquunt domum vnam. Si eſt de nobilibus, hoc eſt de genere Chingis, qui fuit primus pater & dominus eorum, illius qui moritur ignoratur ſepultura: & ſemper circa loca illa vbi ſepeliunt nobiles ſuos eſt vna herbergia hominum cuſtodientium ſepulturas. Non intellexi quod ipſi recondunt theſaurum cum mortuis. Comani faciunt magnum tumulum ſuper defunctum & erigunt ei ſtatuam verſa facie ad orientem, tenentem ciphum in manu ſua ante vmbelicum. fabricant & diuitibus pyramides, id eſt domunculas acutas: & alicubi vidi magnas turres de tegulis coctis: alicubi lapideas domos, quamuis lapides non inueniantur ibi. Vidi quendam nouiter defunctum, cui ſuſpenderant pelles ſexdecem equorum, ad quodlibet latus mundi quatuor inter perticas altas: & appoſuerunt ei coſmos vt biberet, & carnes vt comederet: & tamen dicebant de illo quod fuerat baptizatus. Alias vidi ſepulturas verſus orientem. Areas ſcilicet magnas ſtructas lapidibus, aliquas rotundas, aliquas quadratas, & poſtea quatuor lapides longos erectos ad quatuor regiones mundi circa aream. Et vbi aliquis infirmatur cubat in lecto & ponit ſignum ſuper domum ſuam, quod ibi eſt infirmus, & quod nullus ingrediatur: vnde nullus viſitat infirmum niſi ſeruiens eius. Quando etiam aliquis de magnis curijs infirmatur, ponunt cuſtodes longe circa curiam, qui infra illos terminos neminem permittunt tranſire: timent enim ne mali ſpiritus vel ventus veniant cum ingredientibus. Ipſos diuinatores vocant tanquam ſacerdotes ſuos.

Qualiter ingreſsi ſunt inter Tartaros, & de *ingratitudine eorum.*

QVando ergo ingreſſi ſumus inter illos barbaros, viſum fuit mihi, vt dixi ſuperius, quod ingrederer aliud ſæculum. Circumdederunt enim nos in equis poſt quam diu fecerant nos expectare ſedentes in vmbra ſub bigis nigris. Prima quæſtio fuit, vtrum vnquam fuiſſemus inter eos. habito quod non: inceperunt impudenter petere de cibarijs noſtris, & dedimus de pane biſcocto & vino quod attuleramus nobiſcum de villa: & potata vna lagena vini, petierunt aliam, dicentes, quod homo non ingreditur domum vno pede. non dedimus eis, excuſantes nos quod parum haberemus. Tunc quæſiuerunt vnde veniremus, & quo vellemus ire. dixi eis ſuperiora verba, quod audieramus de Sartach, quod eſſet Chriſtianus, & quod vellem ire ad eum, quia habebam deferre ei literas veſtras. Ipſi diligenter quæſiuerunt, vtrum irem de mea voluntate, vel vtrum mitterer. Ego reſpondi quod nemo coegit me ad eundum, nec iuiſſem niſi voluiſſem: vnde de mea voluntate ibam, & etiam de voluntate ſuperioris mei. Bene caui, quod nunquam dixi, me eſſe nuncium veſtrum. Tunc quæſiuerunt quid eſſet in bigis, vtrum eſſet aurum vel argentum, vel veſtes precioſæ, quas deferrem Sartach. Ego reſpondi, quod Sartach videret quid deferremus ei, quando perueniremus ad eum; & quod non intererat eorum iſta quærere: ſed facerent me deduci vſque ad capitaneum ſuum, & ipſe ſi vellet mihi præbere ducatum vſque ad Sartach faceret: ſin minus, reuerterer. Erat enim in illa prouincia vnus conſanguineus Baatu, nomine Scacatai, cui dominus imperator Cõſtantinopolitanus mittebat literas deprecatorias, quod me permitteret tranſire. Tunc ipſi acquieuerunt, præbentes nobis equos & boues & duos homines, qui deducerent nos. Et alij qui adduxerant nos ſunt reuerſi. Prius tamen antequam prædicta darent, fecerunt nos diu expectare petentes de pane noſtro pro parvulis ſuis: Et omnia quæ videbant ſuper famulos noſtros, cultellos, chirothecas, burſas, corrigias, omnia admirantes & volentes habere. Excuſabam me, quia longa nobis reſtabat via, nec debebamus ita cito ſpoliare nos rebus neceſſarijs ad tantam viam perficiendam. Tunc dicebant quod eſſem batrator. Verum eſt quod nihil abſtulerint vi: Sed valde importune & impudenter petunt quæ vident. Et ſi dat homo eis perdit, quia ſunt ingrati. Reputant ſe dominos mundi, & videtur eis, quod nihil debeat eis negari ab aliquo. Si non dat, & poſtea indigeat ſeruicio eorum, male miniſtrant ei. Dederunt nobis bibere de lacte ſuo vaccino, a quo contractum erat butirum, acetoſo valde, quod ipſi vocant Apram: & ſic receſſimus ab eis. Et viſum fuit mihi recte, quod euaſiſſem de manibus dæmonum. In craſtino peruenimus ad capitaneum. Ex quo receſſimus a Soldaia vſque ad Sartach in duobus menſibus nunquam iacuimus

mus in domo nec in tentorio, ſed ſemper ſub dio, vel ſub bigis noſtris, nec vidimus aliquam villam, vel veſtigium alicujus ædificij vbi fuiſſet villa, niſi tumbas Comanorũ in maxima multitudine. Illo ſero dedit nobis garcio qui ducebat nos bibere coſmos; ad cuius hauſtum totus ſudaui propter horrorem & nouitatem, quia nunquam biberam de eo. valde tamen ſapidum videbatur mihi, ſicut vere eſt.

De curia Scacatay, & quod Chriſtiani non *bibunt coſmos.*

MAne ergo obuiauimus bigis Scacatay onuſtis domibus. Et videbatur mihi quod obuiaret mihi ciuitas magna. Mirabar etiam ſuper multitudine animentorum boum & equorum & gregum ouium: paucos videbam homines qui iſta gubernarent. vnde inquiſiui quot homines haberet ſub ſe? & dictum fuit mihi, quod non pluſquam quingentos, quorum medietatem tranſiueramus in alia herbergia. Tunc incepit mihi dicere garcio qui ducebat nos, quod aliquid oporteret Scacatay dare: & ipſe fecit nos ſtare, & præceſſit nuncians aduentum noſtrum. Iam erat hora pluſquam tertia, & depoſuerunt domos ſuas iuxta quandam aquam. Et venit ad nos interpres ipſius, qui ſtatim cognito, quod nunquam fueramus inter illos, popoſcit de cibis noſtris, & dedimus ei, poſcebat etiam veſtimentum aliquod, quia dicturus erat verbũ noſtrum ante dominum ſuum. Excuſauimus nos. Quæſiuit quid portaremus domino ſuo? Accepimus vnum flaſconem de vino, & impleuimus vnum veringal de biſcocto & platellum vnum de pomis & aliis fructibus. Sed non placebat ei, quia non ferebamus aliquem pannum pretioſum. Sic tamen ingreſſi ſumus cum timore & verecundia. Sedebat ipſe in lecto ſuo tenens citharam in manu, & vxor ſua iuxta eum: de qua credebã in veritate, quod amputaſſet ſibi naſum inter oculos vt ſimior eſſet: nihil enim habebat ibi de naſo, & vnxerat locum illum quodam vnguento nigro, & etiam ſupercilia: quod erat turpiſſimum in oculis noſtris. Tunc dixi ei verba ſupradicta. Vbique enim oportebat nos dicere idem verbum. Super hoc enim eramus bene prẽmoniti ab illis qui fuerant inter illos, quod nunquam mutaremus verba noſtra. Rogaui etiam eum vt dignaretur accipere munuſculum de manu noſtra, excuſans me, quia monachus eram, nec erat ordinis noſtri poſsidere aurum, vel argentum, vel veſtes precioſas. Vnde non habebam aliquid talium, quod poſſem ei dare: ſed de cibis noſtris acciperet pro benedictione. Tunc fecit recipi, & diſtribuit ſtatim hominibus ſuis qui conuenerant ad potandum. Dedi etiam ei literas Imperatoris Conſtantinopolitani: (Hoc fuit in octauis aſcenſionis) Qui ſtatim eas Soldaiam miſit vt ibi interpretarentur: quia erant in Græco, nec habebat ſecum qui ſciret literas Græcas. Quæſiuit etiam à nobis, ſi vellemus bibere coſmos, hoc eſt, lac iumentinum. Nota diligenter. Chriſtiani enim Ruteni, Græci, & Alani, qui ſunt inter eos, qui volunt ſtricte cuſtodire legem ſuam, non bibunt illud: Imo non reputant ſe Chriſtianos poſtquam biberunt. Et ſacerdotes eorum reconciliant eos, tanquam negaſſent fidem Chriſtianam. Ego reſpondi, quod habebamus adhuc ſufficienter ad bibendum: & cum ille potus deficeret nobis, oporteret nos bibere illud, quod daretur nobis. Quæſiuit etiam quid contineretur in literis noſtris, quas mittebatis Sartach. Dixi quod clauſæ erant bullæ noſtræ: & quod non erant in eis niſi bona verba & amicabilia. Quæſiuit & quæ verba diceremus Sartach? Reſpondi, Verba fidei Chriſtianę. Quæſiuit quæ? Qua libenter vellet audire. Tunc expoſui ei prout potui per interpretem meum, qui nullius erat ingenij, nec alicuius eloquentiæ, ſymbolũ fidei. Quo audito, ipſe tacuit & mouit caput. Tunc aſſignauit nobis duos homines, qui nos cuſtodirent, & equos & boues: & fecit nos bigare ſecum, donec reuerteretur nuncius, quem ipſe miſerat pro interpretatione literarum imperatoris; & iuimus cum eo vſque in craſtinum Pentecoſtes.

Qualiter Alani venerunt ad eos in vigilia *Pentecoſtes.*

IN vigilia Pentecoſtes venerunt ad nos quidam Alani, qui ibi dicuntur ‖ Acias, Chriſtiani ſecundum ritum Græcorum; habentes literas Greças & ſacerdotes Græcos: tamen non ſunt ſchiſmatici ſicut Græci; ſed ſine acceptione perſonarum venerantur omnem Chriſtianum: & detulerunt nobis carnes coctas, rogantes vt comederemus de cibo eorum, & oraremus pro quodam defuncto eorum. Tunc dixi quod vigilia erat tantæ ſolennitatis, quod illa die non comederemus carnes. Et expoſui eis de ſolennitate, ſuper quo fuerunt multum gauiſi; quia omnia ignorabant quæ ſpectant ad ritum Chriſtianum, ſolo nomine Chriſti excepto. Quæſierunt & ipſi & alij multi Chriſtiani, Ruteni & Hungari, vtrum poſſent ſaluari, quia oportebat eos bibere coſmos, & comedere morticinia & interfecta à Saracenis & alijs infidelibus: ‖ Vel Alani.

quæ etiam ipſi Græci & Ruteni ſacerdotes reputant quaſi morticinia vel idolis immolata: quia ignorabant tempora iciunij: nec poterant cuſtodire etiam ſi cognouiſſent. Tunc rectificabar eos prout potui, docens & confortans in fide. Carnes quas detulerant reſeruauimus vſque ad diem feſtum: nihil enim inueniebamus venale pro auro & argento, niſi pro telis & alijs ‖pannis: & illos non habebamus. Quum famuli noſtri offerebant eis ipperpera, ipſi fricabant digitis, & ponebant ad nares, vt odore ſentirent, vtrum eſſent cuprum. Nec dabant nobis cibum niſi lac vaccinum acre valde & fœtidum. Vinum iam deficiebat nobis. Aqua ita turbabatur ab equis, quod non erat potabilis. Niſi fuiſſet biſcoctum quod habebamus, & gratia dei, fortè fuiſſemus mortui.

‖Nota diligentiſsime.

De Saraceno qui dixit ſe velle baptizarj, et de homi-nibus qui apparent leproſi.

IN die pentecoſtes venit ad nos quidam Saracenus, qui cum loqueretur nobiſcum, incepimus exponere fidem. Qui audiens beneficia dei exhibita humano generi in incarnatione Chriſti, & reſurrectionem mortuorum, & iudicium futurum, & quod ablutio peccatorum eſſet in baptiſmo: dixit ſe velle baptizari. Et cum pararemus nos ad baptizandum eum, ipſe ſubito aſcendit equum ſuum, dicens ſe iturum domum & habiturum conſilium cum vxore ſua. Qui in craſtino loquens nobiſcum, dixit quod nullo modo auderet accipere baptiſma, quia tunc non bibereт coſmos. Chriſtiani enim illius loci hoc dicebant, quod nullus verus Chriſtianus deberet bibere: & ſine potu illo non poſſet viuere in ſolitudine illa. A qua opinione nullo modo potui diuertere illum. Vnde noueritis pro certo quod multũ elongantur à fide propter illam opinionem quæ iam viguit inter illos per Rutenos, quorum maxima multitudo eſt inter eos. Illa die dedit nobis ille capitaneus vnum hominem, qui nos deduceret vſque ad Sartach: & duos qui ducerent nos vſque ad proximam herbergiam; quæ inde diſtabat quinque dietas prout boues poterant ire. Dederunt etiam nobis vnam capram pro cibo & plures vtres lactis vaccini, & de coſmos parum: quia illud precioſum eſt inter illos. Et ſic arripientes iter rectè in aquilonem, viſum fuit mihi quod vnam portam inferni tranſiſſemus. Garciones qui ducebant nos, incipiebant nobis audacter furari, quia videbant nos parum cautos. Tandem amiſſis pluribus vexatio dabat nobis intellectum. Peruenimus tandem ad extremitatem illius prouinciæ, quæ clauditur vno foſſato ab vno mari vſque ad aliud: extra quam erat herbergia eorum apud quos intraſſemus: videbantur nobis leproſi omnes: quia erant viles homines ibi collocati, vt reciperent tributum ab accipientibus ſal a ſalinis ſuperius dictis. Ab illo loco, vt dicebant, oportebat nos ambulare quindecim diebus, quibus non inueniremus populum. Cum illis bibimus coſmos: & dedimus illis vnum veringal plenum fructibus & panem biſcoctum. Qui dederunt nobis octo boues, vnam capram pro tanto itinere & neſcio quot vtres plenos lacte vaccino. Sic mutatis bobus arripuinus iter, quod perfecimus decem diebus vſque ad aliam herbergiam: nec inueniмus aquam in illa via niſi in foſſis in conuallibus factis, exceptis duobus paruis fluminibus. Et tendebamus rectè in orientem ex quo exiuimus prædictam prouinciam Gaſariæ, habentes mare ad meridiem & vaſtam ſolitudinem ad aquilonem: quæ durat per viginti dietas alicubi in latitudine: In qua nulla eſt ſylua, nullus mons, nullus lapis. Herba eſt optima. In hac ſolebant paſcere Comani, qui dicuntur Capchat. A Teutonicis verò dicuntur Valani, & prouincia Valania. Ab Iſidoro vero dicitur à flumine Tanai vſque ad paludes Meotidis & Danubium Alania. Et durat iſta terra in longitudine a Danubio vſque Tanaim; qui eſt terminus Aſiæ & Europæ, itinere duorum menſium velociter equitando prout equitant Tartari: Quæ tota inhabitabatur à Comanis Capchat, & etiam vltra à Tanai vſque ‖Etiliam: Inter quæ flumina ſunt decem dietæ magnæ. Ad aquilonem verò iſtius prouincię iacet Ruſſia, quę vbique ſyluas habet, & protenditur à Polonia & Hungaria vſque Tanaim: quæ tota vaſtata eſt à Tartaris, & adhuc quotidie vaſtatur. Præponunt enim Rutenis, quia ſunt Chriſtiani, Saracenos: & cum non poſſunt amplius dare aurum vel argentum, ducunt eos & paruulos eorum tanquam greges ad ſolitudinem vt cuſtodiant animalia eorum. Vltra Ruſſiam ad aquilonem eſt Pruſſia, quam nuper ſubiugauerunt totam fratres Teutonici. Et certe de facili acquirent Ruſſiam, ſi apponerent manum. Si enim Tartari audirent, quod magnus ſacerdos, hoc eſt, Papa faceret cruce ſignari contra eos, omnes fugerent ad ſolitudines ſuas.

Salinæ

Decem dietæ.

Comanię longitudo.

‖Etilia quæ & Volga flumen.

Ruſſia.

Pruſſia.

De tedijs quæ patiebantur, & de ſepultura Comanorum.

IBbanus ergo verſus orientem, nihil videntes niſi cœlum & terram, & aliquando mare ad dextram, quod dicitur Mare Tanais, & etiam ſepulturas Comanorum, quæ apparebant nobis à duabus

tuabus leucis secundum quòd solebant parentelæ eorum tepelri simul. Quam diu eramus in solitudine bene erat nobis: quòd tedium quod patiebar quum veniebanus ad mansiones eorum non possem exprimere verbis. Volebat enim dux noster, quod ad quosl bet capitaneos ingrederer cum xenio: & ad hoc non sufficiebant expensæ. Quotidie enim eramus octo personæ comedentes viaticum nostrũ exceptis seruientibus, qui omnes volebant comedere nobiscum. Nos enim eramus quinque, & ipsi tres qui ducebant nos: duo ducentes bigas, & vnus iturus nobiscum, vsque ad Sartach. Carnes quas dabant non sufficiebant; nec inueniebamus aliquid vehale pro moneta. Et cum sedebamus sub bigis nostris pro vmbra, quia calor erat ibi maximus illo tempore, ipsi ita importune ingerebant se nobis, quod conculcabant nos, volentes omnia nostra videre. Straripiebat eos appetitus purgandi ventrem, non elongabant se a nobis, quam possit taba iactari. Imo iuxta nos colloquentes mutuò faciebant immunditias suas: & multa alia faciebant quæ erant supra modum tædiosa. Super omnia grauabat me, quod cum volebam dicere eis aliquod verbum ædificationis, interpres meus dicebat, non facietis me prædicare; quia nescio talia verba dicere. Et verum dicebat. Ego enim perpendi postea, quum incepi aliquantulam intelligere [illegible], quod quum dicebam vnum, ipse totum aliud dicebat, secundum quod ei occurrebat. Hinc videns periculum loquendi per ipsum, elegi magis tacere. Ambulauimus ergo cum magno labore de mansione in mansionem: ita quod paucis diebus ante festum beatæ Mariæ Magdalenæ veni ad fluuium magnum Tanais: qui diuidit Asiam ab Europa, sicut Nilus fluuius Ægypti, Asiam ab Africa. In illo loco quo applicuimus fecerunt Baatu & Sartach fieri quoddam casale de Ruteni in ripa orientali, qui transferunt nuncios & mercatores cum nauiculis. Ipsi transtulerunt nos primo & postea bigas ponentes vnam rotam in vna barca & aliam in alia, ligantes barcas ad inuicem; & sic remigantes transibant. Ibi egit dux noster valde stulte. Ipse enim credebat, quod illi de casali deberent nobis ministrare equos, & dimisit animalia quæ adduxeramus in alia biga, vt redirent ad dominos suos. Et quum postulauimus ab eis animalia, ipsi respondebant quod habebant priuilegiũ à Baatu, quod non tenerentur ad aliud, nisi transferre euntes & redeuntes: etiam à mercatoribus accipiebant magnum tributum. Stetimus ergo ibi in ripa fluminis tribus diebus. Prima die dederunt nobis magnam borbatam recentem: secunda die panem de siligine & parum de carnibus, quas acceperat procurator villæ ostiatim per diuersas domos. Tertia die pisces siccos, quos habent ibi in magna multitudine. Fluuius ille erat ibi tantæ latitudinis, quantæ est Sequana Parisijs. Et antequam peruenissemus ad locum illum, transiuimus multas aquas pulcherrimas & piscosissimas: Sed Tartari nesciunt eos capere: nec curant de pisce nisi sit ita magnus, quod possunt comedere carnes eius, sicut carnes arietinas. Ille fluuius est terminus Orientalis Russiæ; & oritur de paludibus quæ pertingunt ad Oceanum ad aquilonem. Fluuius vero currit ad meridiem in quoddam magnum Mare septingentorum millium, antequam pertingat ad Mare Ponti: Et omnes aquæ quas transiuimus vadunt ad illas partes. Habet etiam prædictum flumen magnam syluam in ripa Occidentali. Vltra locum illum non ascendunt Tartari versus Aquilonem: quia tunc temporis ‖ circa introitum Augusti incipiunt redire versus meridiem. Vnde aliud est casale inferius vbi transeunt nuncij tempore hyemali. Eramus igitur ibi in magna angustia, quia nec equos nec boues inueniebamus pro pecunia. Tandem postquam ostendi eis, quod laboraui pro communi vtilitate omnium Christianorum, accómodauerunt nobis boues & homines: nos autem oportebat ire pedibus. Tunc temporis metebant siliginem: triticum non proficiebat ibi bene. Milium habent in magna copia. Mulieres Rutenæ ornant capita sicut nostræ. Supertunicalia sua exterius ornant vario vel grisio a pedibus vsque ad genua. Homines portant capas sicut Teutonici: sed in capite portant pileos de filtro acutos in summitate longo acumine. Ambulauimus ergo tribus diebus non inuenientes populum. Et cum essemus valde fatigati & boues similiter, nec sciremus quorsum possemus Tartaros inuenire, accurrerunt subito duo equi, quos recepimus cum gaudio magno, & ascenderunt eos dux noster & interpres, vt specularentur quorsum possemus populum inuenire. Tandem quarta die inuentis hominibus gauisi sumus tanquam naufragi venientes ad portum. Tunc acceptis equis & bobus iuimus de mansione ad mansionem donec peruenimus vsque ad herbergiam Sartach secundo Calendas Augusti.

Calor maximus ibiin æstate.

Tanais fluuius.

Casale Rutenorum.

Latitudo Tanais.

Oceanus.

‖Ad introitum Augusti redeunt ad meridiem.

De regione Sartach, & de gentibus illius.

REgio ista vltra Tanaim est pulcherrima, habens flumina & syluas ad aquilonem. Sunt syluæ maximæ, quas inhabitant duo genera hominum: Moxel scilicet, qui sunt sine lege, puri pagani. Ciuitatem non habent sed casulas in syluis. Dominus eorum & magna

pars

parẽ eorum fuerunt interfecti in Alemania, Tartari enim duxerant eos ad introitum Alemaniæ. Vnde ipſi multum commendant Alemanos, ſperantes quod adhuc liberabuntur per eos à ſeruitute Tartarorum. Si mercator veniat ad eos, oportet quod ille apud quem primo deſcendit prouideat ei quamdiu vult eſſe inter eos. Si quis dormiat cum vxore alterius, ille non curat niſi videat proprijs oculis: vnde non ſunt Zelotypi. Abundant apud eos porci, mel, & cera, pelles precioſæ, & falcones. Poſt illos ſunt alij qui dicuntur Merdas, quos latini vocant Merduos, & ſunt Saraceni. Poſt illos eſt ‖ Etilia, quæ eſt maior fluuius, quam vnquam viderim: & venit ab Aquilone de maiori Bulgaria tendens ad meridiem: & cadit in quendam lacum habentem ſpacium quatuor menſium in circuitu, de quo poſtea dicam vobis. Iſta ergo duo flumina Tanais & Etilia verſus regiones Aquilonis per quas tranſiuimus non diſtant ab inuicem niſi decem dietis, ſed ad meridiem multum diuiduntur ab inuicem. Tanais enim deſcendit in Mare Ponti: Etilia facit prædictum Mare ſiue lacum, cum alijs multis fluminibus, quæ cadunt in illum de Perſide. Habebamus autem ad meridiem montes maximos in quibus habitant in lateribus verſus ſolitudinem illam Cergis & Alani ſiue ‖ Acas, qui ſunt Chriſtiani & adhuc pugnant contra Tartaros. Poſt iſtos prope Mare ſiue lacum Etiliæ ſunt quidam Saraceni qui dicuntur Leſgi, qui ſimiliter obediunt. Poſt hos eſt Porta ferrea, quam fecit Alexander ad excludendas Barbaras gentes de Perſide: de cuius ſitu dicam vobis poſtea, ‖ quia tranſiui per eam in reditu. Et inter iſta duo flumina in illis terris per quas tranſiuimus habitabant Comani antequam Tartari occuparent eas.

Merdui Saraceni. ‖ vel Volga fluuius.

‖ Kerkis. vel Aas.

Leſgi Saraceni. ‖ Reditus eius per Dolcet.

De Curia Sartach & de gloria eius.

INuenimus ergo Sartach prope Etiliam per tres dietas: cuius curia valde magna videbatur nobis: quia habet ſex vxores, & filius eius primogenitus iuxta eum duas vel tres: & quælibet habet domum magnam & bigas forte ducentas. Acceſſit autem ductor noſter ad quendam Neſtorinum Coiat nomine, qui eſt vnus de maioribus Curiæ ſuæ. Ille fecit nos ire valde longe ad domini Iannam. Ita vocant illum qui habet officium recipiendi nuncios. In ſero præcepit nobis dictus Coiat, vt veniremus ad eum. Tunc incepit quærere ductor noſter quid portaremus ei, & cœpit multum ſcandalizari, quum vidit quod nihil parabamus ad portandum. Stetimus coram eo, & ipſe ſedebat in gloria ſua & faciebat ſonare citharam & ſaltare coram ſe. Tunc dixi ei verba prædicta qualiter veniremus ad dominum eius, rogans eum vt iuuaret nos vt Dominus eius videret literas noſtras. Excuſaui etiam me quia monachus eram, non habens, nec recipiens, nec tractans aurum vel argentum vel aliquid precioſum, ſolis libris & capella in qua ſeruiebamus deo exceptis: vnde nullum xenium afferebamus ei nec domino ſuo. Qui enim propria dimiſeram, non poteram portator eſſe alienorum. Tunc reſpondit ſatis manſuete, quod bene faciebam ex quo eram monachus: ſic ſeruarem votum meum, & non indigebat rebus noſtris; ſed magis daret nobis de ſuis, ſi indigeremus: & fecit nos ſedere & bibere de lacte ſuo. Et poſt pauca rogauit vt diceremus benedictionem pro eo, quod & fecimus. Quæſiuit & quis eſſet maior dominus inter Francos. Dixi, Imperator, ſi haberet terram ſuam in pace. Non, inquit, ſed Rex Franciæ. Audiuerat enim de vobis à domino Baldewyno de Hannonia. Inueni etiam ibi vnum de Socijs domus Dominicæ, qui fuerat in Cypro, qui narrauerat omnia quæ viderat. Tunc reuerſi ſumus ad hoſpitium noſtrum. In craſtino miſi ei vnum flaſconem de vino Muſcato, quod optime ſe cuſtodierat in tam longa via; & cophinum plenum biſcocto quod fuit ei gratiſſimum, & retinuit illo ſero famulos noſtros ſecum. In craſtino mandauit mihi quod venirem ad curiam; afferens literas regis & capellam & libros mecum, quia dominus ſuus vellet videre ea: quod & fecimus, onerantes vnam bigam libris & capella, & aliam pane & vino & fructibus. Tunc fecit omnes libros & veſtes explicari, & circumſtabant nos in equis multi Tartari & Chriſtiani & Saraceni: quibus inſpectis, quæſiuit, ſi vellem iſta omnia dare domino ſuo, quo audito, expaui, & diſplicuit mihi verbum, diſſimulans tamen reſpondi, domine rogamus, quatenus dominus noſter dignetur recipere panem iſtum, vinum & fructus non pro xenio quia exiguum quid eſt, ſed pro benedictione, ne vacua manu venismus coram eo. Ipſe autem videbit literas domini regis, & per eas ſciet, qua de cauſa venimus ad eum: & tunc ſtabimus mandato eius nos & omnes res noſtræ. Veſtes enim ſanctæ ſunt, & non licet eas contingere niſi ſacerdotibus. Tunc præcepit quod indueremus nos ituri coram domino ſuo: quod & fecimus. Ego autem indutus precioſioribus veſtibus accepi in pectore puluinar, quod erat valde pulchrum, & biblium quod dederatis mihi, pſalterium pulcherrimum, quod dederat mihi domina regina, in quo erant picturæ pulchræ. Socius meus accepit miſſale & crucem, clericus indutus ſupercilicio accepit thuribulum: ſic acceſſimus ante dominum eius:

Coiat Neſtorius.

& leuauerunt

filtrum quod pendebat ante oſtium vt nos poſſet videre. Tunc fecerunt flectere genua ter clerico & interpreti: à nobis non requiſiuerunt. Tunc monuerunt nos valde diligenter, vt cauemus ingrediendo & egrediendo ne tangeremus limen domus, & vt cantaremus aliquam benedictionem pro eo. Tunc ingreſſi ſumus cantando, Salue regina. In introitu autem oſtij ſtabat bancus cum coſinos & cum ciphis. Et conuenerant omnes vxores eius: & ipſi Moal. Ingredientes nobiſcum comprimebant nos. Illic Coiac tulit ei thuribulum cum incenſo, quod ipſe reſpexit, tenens in manu diligenter: poſtea tulit ei pſalterium quod valde reſpexit, & vxor eius ſedens iuxta eum. Poſtea tulit biblium, & ipſe quæſiuit, ſi euangelium eſſet ibi. Dixi, etiam tota Scriptura Sacra. Accepit etiam crucem in manu ſua, & quæſiuit de imagine, vtrum eſſet imago Chriſti? Reſpondi quod ſic. Ipſi Neſtoriani & Armeni nunquam faciunt ſuper cruces ſuas figuram Chriſti. Vnde videntur male ſentire de paſſione, vel erubeſcunt eam. Poſtea fecit circumſtantes nos retrahere ſe, vt plenius poſſet videre ornamenta noſtra. Tunc obtuli ei literas veſtras cum tranſcriptis in Arabico & Syriano. Feceram enim eas transferri in Acon in vtraque litera & lingua. Et ibi erant ſacerdotes Armeni, qui ſciebant Turcicum & Arabicum, & Ille Socius domus Domini qui ſciebat Syriacum, & Turcicum & Arabicum. Tunc exiuimus & depoſuimus veſtimenta noſtra: & venerunt ſcriptores & ille Coiac, & fecerunt literas interpretari. Quibus auditis, fecit recipi panem & vinum & fructus: veſtimentà & libros fecit nos reportare ad hoſpitium. Hoc actum eſt in feſto Sancti Petri ad vincula.

Qualiter habuerunt in mandatis adire Baatu *patrem Sartach.*

IN craſtino mane venit quidam ſacerdos frater ipſius Coiac poſtulans vaſculum cum chriſmate, quia Sartach volebat illud videre, vt dicebat, & dedimus ei. Hora veſpertina vocauit nos Coiac, dicens nobis: Dominus rex ſcripſit bona verba Domino meo: Sed ſunt in eis difficilia, de quibus nihil auderet facere, ſine conſilio patris ſui. Vnde oportet vos ire ad patrem ſuum, & duas bigas quas adduxiſtis heri cum veſtimentis & libris dimittetis mihi, quia Dominus meus vult res diligentius videre. Ego ſtatim ſuſpicatus ſum malum de cupiditate eius, & dixi ei. Domine, non ſolum illas ſed etiam duas quas adhuc habemus relinquemus ſub cuſtodia veſtra. Non inquit, illas relinquetis, de alijs facietis velle veſtrum. Dixi quod hoc nullo modo poſſet fieri. Sed totam dimitteremus ei. Tunc quæſiuit ſi vellemus morari in terra? Ego dixi, Si bene intellexiſtis literas domini regis, poteſtis ſcire, quod ſic. Tunc dixit, quod oporteret nos eſſe patientes multum, & humiles. Sic diſceſſimus ab eo illo ſero. In craſtino mane miſit vnum ſacerdotem Neſtorinum pro bigis, & nos duximus omnes quatuor. Tunc occurrens nobis frater ipſius Coiacis, ſeperauit omnia noſtra ab ipſis rebus quas tuleramus pridie ad curiam, & illa accepit tanquam ſua, ſcilicet libros & veſtimenta: & Coiac præceperat, quod ferremus nobiſcum veſtimenta quibus induti fueramus coram Sartach vt illis indueremur coram Baatu ſi expediret: quas ille ſacerdos abſtulit nobisvi, dicens: Tu attuliſti eas ad Sartach, modo vis ferre Baatu? Et cum vellem ei reddere rationem, reſpondit mihi, Ne loquaris nimis, & vade viam tuam. Tunc neceſſaria fuit patientia, quia apud Sartach, non patebat nobis ingreſſus; nec aliquis erat, qui nobis exhiberet iuſticiam. Timebam etiam de interprete, ne ipſe aliquid aliter dixiſſet, quam ego dixiſſem ei: quia ipſe bene voluiſſet, quod de omnibus feciſſemus xenium. Vnum erat mihi ſolacium, quia quum perſenſi cupiditatem eorum, ego ſubtraxi de libris Biblium & ſententias, & alios libros quos magis diligebam. Pſalterium dominæ reginæ non fui auſus ſubtrahere, quia illud fuerat nimis notatum propter aureas picturas quæ erant in eo. Sic ergo reuerſi ſumus cum duobus reſiduis bigis ad hoſpitium noſtrum. Tunc venit ille, qui debebat ducere nos ad Baatu, volens cum feſtinatione arripere iter: cui dixi quod nulla ratione ducerem bigas, Quod ipſe retulit ad Coiac. Tunc præcepit Coiac quod relinqueremus eas apud ipſum cum garcione noſtro: quod & fecimus. Sic ergo euntes verſus Baatu recta in Orientem, tertia die peruenimus ad Etiliam: cuius aquas cum vidi, mirabar vnde ab Aquilone deſcenderunt tantæ aquæ. Antequam recederemus à Sartach, dixit nobis ſupradictus Coiac cum alijs multis ſcriptoribus cuiuſdam gentis. In tantam ſuperbiam ſunt erecti, quod quamuis alitis videtur eis nomen quid forte credant de Chriſto, tamen nolunt dici Chriſtiani volentes nomen ſuum, hoc eſt,

Peruenium ad Etiliam vel Volgam.

Tartari volunt vocari Moal,

Moal

Moal exaltare ſuper omne nomen. Nec volunt vocari Tartari: Tartari enim fuerunt alia gens de quibus ſic dicitur.

Qualiter Sartach, & Mangucham & Kencham *faciunt reuerentiam Chriſtianis.*

Con ma.

TEmpore quo Franci ceperunt Antiochiam tenebat monarchiam in illis lateribus Aquilonis quidam qui vocabatur Concan, Con eſt proprium nomen: Can nomen dignitatis quod idem eſt qui diuinator. Omnes diuinatores vocant Can, Vnde principes dicuntur Can, quia penes eos ſpectat regimen populi per diuinationem. Vnde legitur in hiſtoria Antiochiæ, quod Turci miſerunt propter ſuccurſum contra Francos ad regnum Con can. De illis enim partibus venerunt omnes Turci. Iſte Con erat Cara-Catay. Cara idem eſt quod nigrum. Catai nomen gentis. Vndè Cara-Catay idem eſt quod nigri Catay, Et hoc dicitur ad differentiam ipſorum Catay qui erant in Oriente ſuper Oceanum de quibus poſtea dicam vobis. Iſti Catay erant in quibuſdam alpibus per quas tranſiui. Et in quadam planicie inter illas Alpes erat quidam Neſtorinus paſtor potens & dominus ſuper populum, qui dicebatur Yayman, qui erant Chriſtiani Neſtorini. Mortuo Con can eleuauit ſe ille Neſtorius in regem, & vocabant eum Neſtoriani Regem Iohannem: & plus dicebant de ipſo in decuplo quàm veritas eſſet. Ita enim faciunt Neſtoriani venientes de partibus illis. De nihilo enim faciunt magnos rumores. Vnde diſſeminauerunt de Sartach quod eſſet Chriſtianus, & de Mangu Can & Ken can: quia faciunt maiorem reuerentiam Chriſtianis, quàm alijs populis, & tamen in veritate Chriſtiani non ſunt. Sic ergo exiuit magna fama de illo Rege Iohanne. Et quando ego tranſiui per paſcua eius, nullus aliquid ſciebat de eo niſi Neſtoriani pauci. In paſcuis eius habitat Kencam, apud cuius curiam fuit frater Andreas: & ego etiam tranſiui per eam in reditu. Huic Iohanni erat frater quidam potens, paſtor ſimiliter, nomine Vut: & ipſe erat vltra Alpes ipſorum Caracatay, diſtans à fratre ſuo ſpacium trium hebdomadarum & erat dominus cuiuſdam Villulæ quæ dicitur Caracarum, populum habens ſub ſe, qui dicebantur Crit, Merkit, qui erant Chriſtiani Neſtorini. Sed ipſe dominus eorum dimiſſo cultu Chriſti, ſectabatur idola; habens ſacerdotes idolorum, qui omnes ſunt inuocatores dæmonum & ſortilegi. Vltra paſcua iſtius ad decem vel quindecem dietas erant paſcua Moal: qui erant pauperrimi homines ſine capitaneo & ſine lege, exceptis ſortilegijs & diuinationibus, quibus omnes in partibus illis intendunt. Et iuxta Moal erant alij pauperes, qui dicebantur Tartari. Rex Iohannes mortuus fuit ſine hærede, & ditatus eſt frater eius Vnc; & faciebat ſe vocari Can: & mittebantur armenta greges eius vſque ad terminos Moal. Tunc temporis Chingis faber quidam erat in populo Moal: & furabatur de animalibus Vnc can quod poterat: In tantum quod conqueſti ſunt paſtores Vut domino ſuo. Tunc congregauit exercitum & equitauit in terram Moal, quærens ipſum Cyngis. Et ille fugit inter Tartaros & latuit ibi. Tunc ipſe Vut accepta prædâ Moal & à Tartaris reuerſus eſt. Tunc ipſe Cyngis allocutus eſt Tartaros & ipſos Moal dicens, Quia ſine duce ſumus opprimunt nos vicini noſtri. Et fecerunt ipſum ducem & capitaneum Tartari & Moal. Tunc latenter congregato exercitu irruit ſuper ipſum Vut, & vicit ipſum, & ipſe fugit in Cathaiam. Ibi capta fuit filia eius, quam Cyngis dedit vni ex filijs in vxo-m, ex quo ipſa ſuſcepit iſtum qui nunc regnat Mangu. Tunc ipſe Cyngis premittebat vbique ipſos Tartaros: & inde exiuit nomen eorum, quia vbique clamabatur, Ecce Tartari veniunt. Sed per crebra bella modo omnes fere deleti ſunt. Vnde iſti Moal modo volunt extinguere illud nomen, & ſuum eleuare. Terra illa in qua primo fuerunt, & vbi eſt adhuc curia Cyngiſcan, vocatur Mancherule. Sed quia Tartari eſt regio circa quam fuit acquiſitio eorum, illam ciuitatem habent pro regali, & ibi prope eligunt ſuum Can.

Vnde venerunt Turci. Caracatay. Oceanus.

Vel Nayman.

Prebyter Iohannes.

Kencham vbi habitauit. Frater Andreas in Curia Kencham.

Vut can, vel Vnc. Caracarum Villula. Crit, & Merkit. Moal pauperrimi homines.

Tartarorum fedes.

Cyngis.

Mangu-can.

Mancherule.

De Rutenis

De Rutenis & Hungaris, & Alanis, & de mari Caſpio.

DE Sartach autem vtrum credit in Chriſtum vel non neſcio. Hoc ſcio quod Chriſtianus non vult dici. Immò magis videtur mihi deridere Chriſtianos. Ipſe enim eſt in itinere Chriſtianorum, ſcilicet Rutenorum, Blacorum, Bulgarorum minoris Bulgariæ, Soldainorum, Kerkiſorum, Alanorum: qui omnes tranſeunt per eum quum vadunt ad curiam patris ſui deferre ei munera, vnde magis amplectitur eos. Tamen ſi Saraceni veniant, & maius afferant, citiùs expediuntur. Habet etiam circa ſe Neſtorinos ſacerdotes, qui pulſant tabulam, & cantant officium ſuum.

Eſt alius qui dicitur Berta ſuper Baatu, qui paſcit verſus Portam ferream, vbi eſt iter Saracenorum omnium qui veniunt de Perſide & de Turchia, qui euntes ad Baatu, & tranſeuntes per eum, deferunt ei munera. Et ille facit ſe Saracenum, & non permittit in terra ſua comedi carnes porcinas. Baatu in reditu noſtro præceperat ei, quod transferret ſe de illo loco vltra Etiliam ad Orientem, nolens nuncios Saracenorum tranſire per eum, quia videbatur ſibi damnoſum. Berta vel Berca.

Quatuor autem diebus quibus fuimus in curia Sartach, nunquam prouiſum fuit nobis de cibo, niſi ſemel de modico coſmos. In via verò inter ipſum & patrem ſuum habuimus magnum timorem. Ruteni enim & Hungari, & Alani ſerui eorum, quorum eſt magna multitudo inter eos, aſſociant ſe viginti vel triginta ſimul, & fugiunt de nocte, habentes pharetras & arcus, & quemcunque inueniunt de nocte interficiunt, de die latitantes. Et quando ſunt equi eorum fatigati veniunt de nocte ad multitudinem equorum in paſcuis, & mutant equos, & vnum vel duos ducunt ſecum, vt comedant quum indiguerint. Occurſum ergo talium timebat multum Dux noſter. In illa via fuiſſemus mortui fame, ſi non portauiſſemus nobiſcum modicum de biſcocto.

Venimus tandem ad Etiliam maximum flumen. Eſt enim in quadruplo maius quàm Sequana, & profundiſſimum: Veniens de maiori Bulgaria, quæ eſt ad Aquilonem, tendens in quendam lacum, ſiue quoddam mare, quod modò vocant mare Sircan, à quadam ciuitate, quæ eſt iuxta ripam eius in Perſide. Sed Iſidorus vocat illud mare Caſpium. Habet enim montes Caſpios, & Perſidem à meridie: montes verò Muſihet, hoc eſt, Aſſaſſinorum ad Orientem, qui contiguantur cum montibus Caſpijs: Ad Aquilonem verò habet illam ſolitudinem, in qua modò ſunt Tartari. Prius verò erant ibi quidam qui dicebantur Cangiæ: Et ex illo latere recipit Etiliam, qui creſcit in æſtate ſicut Nilus Ægypti. Ad Occidentem verò habet montes Alanorum & Leſgi; & Portam ferream, & montes Georgianorum. Frater Andreas ipſe circumdedit duo latera eius, meridionale ſcilicet & Orientale. Ego verò alia duo; Aquilonare ſcilicet in eundo à Baatu ad Mangu cham, Occidentale verò in reuertendo de Baatu in Syriam. Quatuor menſibus poteſt circundari. Et non eſt verum quod dicit Iſidorus, quòd ſit ſinus exiens ab Oceano: nuſquam enim tangit Oceanum, ſed vndique circundatur terra. Exacta maris Caſpij deſcriptio. Cangiæ populi, vel Cangitæ. Frater Andreas. Reprehenditur Iſidori error de mari Caſpio.

De curia Baatu, & qualiter recepti fuerunt ab eo.

Oceanus Aquilonaris.

Iſidorus.

Oceanus Aquilonaris.

TOta illa regio à latere Occidentali iſtius maris, vbi ſunt Porta ferrea Alexandri, & montes Alanorum, vſq; ad Oceanum Aquilonarem & paludes Mæotidis vbi mergitur Tanais, ſolebat dici Albania: de qua dicit Iſidorus, quòd habet canes ita magnos, tantæque feritatis, vt tauros premant, leones perimant. Quod verũ eſt, prout intellexi à narrantibus, quod ibi verſus Oceanum Aquilonarem faciunt canes trahere in bigis ſicut boues propter magnitudinem & fortitudinem eorum. In illo ergo loco vbi nos applicuimus ſuper Etiliam eſt caſale nouum, quod fecerunt Tartari de Rutenis mixtim, qui tranſponunt nuncios euntes, & redeuntes ad curiam Baatu: quia Baatu eſt in vlteriori ripa verſus Orientem: nec tranſit illum locum vbi nos applicuimus aſcendendo in æſtate, ſed iam incipiebat deſcendere. De Ianuario enim vſque ad Auguſtum aſcendit ipſe, & omnes alij verſus frigidas regiones, & in Auguſto incipiunt redire. Deſcendimus ergo in naui ab illo caſali vſque ad curiam eius. Et ab illo loco vſque ad villas maioris Bulgarię verſus Aquilonem, ſunt quinque dietæ. Et miror quis Diabolus portauit illuc legem Machometi. A Porta enim ferrea, quæ eſt exitus Perſidis, ſunt pluſquam triginta dietæ per tranſuerſum, ſolitudinem aſcendendo iuxta Etiliam vſque in illam Bulgariam, vbi nulla eſt ciuitas, niſi quædam caſalia propè vbi cadit Etilia in mare. Et illi Bulgari ſunt peſſimi Saraceni, fortius tenentes legem Machometi, quàm aliqui alij. Quum ergo vidi curiam Baatu, expaui; quia videbantur propè domus eius, quaſi quædam magna ciuitas protenſa in lõgum, & populus vndiq; circumfuſus, vſq; ad tres vel quatuor leucas. Et ſicut populus Iſrael ſciebat vnuſquiſq; ad quam regionem tabernaculi deberet figere tentoria: ita ipſi ſciunt ad quod latus curiæ debeant ſe collocare, quando ipſi deponunt domus. Vnde dicitur curia Orda lingua eorum, quod ſonat medium, quia ſemper eſt in medio hominum ſuorum: hoc excepto, quod rectà ad meridiem nullus ſe collocat, quia ad partem illam aperiuntur portæ Curiæ: Sed à dextris & à ſiniſtris extendunt ſe quantum volunt ſecundum exigentiam locorum: dummodo rectè ante curiam, vel ex oppoſito curiæ non deſcendunt. Fuimus ergo ducti ad quendam Saracenum, qui non prouidebat nobis de aliquo cibo: ſequenti die fuimus ad curiam, & fecerat extendi magnum tentorium, quia domus non potuiſſet capere tot homines & mulieres, quos conuenerant. Monuit nos ductor noſter vt non loqueremur, donec Baatu præciperet: & tunc loqueremur breuiter. Quæſiuit etiam vtrum miſiſſetis nuncios ad eos. Dixi qualiter miſeratis ad Kencham, & quod nec ad ipſum miſiſſetis nuncios, nec ad Sartach literas, niſi credidiſſetis eos fuiſſe Chriſtianos: quia non pro timore aliquo, ſed ex congratulatione, quia audiueratis eos eſſe Chriſtianos, miſiſtis. Tunc duxit nos ad papilionem: & monebamur, ne tangeremus cordas tentorij, quas ipſi reputant loco liminis domus. Stetimus ibi nudis pedibus in habitu noſtro diſcoopertis capitibus, & eramus ſpectaculum magnum in oculis eorum. Fuerat enim ibi frater Iohannes de Plano carpini, ſed ipſe mutauerat habitum ne contemneretur; quia erat nuncius Domini Papæ. Tunc inducti fuimus vſque ad medium tentorij, nec requiſiuerunt vt faceremus aliquam reuerentiam genua flectendo, ſicut ſolent facere nuncij. Stetimus ergo coram eo quantum poſſit dici, Miſerere mei Deus: & omnes erant in ſummo ſilentio. Ipſe verò ſuper ſolium longum ſedebat & latum ſicut lectus, totum deauratum, ad quod aſcendebatur tribus gradibus, & vna domina iuxta eum. Viri vero diffuſi ſedebant à dextris dominæ & à ſiniſtris: quod non implebant mulieres ex parte vna, quia erant ibi ſolæ vxores Baatu, implebant viri. Bancus verò cum coſmos & ciphis maximis aureis & argenteis, ornatis lapidibus prætioſis erat in introitu tentorij. Reſpexit ergo nos diligentius, & nos eum: & videbatur mihi ſimilis in ſtatura Domino Iohanni de Bello monte cuius anima requieſcit in pace. Erat etiam vultus eius tunc perfuſus gutta roſea. Tandem præcepit vt loquerer. Tunc ductor noſter præcepit vt flecteremus genua, & loqueremur. Flexi vnum genu tanquam homini: tunc innuit quod ambo flecterem, quod & feci, nolens contendere ſuper hoc. Tunc præcepit quod loquerer. Et ego cogitans quod orarem Dominum, quia flexeram ambo genua, Incepi verba oratione, dicens: Domine, nos oramus Dominum, à quo bona cuncta procedunt, qui dedit vobis iſta terrena, vt det vobis poſt hęc cœleſtia: quia hæc ſine illis vana ſunt. Et ipſe diligenter auſcultauit, & ſubiunxi: Noueritis pro certo quòd cœleſtia non habebitis, niſi fueritis Chriſtianus. Dicit enim Deus, Qui crediderit & baptizatus fuerit, ſaluus erit: qui vero non crediderit, condemnabitur. Ad illud verbum ipſe modeſtè ſubriſit, & alij Moal inceperunt plaudere manus deridendo nos. Et obſtupuit interpres meus, quem oportuit me confortare ne timerem. Tunc facto ſilentio, dixi: Ego veni ad filium veſtrum, quia audiuimus quòd eſſet Chriſtianus, & attuli ei literas ex parte Domini Regis Francorum: ipſe miſit me huc ad vos. Vos debetis ſcire

Deſcendit naui per flumen Volgo.

Nota.

30 dietę à Porta ferrea.

Aſtracan.

Deſcriptio curiæ Baatu.

Horda ſonat medium.

Miſit rex Francię ad Kencham nuncios.

Iohannes de Plano carpini.

Literæ Regis Francorum.

ſcire qua de cauſa. Tunc fecit me ſurgere. Et quæſiuit nomen veſtrum, & meum, & ſocij mei, & interpretis, & fecit omnia ſcribi. Quæſiuit etiam, quia intellexerat quod exiera-tis terram veſtram cum exercitu vt haberetis bellum. Reſpondi, Contra Saracenos vio-lantes domum Dei Hieruſalem. Quæſiuit etiam ſi vnquam miſiſſetis nuncios ad e-um. Ad vos dixi nunquam. Tunc fecit nos ſedere, & dari de lacte ſuo ad bibendum, quod ipſi valdè magnum reputant, quando aliquis bibit coſmos cum eo in domo ſua. Et dum ſedens reſpicerem terram, præcepit vt eleuarem vultum, volens adhuc nos am-plius reſpicere, vel fortè pro ſortilegio: quia habent pro malo omine vel ſigno, vel pro mala Prognoſtica, quando aliquis ſedet coram eis inclinata facie quaſi triſtis, maxi-mè ſi quis appodiat maxillam, vel mentum ſuper manum. Tunc exiuimus, & poſt pau-ca, venit Ductor noſter ad nos, & ducens nos ad hoſpitium, dixit mihi, Dominus Rex rogat, quod retinearis in terra iſta: & hoc non poteſt Baatu facere ſine conſcientia Man-gu cham. Vnde oportet quod tu & interpres tuus eatis ad Mangu cham. Socius verò tuus & alius homo reuertentur ad curiam Sartach ibi expectantes donec reuertatis. Tunc incepit homo DEI Interpres lugere reputans ſe perditum: Socius etiam meus conte-ſtari, quod citius amputarent ei caput, quam quod diuideretur à me. Et ego dixi, quod ſine ſocio non poſſem ire: Et etiam quod benè indigebamus duobus famulis, quia ſi con-tingeret vnum infirmari, non poſſem ſolus remanere. Tunc ipſe reuerſus ad curiam dix-it verba Baatu. Tunc præcepit: vadant duo ſacerdotes & interpres: & Clericus reuerta-tur ad Sartach. Ille reuerſus dixit nobis ſummam. Et quando volebam loqui pro Cleri-co, quod iret nobiſcum, dixit, Non loquamini amplius, quia Baatu definiuit, & eo am-plius non audeo redire ad curiam. De eleemoſyna habebat Goſet clericus viginti ſex ipper-pera, & non plus: quorum decem retinuit ſibi & puero: & ſexdecem dedit homini Dei pro no-bis, Et ſic diuiſi ſumus cum lachrimis ab inuicem: Illo redeunte ad curiam Sartach, & nobis ibi remanentibus.

De itinere fratrum verſus curiam Mangu cham.

IN Vigilia Aſſumptionis peruenit ipſe clericus ad Curiam Sartach: & in craſtino fue-runt Sacerdotes Neſtorini induti veſtimentis noſtris coram Sartach. Tunc ducti ſui-mus ad alium hoſpitem, qui debebat nobis prouidere de domo & cibo & equis. Sed quia non habuimus quod daremus ei, omnia malè faciebat. Et bigauimus cum Baatu deſcendendo iuxta Etiliam quinque ſeptimanas. Aliquando habuit ſocius meus tan-tam famem, quod dicebat mihi quaſi lachrymando: videbatur mihi quod nunquam comederim. Forum ſequitur ſemper Curiam Baatu. Sed illud erat tam longè à nobis, quod non poteramus ire. Oportebat enim nos ire pedibus pro defectu equorum. Tan-dem inuenerunt nos quidam Hungari, qui fuerant Clericuli, quorum vnus ſciebat ad-huc cantare multa corde, & habebatur ab alijs Hungaris quaſi Sacerdos, & vocabatur ad exequias ſuorum defunctorum: Et alius fuerat competenter inſtructus in Grammatica: qui intelligebat quicquid dicebamus ei literaliter, ſed neſciebat reſpondere: qui fecerunt nobis magnam conſolationem, afferentes coſmos ad bibendum, & carnes aliquando ad comedendum: qui quum poſtulaſſent à nobis aliquos libros, & non haberem quos poſ-ſem dare, nullos enim habebam, niſi Biblium & breuiarium, dolui multum. Tunc dixi eis, afferte nobis chartas, & ego ſcribam vobis, quamdiu erimus hîc: quod & fecerunt. Et ſcripſi vtraſque horas Beatæ Virginis & officium defunctorum. Quodam die iunxit ſe nobis quidam Comanus, ſalutans nos verbis latinis, dicens, Saluete Domini. Ego mi-rans, ipſo reſalutato, quæſiui ab eo, quis eum docuerat illam ſalutationem. Et ipſe dixit quod in Hungaria fuit baptizatus à fratribus noſtris qui docuerant illum eam. Dixit etiam quod Baatu quæſiuerat ab eo multa de nobis, & quod ipſe dixerat ei conditiones ordinis noſtri. Ego vidi Baatu equitantem cum turba ſua, & omnes patres familias equitantes cum eo, ſecundùm æſtimationem meam non erant quingenti viri. Tandem circa finem exal-tationis ſanctæ crucis venit ad nos quidam diues Moal, cuius pater erat millenarius, quod magnum eſt inter eos, dicens, Ego vos debeo ducere ad Mangu cham, & eſt iter quatuor menſium: & tantum frigus eſt ibi, quod finduntur ibi lapides & arbores pro frigore: Videatis vtrum poteritis ſuſtinere. Cui reſpondi: Spero in virtute Dei, quod nos ſuſtinebimus, quod a-lij homines poſſunt ſuſtinere. Tunc dixit: Si non poteritis ſuſtinere, ego relinquam vos in via. Cui reſpondi, hoc non eſſet iuſtum: quia non iuimus pro nobis, niſi miſſi à Domino veſtro: Vnde ex quo vobis committimur, non debetis nos dimittere. Tunc dixit, benè erit. Poſt

Quinque ſeptimanas iuxta Etiliam deſcendébant.

Quidam Hungari.

Comanus.

Iter quatuor menſium à Volga.

Frigus frigus.

hoc fecit nos oſtendere ſibi omnes veſtes noſtras, & quod ſibi videbatur minus neceſſarium fecit deponere ſub cuſtodia hoſpitis noſtri. In craſtino attulerunt cuilibet noſtrum vnam pelliceam villoſam arietinam & braccas de eadem, & botas ſiue bucellos ſecundùm morem eorum cum ſoccis de filtro; & almucias de pellibus ſecundùm modum eorum. Et ſecunda die poſt exaltationem Sanctæ crucis incepimus equitare nos tres habentes ſignarios: & equitauimus continuè verſus Orientem vſque ad feſtum Omnium Sanctorum, per totam illam terram, & adhuc amplius habitabant Cangle, quædam parentela Romanorum. Ad Aquilonem habebamus maiorem Bulgariam, & ad meridiem prædictum mare Caſpium.

14. Septemb.

Cangle populi. Maior Bulgaria.

De flumine Iagag, & de diuerſis regionibus ſiue *nationibus.*

POſtquam iueramus duodecim diebus ab Etilia inuenimus magnum flumen, quod vocant Iagag: & venit ab Aquilone de terra Paſcatir deſcendens in prædictum mare, Idioma Paſcatir & Hungarorum idem eſt: & ſunt paſtores ſine ciuitate aliqua. Et contiguatur maiori Bulgariæ ab Occidente, Ab illa terra verſus Orientem in latere illo Aquilonari non eſt amplius aliqua ciuitas. Vnde Bulgaria maior eſt vltima regio habens ciuitatem. De illa regione Paſcatir exierunt Huni, qui poſteà dicti ſunt Hungari. Vnde ipſa eſt maior Bulgaria. Et dicit Iſidorus, quòd pernicibus equis clauſtra Alexandri rupibus Caucaſi feras gentes cohibentia tranſierunt: ita quod vſque in Ægyptum ſoluebatur eis tributum. Deſtruxerunt etiam omnes terras vſque in Franciam, Vnde fuerunt maioris potentiæ, quàm ſunt adhuc Tartari. Cum illis occurrerunt Blaci & Bulgari & Vandali. De illa enim maiori Bulgaria venerunt illi Bulgari: Et qui ſunt vltra Danubium propè Conſtantinopolin, & iuxta Paſcatir ſunt Ilac, quod idem eſt quod Blac: ſed B. neſciunt Tartari ſonare: à quibus venerunt illi qui ſunt in terra Aſſani. Vtroſque enim vocant Ilac, & hos & illos lingua Rutenorum & Polonorum, & Boëmorum. Sclauorum eſt idem idioma cum lingua Vandalorum, quorum omnium manus fuit cum Hunis: & nunc pro maiori parte eſt cum Tartaris quos Deus ſuſcitauit à remotioribus partibus, populum multum, & gentem ſtultam, ſecundùm quod dicit Dominus, Prouocabo eos, id eſt, non cuſtodientes Legem ſuam, in eo qui non eſt populus, & in gente ſtulta irritabo eos: Hoc completur ad literam ſuper omnes nationes non cuſtodientes Legem Dei. Hoc quod dixi de terra Paſcatir ſcio per fratres Prædicatores, ‖ qui iuerunt illuc ante aduentum Tartarorum. Et ex tunc erant ipſi ſubiugati à vicinis Bulgaris Saracenis, & plures eorum facti Saraceni. Alia poſſunt ſciri per Chronica: quia conſtat quod illæ prouinciæ poſt Conſtantinopolim, quæ modo dicuntur Bulgaria, Valachia, Sclauonia, fuerunt prouinciæ Græcorum. Hungaria fuit Pannonia. Equitauimus ergo per terram Cangle à feſto Sanctæ crucis vſque ad feſtum Omnium Sanctorum, quolibet die ferè quantum eſt à Pariſijs vſque Aurelianum, ſecundùm quod poſſum eſtimare, & plus aliquando: ſecundùm quod habebamus copiam equorum. Aliquando enim mutabamus bis in die vel ter equos. Aliquando ibamus duobus diebus vel tribus, quibus non inueniebamus populum, & oportebat leuius ire. De viginti vel triginta equis nos ſemper habebamus peiores, quia extranei eramus. Omnes enim accipiebant ante nos equos meliores. Mihi ſemper protidebant de forti equo, quia eram ponderoſus valdè: ſed vtrum ſuauiter ambularet vel non, de hoc non auderem facere quæſtionem. Nec etiam audebam conqueri, ſi durè portaret. Sed fortunam ſuam oportebat vnumquemque ſuſtinere. Vnde oriebatur nobis difficillimus labor: quia multoties fatigabantur equi, antequam poſſemus peruenire ad populum. Et tunc oportebat nos percutere & flagellare equos, ponere etiam veſtes ſuper alios ſaginarios, mutare equos ſaginarios; aliquando nos duos ire in vno equo.

Iagag flumen 12. dietis à Volga.

Paſcatir terra, vel Baſtirdorum terra vel Zibier.

Hungari à Paſcatir exiuntes.

Nota.

Deut. 32. 21.

‖ Qui fuerunt iſti fratres?

Cangle planicies ingens.

De fame & ſiti, & alijs miſerijs quas ſuſtinuerunt *in itinere.*

DE fame & ſiti, frigore & fatigatione non eſt numerus. Non enim dant cibum niſi in ſero. In mane dant aliquid bibere, vel ſorbere milium. In ſero dabant nobis carnes, ſcapulam arietis cum coſtis & de brodio ad menſuram bibere. Quando habebamus de brodio carnium ad ſatietatem optimè reficiebamur. Et videbatur mihi ſuauiſſimus potus & maximè

maximè nutriens. Feria ſexta permanebam ieiunus vſq; ad noctem, nihil hauriens. Tunc oportebat me in triſtitia & dolore comedere carnes. Aliquando oportebat nos comedere carnes ſemicoctas vel ferè crudas propter defectum materiæ ignis, quando iacebamus in campis & de nocte deſcendebamus: quia tunc non poteramus benè colligere ſtercora equorum vel bouum: aliam materiam ignis raro inueniebamus; niſi fortè alicubi aliquas ſpinas. In ripis etiam aliquorum fluminum ſunt alicubi ſyluæ. Sed hoc raro. In principio deſpiciebat nos multum Ductor noſter, & faſtidiebat eum ducere tam viles homines. Poſtea tamen quando incepit nos melius cognoſcere, ducebat nos per curias diuitum Moallorum: & oportebat nos orare pro ipſis. Vnde ſi habuiſſem bonum interpretem, habebam opportunitatem ſeminandi multa bona. Ille Chingis primus Cham habuit quatuor filios, de quibus egreſſi ſunt multi, qui omnes habent modo magnas curias: & quotidiè multiplicantur & diffunduntur per illam Vaſtam ſolitudinem, quæ eſt ſicut mare. Per multos ergò illorum ducebat nos Ductor noſter. Et mirabantur ſupra modum, quia nolebamus recipere aurum, vel argentum, vel veſtes præcioſas. Quærebant etiam de magno Papa, ſi eſſet ita ſenex ſicut audierant: audierant enim quod eſſet quingentorum annorum. Quærebant de terris noſtris ſi ibi eſſent multæ oues, & boues, & equi. De Oceano mari non potuerunt intelligere, quod eſſet ſine termino vel fine ripa. In vigilia omnium Sanctorum dimiſimus viam in Orientem, ‖ quia iam populus deſcenderat multum verſus meridiem: Et direximus iter per quaſdam Alpes rectè in meridiem continuè per octo dies. In illa ſolitudine vidi multos aſinos, quos vocant Colan, qui magis aſſimulantur mulis: quos multum profequuti ſunt Dux noſter & ſocij eius, ſed nihil profecerunt propter nimiam velocitatem eorum. Septima die inceperunt nobis apparere ad meridiem montes altiſſimi: & intrauimus planiciem, quæ irrigabatur ſicut hortus, & inuenimus terras cultas. In octauis omnium Sanctorum intrauimus villam quandam Saracenorum nomine Kenchat: cuius capiraneus occurrebat extra villam duci noſtro cum ceruiſia & ciphis. Hic eſt enim mos eorum; quod de omnibus villis ſubditis eis, occurratur nuncijs Baatu, & Mangu cham cum cibo & potu. Tunc temporis ibant ibi ſuper glaciem. Et prius à feſto Sancti Michaelis habueramus gelu in ſolitudine. Quæſiui de nomine Prouinciæ illius: ſed quia iam eramus in alio territorio neſcierunt mihi dicere, niſi à nomine ciuitatis, quæ erat valdè parua. Et deſcendebat magnus fluuius de montibus, qui irrigabat totam regionem, ſecundùm quod volebant aquam ducere: nec deſcendebat in aliquod mare, ſed abſorbebatur à terra: & faciebat etiam multas paludes. Ibi vidi vites, & bibi bis de vino.

Vaſta ſolitudo.

‖Nota diligenter.

Iter verſus meridiem octo dierum.

Aſini velociſſimi.

Montes altiſſimi.

Terræ cultæ.

Kenchat villa Saracenorum.

Septimo die Nouembris ibant ſuper glaciem.

Ciuitas valdè parua.

Magnus fluuius.

Multæ paludes.

Vites.

De interfectione Ban & habitatione Teutonicorum.

SEquenti die venimus ad aliud caſale propinquius montibus. Et quæſiui de montibus, de quibus intellexi, quòd eſſent montes Caucaſi: qui contiguantur ex vtraque parte maris ab Occidente vſque ad Orientem: & quod tranſiueramus mare ſupradictum, quod intrat Etilia. Quæſiui etiam de Talas ciuitate, in qua erant Teutonici ſerui Buri, de quibus dixerat frater Andreas, de quibus etiam quæſieram multum in curia Sartach & Baatu. Sed nihil potui intelligere, niſi quod Ban dominus eorum fuerat interfectus tali occaſione, Ipſe non erat in bonis paſcuis. Et quadam die dum eſſet ebrius, loquebatur ita cum hominibus ſuis, Nonne ſum de genere Chingis can ſicut Baatus (Et ipſe erat nepos Baatu vel frater) quare non vadam ſuper ripam Etiliæ, ſicut Baatu, vt paſcam ibi? Quæ verba relata fuerunt Baatu. Tunc ipſe Baatu ſcripſit hominibus illius, vt adducerent ei dominum ipſorum vinctum: quod & fecerunt. Tunc Baatu quæſiuit ab eo ſi dixiſſet tale verbum: & ipſe confeſſus eſt, tamen excuſauit ſe, quia ebrius erat: (quia ſolent condonare ebrijs:) & Baatu reſpondit: Quomodo audebas me nominare in ebrietate tua? Et fecit ei amputari caput. De illis Teutonicis nihil potui cognoſcere vſque ad curiam Mangu. Sed in ſupradicto caſali intellexi, quod Talas erat poſt nos iuxta mõtes per ſex dietas. Quando veni ad curiam Mangu cham, intellexi quod ipſe Mangu tranſtulerat eos de licentia Baatu verſus Orientem ſpacio itineris vnius menſis à Talas ad quandam villam quæ dicitur Bolac: vbi fodiunt aurum, & fabricant arma. Vnde non potui ire nec redire per eos. Tranſiui eundo ſatis prope, per tres dietas fortè, ciuitatem illam: ſed ego ignoraui: nec potuiſſem etiam declinaſſe extra viam, ſi benè ſciuiſſem. A prædicto caſali iuimus ad Orientem iuxta montes prædictos: & ex tunc intrauimus inter homines Mangu cham, qui vbique cantabant & plaudebant coram ductore noſtro: quia ipſe erat nuncius Baatu. Hunc enim honorem exhibent ſibi mutuo, vt homines Mangu cham recipiant nuncios Baatu

Caſale.

Montes Caucaſi contiguantur mari Orientali.

Talas, vel Chinitalas ciuitas.

Frater Andreas.

Caſale.

Bolac villa. Auri fodinæ.

Intrat ditionem Mangu cham.

Alpes in quibus habitabant Caracatay.

Stagnus fluuius.

Terra culta. Equus vilis bona.

Longiſſimè à Perſide.

Lacus quindecim dierum circuitu.

Cailac magna villa & plena mercatoribus.

Cathaimanni.

prædicto modo: Et ſimiliter homines Baatu nuncios Mangu. Tamen homines Baatu ſuperiores ſunt, nec exequuntur ita diligenter. Paucis diebus poſt hoc intrauimus Alpes, in quibus ſolebant habitare Cara catay: & inuenimus ibi magnum fluuium, quem oportuit nos tranſire nauigio. Poſt hæc intrauimus quandam vallem, vbi vidi caſtrum quoddam deſtructum, cuius muri non erant niſi de luto, & terra colebatur ibi. Et pòſt inuenimus quandam bonam villam quæ dicitur Equius, in qua erant Saraceni loquentes Perſicum: longiſſimè tamen erant à Perſide. Sequenti die tranſgreſſis illis Alpibus quæ deſcendebant à magnis montibus ad meridiem, ingreſſi ſumus pulcherrimam planiciem habentem montes altos à dextris, & quoddam mare à ſiniſtris, ſiue quendam lacum qui durat quindecem dietas in circuitu. Et illa planicies tota irrigabatur ad libitum aquis deſcendentibus de montibus, quæ omnes recipiuntur in illud mare. In æſtate rediuimus ad latus Aquilonare illius maris, vbi ſimiliter erant magni montes. In planicie prædicta ſolebant eſſe multæ villæ: ſed pro maiori parte omnes erant deſtructæ, vt paſcerent ibi Tartari: quia optima paſcua erant ibi. Vnam magnam villam inuenimus ibi nomine Cailac, in qua erat forum, & frequentabant eam multi mercatores. In illa quieuimus quindecem diebus, expectantes quendam ſcriptorem Baatu, qui debebat eſſe ſocius noſtri in negotijs expediendis in curia Mangu. Terra illa ſolebat dici Organum: & colebant habere proprium idioma, & propriam literam: Sed hæc tota erat occupata à Contomannis. Etiam in literatura illa & idiomate ſolebant facere Neſtorini de partibus illis. Dicuntur Organa, quia ſolebant eſſe optimi Organiſtæ vel Cithariſtæ, vt dicebatur mihi. Ibi primo vidi Idolatrias, de quibus noueritis, quod ſunt multæ ſectæ in Oriente.

Quod Neſtorini et Saraceni ſunt mixti & Idolatrę.

Iugures populi, Idolatræ.

Cailac.

PRimi ſunt Iugures, quorum terra contiguatur cum terra prædicta Organum inter montes illos verſus Orientem: Et in omnibus ciuitatibus eorum ſunt mixti Neſtorini & Saraceni. Et ipſi etiã ſunt diffuſi verſus Perſidem in ciuitatibus Saracenorum. In prędicta ciuitate Cealac habebant etiam ipſi tres Idolatrias, quarum duas intraui, vt viderem ſtultitias eorum. In prima inueni quendam, qui habebat cruciculam de atramento ſuper manum ſuam. Vnde credidi quod eſſet Chriſtianus: quia ad omnia quæ quærebam ab eo, reſpondebat vt Chriſtianus. Vnde quæſiui ab eo: Quare ergo non habetis crucem & imaginem Ieſu Chriſti? Et ipſe reſpondit, non habemus conſuetudinem. vnde ego credidi quod eſſent Chriſtiani: ſed ex defectu doctrinę omitterent. Videbam enim ibi poſt quandam ciſtam, quæ erat eis loco altaris, ſuper quam ponunt lucernas & oblationes, quandam imaginationem habentem alas quaſi Sancti Michaelis: & alias quaſi ipſorum tenentes digitos ſicut ad benedicendum. Illo ſero non potui aliud inuenire. Quia Saraceni in tantũ inuitant eos, quod nec etiam volunt loqui inde eis. Vnde quando quærebam a Sararcenis dertu talium, ipſi ſcandalizabantur. In craſtino fuerunt kalendæ & paſcha Saracenorum & mutaui hoſpitium: ita quod fui hoſpitatus prope aliam Idolatriam. Homines enim colligunt nuncios, quilibet ſecundum poſſe ſuum vel portionem ſuam. Tunc intrans Idolatriam prædictam inueni ſacerdotes Idolorum. In kalendis enim aperiunt templa ſua, & ornant ſe ſacerdotes, & offerunt populi oblationes de pane & fructibus. Primò ergo deſcribo vobis ritus communes omnes Idolatrarum: & poſtea iſtorum Iugurum; qui ſunt quaſi ſecta diuiſa ab alijs. Omnes adorant ad Aquilonem complosis manibus: & proſternentes ſe genibus flexis ad terram, ponentes frontem ſuper manus. Vnde Neſtorini in partibus illis nullo modo iungunt manus orando: ſed orant extenſis palmis ante pectus. Porrigunt templa ſua ab Oriente in Occidentem: & in latere Aquilonari faciunt cameram vnam quaſi eorũ exeuntem: vel aliter, Si eſt domus quadrata, in medio domus ad latus aquilonare intercludunt vnam cameram in loco chori. Ibi ergo collocant vnam arcam longam & latam ſicut menſam vnam. Et poſt illam arcam contra meridiem collocant principale idolum: quod ego vidi apud Cara[illegible]arum, ita magnum ſicut pingitur Sanctus Chriſtopherus. Et dixit mihi quidam ſacerdos Neſtorinus, qui venerat ex Cataya, quod in terra illa eſt Idolum ita magnum, quod poteſt videri à duabus dietis. Et collocant alia idola in circuitu, omnia pulcherrime deaurata: Super ciſtam illam, quæ eſt quaſi menſa vna, ponunt lucernas & oblationes. Omnes portæ templorum ſunt apertæ ad meridiem contrario modo Saracenis. Item habent campa[illegible]as magnas ſicut nos. Ideo credo quod orientales Chriſtiani noluerunt habere eas. Ruteni [illegible]habent & Græci in Gaſaria.

Iugures ſecta diuiſa ab alijs Idolatris.

fuit apud Caracarum fratres Wilhelmus,

De

De templis eorum & idolis, & qualiter ſe habent *in officio deorum ſuorum.*

OMnes ſacerdotes eorum raſum habent totum caput & barbam; ſunt veſtiti de croceo, & ſeruant caſtitatem, ex quo radunt caput: Et viuunt pariter centum vel ducenti in vna congregatione. Diebus quibus intrant templum, ponunt duo ſcamna, & ſedent è regione chorus contra chorum habentes libros in manibus, quos aliquando deponunt ſuper illa ſcamna: & habent capita diſcooperta quãdiu inſunt in tẽplo, legentes in ſilentio, & tenentes ſilencium. Vnde cùm ingreſſus fuiſſem apud Oratorium quoddam eorum, vt inuiſtigarem eos ita ſedentes, multis modis tentaui eos prouocare ad verba, & nullo modo potui. Habent etiam quocunque vadunt quendam reſtem centum vel ducentorum nucleorum, ſicut nos portamus patr noſter: Et dicunt ſemper hæc verba: *Ou mam Hallaus*: hoc eſt, Deus tu noſti; ſecundum quod quidem eorum interpretatus eſt mihi. Et toties expectant remunerationem à Deo, quoties hoc dicendo memoratur Dei. Circa templum ſuum ſemper faciunt pulchrum atrium, quod bene includunt muro: & ad meridiem faciunt portam magnam, in qua ſedent ad colloquendum, Et ſuper illam portam erigunt perticam longam, quæ emineat ſi poſſint, ſuper totam villam. Et per illam perticam poteſt cognoſci, quod domus illa ſit templum Idolorum. Illa communia ſunt omnibus Idolatris. Quando ergo ingreſſus fui prædictam Idolatriam, inueni ſacerdotes ſedentes ſub porta exteriori. Illi quos vidi, videbantur mihi fratres Franci eſſe raſis barbis, Tyaras habebant in capitibus cartaceas. Iſtorum lugurum ſacerdotes habent talem habitum quocunque vadunt: ſemper ſunt in tunicis croceis ſatis ſtrictis accincti deſuper recte ſicut Franci: & habent pallium ſuper humerum ſiniſtrum deſcendens inuolutũ per pectus & dorſum ad latus dextrum ſicut diaconus portans caſulam in quadrageſima. Iſtorum literas acceperunt Tartari. Ipſi incipiunt ſcribere ſurſum, & ducunt lineam deorſum, & eodem modo ipſi legunt & multiplicant lineas a ſiniſtra ad dextram. Iſti multum vtuntur cartis & caracteribus pro ſortilegio. Vnde templa ſua plena ſunt breuibus ſuſpenſis. Et Mangu-cham mittit vobis literas in idiomate Moal & literatura eorum. Iſti comburunt mortuos ſuos ſecundum antiquum modum, & recondunt puluerem in ſummitate pyramidis. Cum ergo ſediſſem iuxta prædictos ſacerdotes poſtquam ingreſſus fueram templum & vidiſſem idola eorum multa magna & parua: quæſiui ab eis, quid ipſi crederent de Deo. Qui reſponderunt, Non credimus niſi vnum Deum. Et ego quæſiui. Creditis quod ipſe ſit ſpiritus vel aliquid corporale? Dixerunt, credimus quod ſit ſpiritus. Et ego: Creditis quod nunquam ſumpſerit humanam naturam? Dixerunt, minime. Tunc ego: ex quo creditis, quod non ſit niſi vnus ſpiritus, quare facitis ei imagines corporales, & tot inſuper? Et ex quo non creditis quod factus ſit homo, quare facitis ei magis imagines hominum, quàm alterius animalis? Tunc reſponderunt, Nos non figuramus iſtas imagines Deo. Sed quando aliquis diues moritur ex noſtris, vel filius, vel vxor, vel aliquis charus eius facit fieri imaginem defuncti, & ponit eam hic: & nos veneramur eam ad memoriam eius. Quibus ego, Tunc ergo non facitis iſta niſi propter adulationem hominum. Immo dixerunt ad memoriam. Tunc quæſiuerunt à me quaſi deridendo: vbi eſt Deus? Quibus ego. Vbi eſt anima veſtra? Dixerunt, in corpore noſtro. Quibus ego. Nonne eſt vbique in corpore tuo & totum regit, & tamen non videtur? Ita Deus vbique eſt, & omnia gubernat, inuiſibilis tamen, quia intellectus & ſapientia eſt. Tunc cum vellem plura ratiocinari cum illis, interpres meus fatigatus, non valens verba exprimere, fecit me tacere. Iſtorum ſectę ſunt Moal ſiue Tartari, quantum ad hoc, quod ipſi non credunt niſi vnum Deum: tamen faciunt de filtro imagines defunctorum ſuorum, & induunt eas quinque pannis preciociſſimis, & ponunt in vna biga vel duabus, & illas bigas nullus audet tangere: & ſunt ſub cuſtodia diuinatorum ſuorum, qui ſunt eorum ſacerdotes, de quibus poſtea narrabo vobis. Iſti diuinatores ſemper ſunt ante curiam ipſius Mangu & aliorũ diuitum: pauperes enim non habent eos; niſi illi qui ſunt de genere Chingis. Et cum debent bigare, ipſi præcedunt, ſicut columna nubis filios Iſrael, & ipſi conſiderant locum metandi caſtra, & poſt deponunt domos ſuas; & poſt eos tota curia. Et tunc cum ſit dies feſtus ſiue kalendæ ipſi extrahunt prædictas imagines & ponunt eas ordinate per circuitum in domo ſua. Tunc veniunt Moal & ingrediuntur domum illam, & inclinant ſe imaginibus illis & venerantur illas. Et illam domum nemini ingredi extraneo licet: Quadam enim vice volui ingredi & multum durè increpatus fui.

Tyarę cartacea.

Chinenſes ita ſcribunt ſcribunt.

Sortilegi.

Bombuſtio mortuorum.

De

De diuerſis nationibus, & de illis qui comedere *ſolebant parentes ſuos.*

PRædicti vero Iugures, qui ſunt mixti cum Chriſtianis & Saracenis, per frequentes diſputationes, vt credo, peruenerunt ad hoc, quod non credunt niſi vnum deum. Et iſti fuerunt habitantes in ciuitatibus, qui poſt obediuerunt Chingis Cham: vnde ipſe dedit regi eorum filiam ſuam. Et ipſa Caracarum eſt quaſi in territorio eorum: Et tota terra regis ſiue preſbyteri Iohannis & Vut fratris eius circa terras eorum: Sed iſti in paſcuis ad aquilonem, illi Iugures inter montes ad meridiem. Inde eſt quod ipſi Moal ſumpſerunt literas eorum. Et ipſi ſunt magni ſcriptores eorum: & omnes fere Neſtorini ſciunt literas eorum. Poſt iſtos ſunt ipſi Tangut ad orientem inter montes illos, homines fortiſſimi, qui ceperunt Chingis in bello. Et pace facta dimiſſus ab eis, poſtea ſubiugauit eos. Iſti habent boues fortiſſimos habentes caudas plenas pilis ſicut equi, & ventres piloſos & dorſa. Baſſiores ſunt alijs bobus in tibijs, ſed ferociores multum. Iſti trahunt magnas domos Moallorum: & habent cornua gracilia, longa, acuoſa, acutiſſima: ita quod oportet ſemper ſecare ſummitates eorum. Vacca non permittit ſe iniungi niſi cantetur ei. Habent etiam naturam bubali quia ſi vident hominem indutum rubeis, inſiliunt in eum volentes interficere. Poſt illos ſunt Tebet homines ſolentes comedere parentes ſuos defunctos, vt cauſa pietatis non facerent aliud ſepulchrum eis niſi viſcera ſua. Modo tamen hoc dimiſerunt, quia abominabiles erant omni nationi. Tamen adhuc faciunt pulchros ciphos de capitibus parentum, vt illis bibentes habeant memoriam eorum in iocunditate ſua. Hoc dixit mihi qui viderat. Iſti habent multum de auro in terra ſua. Vnde qui indiget auro, fodit donec reperiat, & accipiat quando indiget, reſiduum condens in terra: quia ſi reponeret in arca vel in theſauro, crederet quod Deus auferret ei aliud quod eſt in terra. De iſtis hominibus vidi perſonas multum deformes. Tangut vidi homines magnos ſed fuſcos. Iugures ſunt mediocris ſtaturæ ſicut noſtri. Apud Iugures eſt fons & radix ideomatis Turci & Comanici. Poſt Tebet ſunt Langa & Solanga, quorum nuncios vidi in curia: Qui adduxerant magnas bigas pluſquam decem, quarum quælibet trahebatur ſex bobus. Iſti ſunt parui homines & fuſci ſicut Hiſpani: & habent tunicas ſi cut ſupertunicale diaconi manicis parum ſtrictioribus: & habent in capitibus mitras ſicut epiſcopi. Sed pars anterior eſt parum interior quàm poſterior, & non terminatur in vnum angulum: ſed ſunt quadræ deſuper, & ſunt de ſtramine rigidato per calorem magnum, & limato in tantum, quod fulget ad radium ſolis ſicut ſpeculum vel galea bene burnita. Et circa tempora habent longas bendas de eadem materia aſſutas ipſi mitræ; quæ ſe extendunt ad ventum ſicut duo cornua egredientia de temporibus. Et quando ventus nimis iactat eas plicant eas per medium mitræ ſuperius à tempore in tempus: & iacent ſicut circulus ex tranſuerſo capitis. Et principalis nuncius quando veniebat ad curiam, habebat tabulam de dente elephantino ad longitudinem vnius cubiti, & ad latitudinem vnius palmi, raſam multum: Et quandocunque loquebatur ipſi Cham, vel alicui magno viro, ſemper aſpiciebat in illam tabulam, ac ſi inueniret ibi ea quæ dicebat: nec reſpiciebat ad dextram vel ſiniſtram, nec in faciem illius cui loquebatur. Etiam accedens coram domino & recedens nuſquam reſpicit niſi in tabulam ſuam. Vltra iſtos ſunt alij homines, vt intellexi pro vero, qui dicuntur Mue, qui habent villas, ſed nulla animalia ſibi appropriant: tamen ſunt multi greges & multa armenta in terra ipſorum, & nullus cuſtodit ea. Sed cum aliquis indiget aliquo, aſcendit collem & clamat, & omnia animalia audientia clamorem accedunt circa illum, & permittunt ſe tractari quaſi domeſtica. Et ſi nuncius vel aliquis extraneus accedat ad regionem illam, ipſi includunt eum in domo, & miniſtrant ei neceſſaria, donec negocium eius fuerit expeditum. Quia ſi iret extraneus per regionem, animalia ad odorem eius fugerent, & efficerentur ſylueſtria. Vltra eſt magna Cathaya, cuius incolæ antiquitus vt credo dicebantur Seres. Ab ipſis enim veniunt optimi panni ſerici. Et ille populus dicitur Seres a quodam oppido eorum. Bene intellexi, quod in illa regione eſt oppidum habens muros argenteos & propugnacula aurea. In iſta terra ſunt multæ prouinciæ, quarum plures adhuc non obediunt Moallis. Et inter *

Patria Presbiteri Iohannis.

Tangut populi, fortiſſimi.

Boues piloſis caudis: his ſimiles ſunt in Quiuera Americæ ſeptentrionalis prouincia.

Tebet populi.

Auri abundantia.

Tangut homines magni ſed fuſci.

Langa & Solanga

Solangi ſimiles Hiſpanis, & fuſci.

Tabula de dente elephantino.

Mue populi.

Magna Cathaya.

Aliqua deſiderantur.

The

The iournal of frier *William de Rubruquis* a French man of the order of the minorite friers, vnto the Eaſt parts of the worlde. An. Dom. 1253.

TO his moſt Soueraigne, & moſt Chriſtian Lord Lewis, by Gods grace the renowmed king of France, frier William de Rubruk, the meaneſt of the Minorites order, wiſheth health & cõtinual triumph in CHRIST.

It is written in the booke of Eccleſiaſticus concerning the wiſe man: He ſhall trauell into forren countries, and good and euill ſhall he trie in all things. The very ſame action (my lord and king) haue I atchieued: howbeit I wiſh that I haue done it like a wiſe man, and not like a foole. For many there be, that performe the ſame action which a wiſe man doth, not wiſely but more vndiſcreetly: of which number I feare my ſelfe to be one. Notwithſtanding howſoeuer I haue done it, becauſe you commanded mee, when I departed from your highnes, to write all things vnto you, which I ſhould ſee among the Tartars, and you wiſhed me alſo that I ſhould not feare to write long letters, I haue done as your maieſtie inioined me: yet with feare and reuerence, becauſe I want words and eloquence ſufficient to write vnto ſo great a maieſtie. Be it knowen therefore vnto your ſacred Maieſtie, that in the yeare of our Lord 1253. about the Nones of May, we entered into the ſea of Pontus, which the Bulgarians call the great ſea. It containeth in length (as I learned of certaine merchants) 1008 miles, and is in a maner, diuided into two parts. About the midſt thereof are two prouinces, one towards the North, and another towards the South. The South prouince is called Synopolis, and it is the caſtle and porte of the Soldan of Turkie: but the North prouince is called of the Latines, Gaſaria: of the Greeks, which inhabite vpon the ſea ſhore thereof, it is called Caſaria, that is to ſay Cæſaria. And there are certaine head lands ſtretching foorth into the ſea towards Synopolis. Alſo, there are 300. miles of diſtance betweene Synopolis and Caſſaria. Inſomuch that the diſtance from thoſe points or places to Conſtantinople, in length and breadth is about 700. miles: and 700. miles alſo from thence to the Eaſt, namely to the countrey of Hiberia which is a prouince of Georgia. At the prouince of Gaſaria or Caſſaria we arriued, which prouince is, in a maner, three ſquare, hauing a citie on the Weſt part thereof called Kerſoua, wherein S. Clement ſuffered martyrdome. And ſayling before the ſaid citie, we ſawe an iſland, in which a Church is ſayd to be built by the hands of angels. But about the midſt of the ſaid prouince toward the South, as it were, vpon a ſharpe angle or point, ſtandeth a citie called Soldaia directly ouer againſt Synopolis. And there doe all the Turkie merchants, which traffique into the North countries, in their iourney outward, arriue, and as they returne homeward alſo from Ruſſia, and the ſaid Northerne regions, into Turkie. The foreſaid merchants tranſport thither ermines and gray furres, with other rich and coſtly ſkinnes. Others carrie cloathes made of cotton or bombaſt, and ſilke, and diuers kinds of ſpices. But vpon the Eaſt part of the ſaid prouince ſtandeth a citie called Matriga, where the riuer Tanais diſcharged his ſtreames into the ſea of Pontus, the mouth whereof is twelue miles in breadth. For this riuer, before it entreth into the ſea of Pontus, maketh a little ſea, which hath in breadth and length ſeuen hundreth miles, & it is in no place thereof aboue fiue paces deepe, whereupon great veſſels cannot ſayle ouer it. Howbeit the merchants of Conſtantinople, arriuing at the foreſayd citie of ‖ Materta, ſend their barkes vnto the riuer of Tanais to buy dried fiſhes, Sturgeons, Thoſſes, Barbils, and an infinite number of other fiſhes. The foreſayd prouince of Caſſaria is compaſſed in with the ſea on three ſides thereof: namely on the Weſt ſide, where Kerſoua the citie of Saint Clement is ſituate: on the South ſide the citie of Soldaia whereat we arriued: on the Eaſt ſide Maricandis, and there ſtands the citie of Matriga vpon the mouth of the riuer Tanais. Beyond the ſayd mouth ſtandeth Zikia, which is not in ſubiection vnto the Tartars: alſo the people called Sueui and Hiberi towards the Eaſt, who likewiſe are not vnder the Tartars dominion. Moreouer towards the South, ſtandeth the citie of Trapeſunda, which hath a gouernour proper to it ſelfe, named Guydo, being of the linage of the emperours of Conſtantinople, and is ſubiect vnto the Tartars. Next vnto that is Synopolis the citie of the Soldan of Turkie, who likewiſe is in ſubiection vnto them. Next vnto theſe lyeth the countrey of Vaſtacius, whoſe ſonne is called Aſtar, of his grandfather by the mothers ſide, who is not in ſubiection. All the land from the mouth of Tanais Weſtward as farre as Danubius is vnder their iuriſdiction. Yea beyond Danubius alſo, towards Conſtantinople, Valakia, which is the land of Aſſanus, and Bulgaria minor as farre as Solonia, doe all pay tribute vnto them. And beſides the

Eccluſ. 39. ver. 4.

Gaſaria.

Soldaia.

The citie of Matriga.

‖ Matriga.

Zikia.

tribute

tribute imposed, they haue also, of late yeares, exacted of euery houshold an axe, and all such coyne as they found lying on heapes. We arriued therefore at Soldaia the twelfth of the Kalends of June. And diuers merchants of Constantinople, which were arriued there before vs, reported that certaine messengers were comming thither from the holy land, who were desirous to trauell vnto Sartach. Notwithstanding I my self had publikely giuen out vpon Palme Sunday within ỹ Church of Sancta Sophia, that I was not your nor any other mans messenger, but that I trauailed vnto those infidels according to the rule of our order. And being arriued, the said merchãts admonished me to take diligent heede what I spake: because they hauing reported me to be a messenger, if I should say the contrary, that I were no messenger, I could not haue free passage granted vnto me. Thẽ I spake after this maner vnto the gouernors of the citie, or rather vnto their Lieutenãts, because the gouernors thẽselues were gone to pay tribute vnto Baatu, & were not as yet returned. We heard of your lord Sartach (quoth I) in the holy land, that he was become a Christian: and the Christians were exceeding glad therof, & especially the most Christian king of France, who is there now in pilgrimage, & fighteth against the Saracens to redeeme the holy places out of their handes: wherfore I am determined to go vnto Sartach, & to deliuer vnto him ỹ letters of my lord the king, wherein he admonisheth him concerning the good and commoditie of all Christendome. And they receiued vs with gladnes, and gaue vs entertainement in the cathedrall Church. The bishop of which Church was with Sartach, who told me many good things concerning the saide Sartach, which afterward I found to be nothing so. Then put they vs to our choyce, whither we would haue cartes and oxen, or packe horses to transport our cariages. And the marchants of Constantinople aduised me, not to take cartes of the citizens of Soldaia, but to buy couered cartes of mine owne, (such as the Russians carrie their skins in) and to put all our carriages, which I would partly take out, into them: because, if I should vse horses, I must be constrained at euery baite to take downe my carriages, and to lift them vp againe on sundry horses backs: and besides, that I should ride a more gentle pace by the oxen drawing the cartes. Wherfore, contenting my selfe with their euil counsel, I was trauailing vnto Sartach a moneths which I could haue done in one, if I had gone by horse. I brought with me from Constantinople (being by the marchants aduised so to doe) pleasant fruits, muscadel wine, and delicate bisket bread to present vnto the gouernours of Soldaia, to the end I might obtaine free passage: because they looke fauourablie vpon no man which commeth with an emptie hand. All which thinges I bestowed in one of my cartes, (not finding the gouernours of the citie at home) for they told me, if I could carrie them to Sartach, that they would be most acceptable vnto him. Wee tooke our iourney therefore about the kalends of June, with fower couered cartes of our owne and with two other which wee borrowed of them, wherein we carried our bedding to rest vpon in the night, and they allowed vs fiue horses to ride vpon. For there were iust fiue persons in our company: namely, I my selfe and mine associate Friet Bartholomew of Cremona, and Goset the bearer of these presents, the man of God Turgemannus, and Nicolas my seruant, whome I bought at Constantinople with some part of the almes bestowed vpon me. Moreouer, they allowed vs two men, which draue our carts and gaue attendance vnto our oxen and horses. There be high promontories on the sea shore from Kersoua vnto the mouth of Tanais. Also there are fortie castles betweene Kersoua and Soldaia, euery one of which almost haue their proper languages: amongst whome there were many Gothes, who spake the Dutch tongue. Beyond the said mountaines towards the North, there is a most beautifull wood growing on a plaine ful of fountaines & frechets. And beyond the wood there is a mightie plaine champion, continuing fiue dayes iourney vnto the very extremitie and borders of the said prouince northward, and there it is a narrow Isthmus or neck land, hauing sea on the East & West sides therof, insomuch that there is a ditch made frõ one sea vnto the other. In the same plaine (before the Tartars sprang vp) were the Comanians wont to inhabite, who compelled the foresayd cities and castles to pay tribute vnto them. But when the Tartars came vpon them, the multitude of the Comanians entred into the foresaid prouince, and fled all of them, euen vnto the sea shore, being in such extreame famine, that they which were aliue, were constrained to eate vp those which were dead: and (as a marchant reported vnto me who sawe it with his owne eyes) that the liuing men deuoured and tore with their teeth, the raw flesh of the dead, as dogges would gnawe vpon carrion. Towards the borders of the sayd prouince there be many great lakes: vpon the bankes whereof are salt pits or fountaines, the water of which so soone as it entereth into the lake, becommeth hard salte like vnto ice. And out of those salte pittes Baatu and Sartach haue great reuenues: for they repayre thither out of all Russia for salte: and for each carte loade they giue two webbes of cotton amounting to the value of half an Yperpera. There come by sea also many ships for salt, which pay tribute euery one of them according to their burden. The third day after wee were departed out of the precincts of Soldaia, we found the Tartars, Amongst whome being entred,

Friet Bartholomeus de Cremona.

The necke of Taurica Chersonesus.

The Tartars.

tered, me thought I was come into a new worlo. Whose lite and maners I will describe vnto your Highnes al well as I can.

Of the *Tartars*, and of their houses. *Chap.* 2.

They haue in no place any setled citie to abide in, neither knowe they of the celestiall citie to come. They haue diuided all Scythia among themselues, which stretcheth from the riuer Danubius euen vnto the rising of the sunne. And euery of their captaines, according to the great or small number of his people, knoweth the bounds of his pastures, and where he ought to feed his cattel winter and summer, Spring and autumne. For in the winter they descend vnto the warme regions southward. And in the summer they ascend vnto the colde regions northwards. In winter when snowe lyeth vpon the ground, they feede their cattell vpon pastures without water, because then they vse snow in stead of water. Their houses wherein they sleepe, they ground vpon a round foundation of wickers artificially wrought and compacted together: the roofe whereof consteeth (in like sorte) of wickers, meeting aboue into one little roundell, out of which roundell ascendeth vpward a necke like vnto a chimney, which they couer with white felte, and oftentimes they lay morter or white earth vpon the sayd felt, with the powder of bones, that it may shine white. And sometimes also they couer it with blacke felte. The sayd felte on the necke of their house, they doe garnish ouer with beautifull varietie of pictures. Before the dooze likewise they hang a felt curiously painted ouer. For they spend all their coloured felt, in painting vines, trees, birds, and beastes thereupon. The sayd houses they make so large, that they conteine thirtie foote in breadth. For measuring once the breadth betweene the wheele-ruts of one of their cartes, I found it to be 20 feete ouer: and when the house was vpon the carte, it stretched ouer the wheeles on each side fiue feete at the least. I told 22. oxen in one teame, drawing an house vpon a cart, eleuen in one order according to the breadth of the carte, and eleuen more before them: the axletree of the carte was of an huge bignes like vnto the mast of a ship. And a fellow stood in the dooze of the house, vpon the forestall of the carte driuing forth the oxen. Moreouer, they make certaine foure square baskets of small slender wickers as big as great chestes: and afterward, from one side to another, they frame an hollow lidde or couer of such like wickers, and make a dooze in the fore side thereof. And then they couer the sayd chest or little house with black felt rubbed ouer with tallow or sheeps milke to keepe the raine from soaking through, which they derke likewise with painting or with feathers. And in such chests they put their whole houshold stuffe & treasure. Also the same chests they do strongly bind vpon other carts, which are drawen with camels, to the end they may wade through riuers. Neither do they at any time take down the sayd chests from off their carts. When they take down their dwelling houses, they turne the doozes alwayes to the South: & next of all they place the carts laden with their chests, here & there, within half a stones cast of the house: insomuch that the house standeth between two ranks of carts, as it were, between two wals. The matrons make for themselues most beautiful carts, which I am not able to describe vnto your maiestie but by pictures or liues. For I would right willingly haue painted al things for you, had my skill bin ought in that art. One rich Moal or Tartar hath 200. or 100. such cartes with chests. Duke Baatu hath sirteene wiues, euery one of which hath one great house, besides other little houses, which they place behind the great one, being as it were chambers for their maidens to dwel in. And vnto euery of the said houses do belong 200. cartes. When they take their houses from off the cartes, the principal wife placeth her court on the West frontier, and so all the rest in their order: so that the last wife dwelleth vpon the East frontier: and one of the said ladies courts is distant from another about a stones cast. Whereupon the court of one rich Moal or Tartar will appeare like vnto a great village, very few men abiding in the same. One woman will guide 20. or 30. cartes at once, for their countries are very plaine, and they binde the cartes with camels or oxen, one behind another. And there sitteth a wench in the foremost carte driuing the oxen, and al the residue follow on a like pace. When they chance to come at any bad passage, they let them loose, and guide them ouer one by one: for they goe a slowe pace, as fast as a lambe or an ore can walke.

The benefite of a painter in strange countreis.

Of their beds, and of their drinking pots. *Chap* 3.

Hauing taken downe their houses from off their cartes, and turning the doozes Southward, they place the bed of the master of the house, at the North part thereof. The womens place is alwayes on the East side, namely on the left hand of the good man of the house sitting vpon his bed with his face Southwards: but the mens place is vpon the West side, namely at the right hand of their master. Men when they enter into the house, will not in any case hang their quiuers on-

the

the womens side. Ouer the masters head there is alwayes an image, like a puppet, made of felte, which they call the masters brother: and another ouer the head of the good wife or mistresse, which they call her brother being fastened to the wall: and aboue betweene both of them, there is a little leane one, which is, as it were the keeper of the whole house. The good wife or mistresse of the house placeth aloft at her beds feete, on the right hand, the skinne of a Kidde stuffed with woll or some other matter, and neare vnto that a little image or puppet looking towards the maidens and women. Next vnto the doore also on the womens side, there is another image with a cowes vdder, for the women that milke the kine. For it is the duety of their women to milke kine. On the other side of the doore next vnto the men, there is another image with the vdder of a mare, for the men which milke mares. And when they come together to drinke and make merie, they sprincle parte of their drinke vpon the image which is aboue the masters head: afterward vpon other images in order: then goeth a seruant out of the house with a cuppe full of drinke sprinckling it thrise towards the South, and bowing his knee at euery time: and this is done for the honour of the fire. Then performeth he the like superstitious idolatrie towards the East, for the honour of the ayre: and then to the West for the honour of the water: & lastly to the North in the behalfe of the dead. When the maister boweth a cuppe in his hande to drinke, before he tasteth thereof, hee powreth his part vpon the ground. If he drinketh sitting on horse backe, hee powreth out part thereof vpon the necke or maine of his horse before hee himselfe drinketh. After the seruaunt aforesaide hath so discharged his cuppes to the fower quarters of the world, hee returneth into the house: and two other seruants stand ready with two cuppes, and two basons, to carrie drinke vnto their master and his wife, sitting together vpon a bed. And if he hath more wiues then one, the with whome hee slepe the night before, sitteth by his side the daye following: and all his other wiues must that day resorte vnto the same house to drinke: and there is the court holden for that day: the gifftes also which are presented that daye are layd vp in the chests of the sayd wife. And vpon a bench stands a vessell of milke or of other drinke and drinking cuppes.

Of their drinkes, and how they prouoke one another to drinking. *Chap.*4.

IN winter time they make excellent drinke of Rise, of Mill, and of honie, being well and high coloured like wine. Also they haue wine brought vnto them from farre countries. In summer time they care not for any drinke, but Cosmos. And it standeth alwaies within the entrance of his doore, and next vnto it stands a minstrell with his fidle. I sawe there no such citerns and vials as ours commonly be, but many other musicall instruments which are not vsed among vs. And when the master of the house begins to drinke, one of his seruants cryeth out with a lowde voice H A, and the minstrell playes vpon his fidle. And when they make any great solemne feast, they all of them clap their handes & daunce to the noyse of musique, the men before their master and the women before their mistresse. And when the master hath drunke, then cries out his seruant as before, and the minstrell playeth his musique. Then drinke they all around both men and women: and sometimes they carowse for the victory very filthily and drunkenly. Also when they will prouoke any man, they pul him by the eares to the drinke, and so lug and draw him strongly to stretch out his throate clapping their handes and daunceing before him. Moreouer when some of them will make great feasting and reioycing, one of the company takes a full cuppe, and two other stand, one on his right hand and another on his left, and so they three come singing to the man who is to haue the cuppe reached vnto him, still singing and daunceing before him: and when he stretcheth foorth his hand to receiue the cuppe, they leape suddenly backe, returning againe as they did before, and so hauing deluded him thrice or fower times by drawing backe the cuppe vntill he be merie, and hath gotten a good appetite, then they giue him the cuppe, singing and daunceing and stamping with their feete, vntill he hath done drinking.

They vse the like customme in Florida.

Of their foode and victuals. *Chap.*5.

COncerning their foode and victuals, be it knowen vnto your Highnesse that they do, without all difference or exception, eat all their dead carrions. And amongst so many droues it cannot be, but some cattell must needes die. Howbeit in summer, so long as their Cosmos, that is, their mares milke lasteth, they care not for any foode. And if they chance to haue an ore or an horse dye, they drie the flesh thereof: for cutting it into thin slices and hanging it vp against the Sunne and the wind, it is presently dried without salt, and also without stenche or corruption. They

Drying of flesh in the wind.

make

make better puddings of their horſes then of their hogs, which they eate being new made: the reſt of the fleſh they reſerue vntill winter. They make of their ore ſkins great bladders or bags, which they doe wonderfully dry in the ſmoake. Of the hinder part of their horſe hides they make very fine ſandals & pantofles. They giue vnto 50. or an 100. men the fleſh of one ram to eat. For they mince it in a bowle with ſalt and water (other ſauce they haue none) and then with the point of a knife, or a litle foyke which they make for the ſame purpoſe (ſuch as wee vſe to take roſted peares or apples out of wine withal) they reach vnto euery one of the company a mozſell or twaine, according to the multitude of gueſtes. The maſter of the houſe, before the rams fleſh be diſtributed, firſt of all himſelfe taketh thereof, what he pleaſeth. Alſo, if he giueth vnto any of the company a ſpeciall part, the receiuer therof muſt eat it alone, and muſt not impart ought therof vnto any other. Not being able to eate it vp all, he caries it with him, or deliuerſ it vnto his boy, if he be preſent, to keepe it: if not, he puts it vp vnto his Sapetargat, that is to ſay, his foure ſquare buget, which they vſe to carry about with them for the ſauing of all ſuch prouiſion, and wherein they lay vp their bones, when they haue not time to gnaw them throughly, that they may burniſh them afterward, to the end that no whit of their food may come to nought.

How they make their drinke called *Coſmos*. *Chap.* 6.

Their drinke called Coſmos, which is mares milke, is prepared after this maner. They faſten a long line vnto 2. poſts ſtanding firmely in the ground, & vnto the ſame line they tie the young foles of thoſe mares, which they mean to milke. Then come the dams to ſtand by their foles gently ſuffering themſelues to be milked. And if any of them be too vnruly, then one takes her fole, & puts it vnder her, letting it ſuck a while, and preſently carying it away againe, there comes another man to milke the ſaid mare. And hauing gotten a good quantity of this milke together (being as ſweet as cowes milke) while it is newe they powze it into a great bladder or bag, and they beat the ſaid bag with a piece of wood made for the purpoſe, hauing a club at the lower ende like a mans head, which is hollow within: and ſo ſoone as they beat vpon it, it begins to boile like newe wine, & to be ſower and ſharp of taſte, and they beate it in that maner till butter come thereof. Then taſte they thereof, and being indifferently ſharpe they drinke it: for it biteth a mans tongue like the wine of raſpes, when it is drunk. After a man hath taken a draught therof, it leaueth behind it a taſte like the taſte of almon milke, and goeth downe very pleaſantly, intoxicating weake braines: alſo it cauſeth vine to be auoided in great meaſure. Likewiſe Caracoſmos, that is to ſay black Coſmos, for great lords to drink, they make on this maner. Firſt they beat the ſaid milke ſo long till the thickeſt part thereof deſcend right downe to the bottome like the lees of white wine, and that which is thin and pure remaineth aboue, being like vnto whay or white muſt. The ſaid lees or dregs being very white, are giuen to ſeruants, and will cauſe them to ſleepe exceedingly. That which is thinne and cleare their maſters drinke: and in very deed it is marueilous ſweete and holeſome liquor. Duke Baatu hath thirty cottages or granges within a daies iourney of his abiding place: euery one of which ſerueth him daily with the Caracoſmos of an hundreth mares milk, and ſo all of them together euery day with the milke of 3000. mares, beſides white milke which other of his ſubiects bring. For euen as the huſbandmen of Syria beſtow the third part of their fruicts and carie it vnto the courts of their lords, euen ſo doe they their mares milke euery third day. Out of their cowes milke they firſt churne butter, boyling the which butter vnto a perfect decoction, they put it into rams ſkinnes, which they reſerue for the ſame purpoſe. Neither doe they ſalte their butter: and yet by reaſon of the long ſeething, it putrifieth not: and they keepe it in ſtore for winter. The churnmilke which remaineth of the butter, they let alone till it be as ſowre as poſſibly it may be, then they boile it and in boiling, it is turned all into curdes, which curds they drie in the ſun, making them as hard as the droſſe of iron: and this kind of food alſo they ſtore vp in ſachels againſt winter. In the winter ſeaſon when milke faileth them, they put the foreſaid curds (which they cal Gry-vt) into a bladder, and powring hot water thereinto, they beat it luſtily till they haue reſolued it into the ſaid water, which is thereby made exceedingly ſowre, and that they drinke in ſtead of milke. They are very ſcrupulous, and take diligent heed that they drinke not fayre water by it ſelfe.

Of the beaſtes which they eat, of their garments, and of their maner of hunting. *Chap.* 7.

Great lords haue cottages or granges towards the South, from whence their tenants bring them Millet and meale againſt winter. The poorer ſort prouide themſelues of ſuch neceſſaries, for the exchange of rams, & of other beaſts ſkins. The Tartars ſlaues fil their bellies with thick water, & are therewithall contented. They will neither eate miſe with long tailes, nor any kinde of miſe with ſhort tailes. They haue alſo certaine litle beaſts called by the Sogur, which lie in a caue

twenty or thirty of them together, al the whole winter keeping there for the space of fiue moneths: and these they take in great abundance. There are also a kind of conies hauing long tayles like vnto cats: & on the outside of their tailes grow blacke & white haires. They haue many other small beasts good to eat, which they know and discerne right well. I saw no Deere there, & but a fewe hares, but a great number of Roes. I saw wild asses in great abundance, which be like vnto Mules. Also I saw another kind of beast called Arrak, hauing in al resemblance the body of a ram, & crooked hornes, which are of such bignes, that I could scarce lift vp a paire of them with one hand: & of these hornes they make great drinking cups. They haue Falcons, Girfalcons, & other haukes in great plenty: all which they carry vpon their right hands: & they put alwaies about their Falcons necks a string of leather, which hangeth down to þ midst of their gorges, by the which string, whē they call them off the fist at their game, with their left hand they bow downe the heads & breasts of the sayd haukes, least they should be tossed vp & downe, & beaten with the wind, or least they should soare too high. Wherefore they get a great part of their victuals, by hunting & hauking. Concerning their garments and attire be it knowen vnto your Maiestie, that out of Cataya & other regions of the East, out of Persia also and other countries of the South, there are brought vnto them stuffes of silke, cloth of gold, & cotton cloth, which they weare in time of summer. But out of Russia, Moxel, Bulgaria the greater, & Pascatir, that is Hungaria the greater, and out of Kersis (all which are Northerne regions & full of woods) & also out of many other countries of the North, which are subiect vnto them, the inhabitants bring them rich and costly skins of diuers sortes (which I neuer saw in our countries) where withal they are clad in winter. And alwaies against winter they make themselues two gownes, one with the fur inward to their skin, & another with the furre outward, to defend them from wind & snow, which for the most part are made of woolues skins, or Fox skins, or els of Papions. And whē they sit within the house, they haue a finer gowne to weare. The poorer sort make their vpper gowne of dogs or of goats skins. When they goe to hunt for wild beasts, there meets a great company of them together, & inuironing the place round about, where they are sure to find some game, by litle & litle they approch on al sides, til they haue gotten the wild beasts into the midst, as it were into a circle, & then they discharge their arrowes at them. Also they make thēselues breeches of skins. The rich Tartars somtimes fur their gowns with pellure or silke chag, which is exceeding soft, light, & warme. The poorer sort do line their clothes with cottō cloth which is made of the finest wooll they can pick out, & of the courser part of the said wool, they make felt to couer their houses and their shelfs, and for their bedding also. Of the same wool, being mixed with one third part of horse haire, they make all their cordage. They make also of the said felt couerings for their stooles, and caps to defende their heads from the weather: for all which purposes they spend a great quantity of their wooll. And thus much concerning the attyre of the men.

Our falconers vse the left fist. Another straūge custome, which I leaue to be scanned by falconers themselues.

Great expense of wooll.

Of the fashion which the *Tartars* vse in cutting their haire, and of the attire of their women. *Chap.* 8.

The men shaue a plot foure square vpon the crownes of their heads, and from the two formost corners they shaue, as it were, two seames downe to their temples: they shaue also their temples and the hinder part of their head euen vnto the nape of the necke: likewise they shaue the forepart of their scalp downe to their foreheads, & vpon their foreheads they leaue a locke of hayre reaching downe vnto their eye browes: vpon the two hindermost corners of their heads, they haue two lockes also, which they twine and braid into knots and so bind and knit them vnder each eare one. Moreouer their womens garments differ not from their mens, sauing that they are somwhat longer. But on the morrowe after one of their women is maried, thee shaues her scalpe from the midwest of her head down to her forehead, & weares a wide garment like vnto the hood of a Nunne, yea larger and longer in all parts then a Nuns hood, being open before and girt vnto them vnder the right side. For herein doe the Tartars differ from the Turkes: because the Turkes fasten their garments to their bodies on the left side: but the Tartars alwaies on the right side. They haue also an ornament for their heads which they call Borta, being made of the barke of a tree, or of some such other lighter matter as they can find, which by reason of the thicknes & roundnes therof cannot be holden but in both hands together: & it hath a square sharp spire rising frō the top therof, being more then a cubite in length, & fashioned like vnto a pinacle. The said Borta they couer al ouer with a piece of rich silke: & it is hollow within: & vpon the midst of the sayd spire or square toppe, they put a bunch of quils or of slender canes a cubite long and more: & the sayd bunch, on the top therof, they beautifie with Peacocks feathers, & round about al þ length therof, with the feathers of a Mallards taile, & with precious stones also. Great ladies weare this kind of ornament vpon their heads binding it strongly with a certain hat or coyfe, which hath an hole in the crowne, fit for the spire to come

come through it: & vnder the foresaid ornament they couer the haires of their heads, which they gather vp round together ſtō the hinder part therof to the crowne, & ſo lap them vp in a knot or bundel within the ſaid Borta, which afterward they bind ſtrongly vnder their throtes. Hereupon when a great company of ſuch gentle women ride together, and are beheld a far off, they ſeem to be ſouldiers with helmets on their heads carrying their launces vpright: for the ſaid Borta appeareth like an helmet with a launce ouer it. All their women ſit on horſe backe beſtriding their horſes like men: & they bind their hoods or gownes about their waſtes with a ſkie coloured ſilke ſkarfe, & with another ſkarfe they girde it aboue their breaſts: & they bind alſo a piece of white ſilke like a muffler or maſke vnder their eyes, reaching down vnto their breaſt. Theſe gentlewomen are exceeding fat, & the leſſer their noſes be, the fairer are they eſteemed: they daube ouer their ſweet faces with greaſe too ſhamefully: and they neuer lie in bed for their trauel of childbirth.

Of the dueties inioined vnto the *Tartarian* women, and of their labours, and alſo of their mariages. *Chap.9.*

THe duties of women are, to driue carts: to lay their houſes vpon carts & to take them downe again: to milke kine: to make butter & Gry-vt: to dreſſe ſkins & to ſow them, which they vſually ſowe with thread made of ſinewes, for they diuide ſinewes into ſlender threads, & then twine thē into one long thread. They make ſandals & ſocks & other garments. Howbeit they never waſh any apparel: for they ſay that God is then angry, & that dreadful thunder wil enſue, if waſhed garmēts be hanged forth to drie: yea, they beat ſuch as waſh, & take their garments frō them. They are wonderfully afraid of thunder: for in the time of thunder they thruſt all ſtrangers out of their houſes, & then wrapping thēſelues in black felt, they lie hidden therein, til the thunder be ouerpaſt. They neuer waſh their diſhes or bowles: yea, when their fleſh is ſodden, they waſh the platter wherein it muſt be put, with ſcalding hot broth out of the pot, & then powre the ſaid broth into the pot againe. They make felte alſo, & couer their houſes therewith. The duties of the men are to make bowes & arrowes, ſtirrops, bridles, and ſaddles: to build houſes & carts, to keepe horſes: to milke mares: to churne Cōmos and mares milke, & to make bags wherein to put it: they keepe camels alſo & lay burthens vpon them. As for ſheepe & goates they tend and milke them, aſwell the men as the women. With ſheeps milke chicked & ſalted they dreſſe and tan their hides. When they wil waſh their hands or their heads, they fil their mouthes full of water, & ſpouting it into their hands by little and little, they ſprinckle their haire & waſh their heades therwith. As touching mariages, your Highnes is to vnderſtand, that no man can haue a wife among them till he hath bought her: whereupon ſometimes their maids are very ſtale before they be maried, for their parents alwaies keepe thē till they can ſel them. They keepe the firſt and ſecond degrees of conſanguinitie inuiolable, as we do: but they haue no regard of the degrees of affinity: for they will marrie together, or by ſucceſſion, two ſiſters. Their widowes marie not at al, for this reaſon: becauſe they beleeue, that al who haue ſerued them in this life, ſhall do them ſeruice in the life to come alſo. Whereupon they are perſwaded, that euery widow after death ſhal returne vnto her own huſband. And herehence ariſeth an abominable & filthy cuſtome among them, namely that the ſonne marieth ſometimes all his fathers wiues except his own mother: For the court or houſe of the father or mother falleth by inheritance alwaies to the yonger ſon. Wherupon he is to prouide for all his fathers wiues, becauſe they are part of his inheritance aſwel as his fathers poſſeſſions. And then if he will he vſeth them for his owne wiues: for he thinks it no iniurie or diſparagement vnto himſelfe, although they returne vnto his father after death. Therfore whē any man hath bargained with another for a maid, the father of the ſaid damoſel makes him a feaſt: in the meane while ſhe fleeth vnto ſome of her kinſfolks to hide her ſelfe. Then ſaith her father vnto the bridegrome: Loe, my daughter is yours, take her whereſoeuer you can find her. Then he and his friends ſeek for her till they can find her, and hauing found her hee muſt take her by force and carry her, as it were, violently vnto his owne houſe.

Of their execution of iuſtice and iudgement: and of their deaths and burials. *Chap.10.*

COncerning their lawes or their execution of iuſtice, your Maieſty is to be aduertiſed, that when two men fighe, no third man dare intrude himſelf to part them. Yea, the father dare not help his owne ſonne. But he that goes by the worſt muſt appeale vnto the court of his lord. And whoſoeuer els offereth him any violence after appeale, is put to death. But he muſt go preſently with... all delay: and he that hath ſuffered the iniury, carieth him, as it were captiue. They puniſh no man with ſentence of death, vnles hee bee taken in the deede doing, or confeſſeth the ſame. But being accuſed by the multitude, they put him vnto extreame torture to make him confeſſe the truetly. They puniſh murther with death, and carnall copulation alſo with any

other besides his owne. By his own, I meane his wife or his maid seruant, for he may vse his slaue as he listeth himself. Heinous theft also or felony they punish with death. For a light theft, as namely for stealing of a ram, the party (not being apprehended in the deed doing, but otherwise detected) is cruelly beaten. And if ỳ executioner laies on an 100. strokes, he must haue an 100. staues, namely for such as are beaten vpon sentẽce giuen in the coure. Also counterfeit messengers, because they feine themselues to be messengers, when as indeed they are none at all, they punish with death. Sacrilegious persons they vse in like maner (of which kind of malefactors your Maiesty shall vnderstand more fully hereafter) because they esteeme such to be witches. When any man dieth, they lament & howle most pitifully for him: & the said mourners are free from paying any tribute for one whole yeare after. Also whosoeuer is present at the house where any one growen to mans estate lieth dead, he must not enter into the court of Mangu-Can til one whole yere be expired. If it were a child deceased he must not enter into the said court til the next moneth after. Neere vnto the graue of the partie deceased they alwaies leaue one cottage. If any of their nobles (being of the stock or Chingis, who was their first lord & father) deceaseth, his sepulcher is vnknowen. And alwayes about those places where they interre their nobles, there is one house of men to keep the sepulchers. I could not learn that they vse to hide treasures in the graues of their dead. The Comanias build a great toomb ouer their dead, & erect the image of the dead party thereupon, with his face towards the East, holding a drinking cup in his hand, before his nauel. They erect also vpon the monuments of rich men, Pyramides, that is to say, little sharpe houses or pinacles: & in some places I saw mighty towers made of brick, in other places Pyramides made of stones, albeit there are no stones to be found thereabout. I saw one newly buried, in whose behalfe they hanged vp 16. horse hides, vnto each quarter of the world 4, betweene certain high posts: & they set besides his graue Cosmos for him to drink, & flesh to eat: & yet they sayd that he was baptized. I beheld other kinds of sepulchers also towards the East namely large flowres or paucmẽts made of stone, some roũd & some square, & then 4. long stones pitched vpright, about the said paument towards the 4. regions of the world. When any man is sicke, he lieth in his bed, & causeth a signe to be set vpon his house, to signifie that there lieth a sicke person there, to the end that no man may enter into the sayd house: whereupon none at all visit any sicke party but his seruant only. Moreouer, when any one is sicke in their great courts, they appoint watchmen to stand round about the said court, who will not suffer any person to enter within the precincts thereof. For they feare least euill spirits or winds should come together with the parties that enter in. They esteeme of soothsayers, as of their priests.

Of our first entrance among the *Tartars*, and of their ingratitude. *Chap.* 11.

AND being come amongst those barbarous people, me thought (as I said before) ỳ I was entred into a new world: for they came flocking about vs on horse back, after they had made vs a long time to awaite for them sitting in the shadow, vnder their black carts. The first question which they demanded was whether we had euer bin with them heretofore, or no? And giuing thẽ answere that we had not, they began impudently to beg our victuals frõ vs. And we gaue them some of our victuals & wine, which we had brought with vs from the towne of Soldaia. And hauing drunke off one flagon of our wine they demanded another, saying, that a man goeth not into the house with one foote. Howbeit we gaue them no more, excusing our selues that we had but a litle. Then they asked vs, whence we came, & whither we were bound? I answered them with the words aboue mentioned: that we had heard concerning duke Sartach, that he was become a Christian, & that vnto him our determination was to trauel, hauing your Maiesties letters to deliuer vnto him. They were very inquisitiue to know whether I came of mine own accord, or whether I were sent? I answered that no man compelled me to come, neither had I come, vnles I my selfe had bin willing: & that therefore I was come according to mine own will, & to the will of my superior. I tooke diligent heed neuer to say that I was your Maiesties ambassador. Then they asked what I had in my carts; whether it were gold or siluer, or rich garments to carie vnto Sartach? I answered that Sartach should see what we had brought, when we were once come vnto him, & that they had nothing to do to aske such questions, but rather ought to conduct me vnto their captaine, and that he, if he thought good, should cause me to be directed vnto Sartach: if not, that I would returne. For there was in the same prouince one of Baatu his kinsmen called Scacati, vnto whom my lord the Emperor of Constantinople had written letters of request, to suffer me to passe through his territory. With this answere of ours they were satisfied, giuing vs horses & oxen, & two men to conduct vs. Howbeit before they would allow vs the foresayd necessaries for our iourney, they made vs to awayt a long while, begging our head for their pong hats, wondering at all things which they sawe about our seruants, as their knines, gloues, purses, & points, and desiring to haue them. I excused my self that

we

we had a long way to trauel, & that we must in no wise so soon depriue our selues of things necessary, to finish so long a iourney. Then they said that I was a very varlet. True it is, that they tooke nothing by force frō me: howbeit they will beg that which they see very importunately & shamelesly. And if a man bestow ought vpon thē, it is but cost lost, for they are thankles wretches. They esteeme theselues lords & think þ nothing should be denied thē by any man. If a man giues them nought, & afterward stands in neede of their seruice, they will do right nought for him. They gaue vs of their cowes milke to drink after þ butter was churned out of it, being very sower, which they cal Apram. And so we departed from thē. And in very deed it seemed to me þ we were escaped out of the hands of diuels. On the morrow we were come vnto the captain. From the time wherin we departed frō Soldaia, till we arriued at the court of Sartach, which was the space of two moneths, we neuer lay in house or tent, but alwaies vnder the starry canopy, & in the open aire, or vnder our carts. Neither yet saw we any village, nor any mention of building where a village had bin, but the graues of the Comanians in great abundance. The same euening our guide which had conducted vs, gaue vs some Cosmos. After I had drunke thereof I sweat most extreamly for the nouelty and strangenes, because I neuer dranke of it before. Notwithstanding me thought it was very sauory, as indeed it was.

Of the court of *Scacatai*: and how the Christians drinke no *Cosmos*. *Chap.* 12.

On the morrowe after we met with the cartes of Scacatai laden with houses, and me thought that a mighty citie came to meete me. I wondered also at the great multitude of huge droues of oxen, & horses, and at the flockes of sheepe. I could see but a fewe men that guided all these matters: whereupon I inquired how many men he had vnder him, & they told me that he had not aboue 500. in all, the one halfe of which number we were come past, as they lay in another lodging. Then the seruant which was our guide told me, that I must present somwhat vnto Scacatay: & so he caused vs to stay, going himselfe before to giue notice of our comming. By this time it was past three of the clocke, and they vnladed their houses nere vnto a certain water: And there came vnto vs his interpreter, who being aduertised by vs that wee were neuer there before, demanded some of our victuals, & we yeelded vnto his request. Also he required of vs some garment for a reward, because he was to interpret our sayings vnto his master. Howbeit we excused our selues as well as wee could. Then he asked vs, what we would present vnto his Lord: And we tooke a flagon of wine, & filled a maund with bisket, & a platter with apples & other fruits. But he was not contented therewith, because we brought him not some rich garment. Notwithstanding we entred so into his presence with feare and bashfulnes. He sate vpon his bed holding a citron in his hand, and his wife sate by him: who (as I verily thinke) had cut and pared her nose betweene the eyes, that she might seeme to be more flat and saddle-noled: for she had left her selfe no nose at all in that place, hauing anointed the very same place with a black ointement, and her eye browes also: which sight seemed most vgly in our eies. Then I rehearsed vnto him the same wordes, which I had spoken in other places before. For it stoode vs in hand to vse one and the same speech in all places. For we were wel forewarned of this circumstance by some which had been amongst the Tartars, that we should neuer varie in our tale. Then I besought him, that he would vouchsafe to accept that small gifte at our hands, excusing my selfe that I was a Monke, and that it was against our profession to possesse gold, or siluer, or precious garments, and therefore that I had not any such thing to giue him, howbeit he should receiue some part of our victuals in stead of a blessing. Hereupon he caused our present to be receiued, and immediately distributed the same among his men, who were mette together for the same purpose, to drinke and make merrie. I deliuered also vnto him the Emperors letters (this was eight dayes after the feast of Ascension) who sent them forthwith to Soldaia to haue them interpreted there: for they were written in Greeke, and he had none about him that was skilfull in the Greeke tongue. He asked vs also whether we would drinke any Cosmos, that is to say mares milke: (For those that are Christians among them, as namely the Russians, Grecians, and Alanians, who keep their own law very strictly, will in no case drinke thereof, yea, they accompt themselues no Christians after they haue once dronke of it, & their priests reconcile them vnto the Church as if they had renounced the Christian faith.) I gaue him answere, that we had as yet sufficient of our owne to drinke, and that when our drinke failed vs, we must be constrained to drink such as should be giuen vnto vs. He enquired also what was contained in our letters, which your Maiestie sent vnto Sartach? I answered: that they were sealed vp, and that there was nothing conteined in them, but good and friendly wordes. And he asked what wordes wee would deliuer vnto Sartach? I answered: the wordes of Christian faith. He asked again what these wordes were: For he was very desirous to heare thē. Then I expounded vnto him as well as I

A meete right worthy the noting.

could, by mine interpreter, (who had no wit nor any vtterance of ſpeech) the Apoſtles creed. Which after he had heard, holding his peace, he ſhooke his head. Then hee aſſigned vnto vs two men, who ſhoulde giue attendance vpon our ſelues, vpon our horſes, and vpon our Oxen. And hee cauſed vs to ride in his companie, till the meſſenger whome hee had ſent for the interpretation of the Emperours letters, was returned. And ſo wee trauelled in his companie till the morowe after Pentecoſt.

Howe the Alanians came vnto vs on Pentecoſt or Whitſon euen. *Chap.* 13.

*Or, Akas. VPon the euen of Pentecoſt, there came vnto vs certaine Alanians, who are there called * Acias, being Chriſtians after the maner of the Grecians, vſing greeke bookes and Grecian prieſts: howbeit they are not ſchiſmatiques as the Grecians are, but without acception of perſons, they honour al Chriſtians. And they brought vnto vs ſodden fleſh, requeſting vs to eat of their meat, and to pray for one of their company being dead. Then I ſayd, becauſe it was the euen of ſo great and ſo ſolemne a feaſt day, that we would not eate any fleſh for that time. And I expounded vnto them the ſolemnitie of the ſayd feaſt, whereat they greatly reioyced: for they were ignorant of all things appertayning to Chriſtian religion, except only the name of Chriſt. They and many other Chriſtians, both Ruſſians, and Hungarians demanded of vs, whether they might be ſaued or no, becauſe they were conſtrained to drinke Coſmos, & to eate the dead carkaſes of ſuch things, as were ſlaine by the Saracens, and other infidels: Which euen the Greeke & Ruſſian prieſts themſelues alſo eſteeme as things ſtrangled or offered vnto idoles: becauſe they were ignorant of the times of faſting, neither could they haue obſerued them albeit they had knowen them. Then inſtructed I them aſwell as I could and ſtrengthened them in the faith. As for the fleſh which they had brought we reſerued it vntill the feaſt day. For there was nothing to be ſold among the Tartars for gold & ſilluer, but only for cloth and garments, of the which kind of merchandiſe wee had none at all. When our ſeruants offered them any coine called Yperpera, they rubbed it with their fingers, and put it vnto their noſes, to try by the ſmell whether it were copper or no. Neither did they allow vs any foode but cowes milke onely which was very ſowre & filthy. There was one thing moſt neceſſary greatly wanting vnto vs. For the water was ſo foule and muddy by reaſon of their horſes, that it was not meete to be drunk. And but for certaine biſket, which was part of goodes of God remaining vnto vs, we had vndoubtedly periſhed.

*Cloth is the chiefe marchandiſe in Tartarie.

Of a Saracen which ſaid that he would be baptized: and of certaine men which ſeemed to be lepers. *Chap.* 14.

VPon the day of Pentecoſt there came vnto vs a certain Saracen, vnto whome, as hee talked with vs, we expounded the Chriſtian faith. Who (hearing of Gods benefits exhibited vnto mankind by the incarnation of our Sauiour Chriſt, and the reſurrection of the dead, & the iudgement to come, & that in baptiſme was a waſhing away of ſinnes) ſayd, that hee would be baptized. But when we prepared our ſelues to the baptizing of him, he ſuddenly mounted on his horſebacke, ſaying that he would goe home and conſult with his wife what were beſt to be done. And on the morrow after he told vs, that he durſt in no caſe receiue baptiſme, becauſe then he ſhould drinke no more Coſmos. For the Chriſtians of that place affirme that no true Chriſtians ought to drinke thereof: and that without the ſaid liquor he could not liue in that deſert. From which opinion, I could not for my life remoue him. Wherefore be it knowen of a certainty vnto your highnes, that they are much eſtranged from the Chriſtian faith by reaſon of that opinion which hath bin broached & confirmed among them by the Ruſſians, of whom there is a great multitude in that place. The ſame day Scacatay the captaine aforeſayd gaue vs one man to conduct vs to Sartach, and two other to guide vs vnto the next lodging, which was diſtant from that place fiue dayes iourney for oxen to trauell. They gaue vnto vs alſo a goate for victuals, and a great many bladders of cowes milke, & but a little Coſmos, becauſe it is of ſo great eſtimation among them. And ſo taking our iourney directly toward the North, me thought that wee had paſſed through one of hell gates. The ſeruants which conducted vs began to play the bold theeues with vs, ſeeing vs take ſo little heed vnto our ſelues. At length hauing loſt much by their theeuery, barme caught vs wildome. And then we came vnto the extremity of that prouince, which is fortified with a ditch from one ſea vnto another: without the bounds wherof their lodging was ſituate. Into the which, ſo ſoone as we had entred, al the inhabitants there ſeemed vnto vs to be infected with leproſie: for certain baſe fellowes were placed there to receiue tribute of al ſuch as tooke ſalt out of the ſalt pits aforeſaid. From that place

*Salt pits.

they

they told vs that we muſt trauel fifteen daies iourney, before we ſhuld find any other people. With them wee bpanke Coſmos, and gaue vnto them a baſket full of fruites [illegible] And they gaue vnto vs eight oxen and one goate, to ſuſtaine vs in ſo great a iourney [illegible] I knowe not how many bladders of milke. And ſo changing our oxen, we tooke our iourney [illegible] which we finiſhed in tenne dayes, arriuing at another lodging: neither found we any water all the way, but onely in certaine pitches made in the valleys, except two ſmall riuers. And from the time wherein wee departed out of the foreſaid prouince of Gaſaria, we trauailed directly Eaſtward, hauing a Sea on the South ſide of vs, and a waſte deſert on the North, which deſert, in ſome places, reacheth twenty dayes iourney in breadth, and there is neither tree, mountaine, nor ſtone in it. And it is moſt excellent paſture. Here the Comanians, which were called Capthac, were wont to feede their cattell. Howbeit by the Dutch men they are called Valani, and the prouince it ſelfe Valania. But Iſidore calleth all that tract of land ſtretching from the riuer of Tanais to the lake of Meotis, and ſo along as farre as Danubius, the countrey of Alania. And the ſame land continueth in length from Danubius vnto Tanais (which diuideth Aſia from Europe) for the ſpace of two moneths iourney, albeit a man ſhould ride poſte as faſt as the Tartars vſe to ride: and it was all ouer inhabited by the Comanians, called Capthac: yea and beyond Tanais, as farre as the riuer of Edil or Volga: the ſpace betweene the two which riuers is a great and long iourney to bee trauailed in ten dayes. To the North of the ſame prouince lieth Ruſſia, which is full of wood in all places, and ſtretcheth from Polonia and Hungaria, euen to the riuer of Tanais: and it hath bene waſted all ouer by the Tartars, and as yet is daily waſted by them.

Ten dayes iourney.

The length of Comania.

Ruſſia.

Of our afflictions which we ſuſtained: and of the Comanians maner of buriall. *Chap.* 15.

They preferre the Saracens before the Ruſſians, becauſe they are Chriſtians, and when they are able to giue them no more golde nor ſiluer, they driue them and their children like flockes of ſheepe into the wildernes, conſtraining them to keepe their cattell there. Beyond Ruſſia lieth the countrey of Pruſſia, which the Dutch knights of the order of Saint Maries hoſpitall of Ieruſalem haue of late wholly conquered and ſubdued. And in very deede they might eaſily winne Ruſſia, if they would put to their helping hand. For if the Tartars ſhould but once know, that the great Pieſt, that is to ſay, the Pope did cauſe the enſigne of the croſſe to bee diſplaied againſt them, they would flee all into their deſert and ſolitarie places. We therefore went on towards the Eaſt, ſeeing nothing but heauen and earth, and ſometimes the ſea on our right hand, called the Sea of Tanais, and the ſepulchres of the Comanians, which appeared vnto vs two leagues off, in which places they were wont to burie their kinred altogether. So long as we were trauelling through the deſert, it went reaſonably well with vs. For I cannot ſufficiently expreſſe in words the irkeſome and tedious troubles which I ſuſteined, when I came at any of their places of abode. For our guide would haue vs goe in vnto euery Captaine with a preſent, and our expenſes would not extend ſo farre. For we were euery day eight perſons of vs ſpending our waifaring prouiſion, for the Tartars ſeruants would all of them eate of our victuals. We our ſelues were fiue in number, and the ſeruants our guides were three, two to driue our carts, and one to conduct vs vnto Sarathach. The fleſh which they gaue vs was not ſufficient for vs: neither could we finde any thing to be bought for our money. And as we ſate vnder our carts in the coole ſhadowe, by reaſon of the extreame and vehement heate which was there at that time, they did ſo importunately and ſhamefully intrude themſelues into our companie, that they would euen tread vpon vs, to ſee whatſoeuer things we had. Hauing liſt at any time to caſe themſelues, the filthy lozels had not the maners to withdrawe themſelues farther from vs, then a beane can bee caſt. Yea, like vile ſlouens they would lay their tailes in our preſence, while they were yet talking with vs: many other things they committed, which were moſt tedious and loathſome vnto vs. But aboue all things it grieued me to the very heart, that when I would vtter ought vnto them, which might tend to their edification, my fooliſh interpreter would ſay: you ſhall not make me become a Preacher now: I tell you, I cannot nor I will not rehearſe any ſuch words. And true it was which he ſaide, For I perceiued afterward, when I began to haue a litle ſmattering in the language, that when I ſpake one thing, he would ſay quite another, whatſoeuer came next vnto his witleſſe tongues end. Then ſeeing the danger I might incurre in ſpeaking by ſuch an interpreter, I reſolued much rather to holde my peace, and thus we trauelled with great toile from lodging to lodging, till at the length, a fewe dayes before the feaſt of Saint Marie Magdalene, we arriued at the banke of the mightie riuer Tanais which diuideth Aſia from Europa, euen as the riuer Nilus of Ægypt diſpartheth Aſia from Africa. At the ſame place where wee arriued, Baatu and Sartach did cauſe a certaine cottage

Pruſſia.

Extreme heate in Sommer.

Tanais.

tage to be buile, vpon the Eaſterne banke of the riuer, for a companie of Ruſſians to dwell in: to the ende they might tranſport Ambaſſadours and merchants in ferrie-boates ouer that part of the riuer. Firſt they ferried vs ouer, and then our carts, putting one wheele into one lyter, and the other wheele into another lyter, hauing bounde both the lyters together, and ſo they rowe them ouer. In this place our guide played the foole moſt extreamely. For hee imagining that the ſaid Ruſſians, dwelling in the cottage, ſhould haue prouided vs horſes, ſent home the beaſts which we brought with vs, in another cart, þ they might returne vnto their owne maſters. And when we demanded to haue ſome beaſts of thē, they anſwered, that they had a priuiledge from Baatu, whereby they were bound to none other ſeruice, but only to ferry ouer goers & commers: and that they receiued great tribute of marchants in regard therof. We ſtaied therfore by the ſaid riuers ſide three daies. The firſt day they gaue vnto vs a great freſh turbut: the ſecond day they beſtowed rye bread, and a litle fleſh vpon vs, which the purueyer of the village had taken vp at euerie houſe for vs: and the third day dried fiſhes, which they haue there in great abundance. The ſaide riuer was euen as broad in that place, as the riuer of Sein is at Paris. And before we came there, we paſſed ouer many goodly waters, and full of fiſh: howbeit the barbarous and rude Tartars know not how to take them: neither do they make any reckoning of any fiſh, except it be ſo great, that they may pray vpon the fleſh therof, as vpon the fleſh of a ram. This riuer is the limite of the Eaſt part of Ruſſia, and it ſpringeth out of the fennes of Mæotis, which fennes ſtretch vnto the North Ocean. And it runneth Southward into a certain great ſea 700. miles about, before it falleth into the ſea called Pōtus Euxinus. And al the riuers, which we paſſed ouer, ran with ful ſtream into thoſe quarters. The foreſaid riuer hath great ſtore of wood alſo growing vpon the Weſt ſide thereof. Beyond this place the Tartars aſcend no farther vnto the North: for at that ſeaſon of the yeere, about the firſt of Auguſt, they begin to returne backe vnto the South. And therfore there is another cottage ſomwhat lower, where paſſengers are ferried ouer in Winter time. And in this place wee were driuen to great extremitie, by reaſon that we could get neither horſes, nor oxen for any money. At length, after I had declared vnto them, that my comming was to labour for the common good of all Chriſtians, they ſent vs oxen & men; howbeit we our ſelues were faine to trauel on foote. At this time they were reaping their rye. Wheat proſpereth not wel in that ſoile. They haue the ſeed of Millium in great abundance. The Ruſſian women attire their heads like vnto our women. They imbroder their ſafegards or gowns on the outſide, from their feet vnto their knees with particoloured or grey ſtuffe. The Ruſſian men weare caps like vnto the Dutch men. Alſo they weare vpon their heads certain ſharpe, & high-crowned hats made of felt, much like vnto a ſugar loafe. Then trauelled we 3. daies together, not finding any people. And when our ſelues and our oxen were exceeding weary and faint, not knowing how far off we ſhould find any Tartars, on the ſudden, there came two horſes running towards vs, which we tooke with great ioy, and our guide and interpreter mounted vpon their backes, to ſee, how far off they could deſcry any people. At length vpon the fourth day of our iourney, hauing found ſome inhabitants, we reioyced like ſea-faring men, which had eſcaped out of a dangerous tempeſt, and had newly recouered the hauen. Then hauing taken freſh horſes, and oxen, we paſſed on from lodging to lodging, till at the laſt, vpon the ſecond of the Kalends of Auguſt, we arriued at the habitation of Duke Sartach himſelfe.

The breadth of Tanais.

We is much deceiued.

About the beginning of Auguſt, the Tartars returne Southward.

Of the dominion of Sartach, and of his Subiects. *Chap.* 16.

The people of Moxel are Pagans.

THe region lying beyond Tanais, is a very goodly countrey, hauing ſtore of riuers and woods toward the North part thereof. There be mighty huge woods which two ſorts of people do inhabite. One of them is called Moxel, being meere Pagans, and without law. They haue neither townes nor cities, but only cottages in þ woods. Their lord & a great part of themſelues were put to the ſword in high Germanie. Whereupon they highly commend the brawe courage of the Almans, hoping as yet to be deliuered out of the bondage of the Tartars, by their meanes. If any merchant come vnto them, he muſt prouide things neceſſary for him, with whom he is firſt of all entertained, all the time of his abode among them. If any lieth with another mans wife, her huſband, vnles he be an eie witnes therof, regardeth it not: for they are not iealous ouer their wiues. They haue abundance of hogs, and great ſtore of hony & wax, and diuers ſorts of rich & coſtly ſkins, and plentie of falcons. Next vnto them are other people called Merclas, which the Latines cal Merdui, and they are Saracens. Beyond them is the riuer of Etilia or Volga, which is þ mightieſt riuer that euer I ſaw. And it iſſueth from the North part of Bulgaria the greater, & ſo trending along Southward, diſimboqueth into a certain lake cōtaining in circuit the ſpace of 4. moneths trauel, whereof I will ſpeak hereafter. The two foreſaid riuers, namely Tanais & Etilia, otherwiſe called Volga, towards the Northren regions through the which we trauelled, are not diſtāt aſunder aboue 5. daies iourney, but

The people called Merdui being Saracens.

The circuits of the Caſpian Sea.

but Southward they are diuided a great ſpace one from another. For Tanais deſcendeth into the ſea of Pontus: Etilia maketh the foreſaid ſea or lake, with the helpe of many other riuers which fall thereinto out of Perſia. And we had to the South of vs huge high mountains, vpon the ſides whereof, towards the ſaid deſert, doe the people called Cergis, and the Alani or Acas inhabit, who are as yet Chriſtians, & wage warre againſt the Tartars. Beyond theſe, next vnto the ſea or lake of Etilia, there are certaine Saracens called Lesgi, who are in ſubiection vnto the Tartars. Beyond theſe is Porta ferrea, or the yron gate, nowe called Derbent, which Alexander built to exclude the barbarous nations out of Perſia. Concerning the ſituation whereof, your maieſtie ſhall vnderſtand more about the end of this Treatiſe: for I trauailed in my returne by the very ſame place. Betweene the two foreſaid riuers, in the regions through the which we paſſed did the Comanians of olde time inhabite, before they were ouerrun by the Tartars.

Kergis or Acas.

The Saracens called Lesgi.

He returneth by Derbent.

Of the Court of Sartach, and of the magnificence thereof. *Chap.* 17.

AND we found Sartach lying within three dales iourney of the riuer Etilia: whoſe Court ſeemed vnto vs to be very great. For he himſelfe had ſixe wiues, and his eldeſt ſonne alſo had three wiues: euery one of which women hath a great houſe, & they haue each one of them about 200. carres. Our guide ſent vnto a certaine Neſtorian named Coiat, who is a man of great authoritie in Sartachs Court, He made vs to goe very farre vnto the Lords gate. For ſo they call him, who hath the office of entertreining Ambaſſadours. In the euening Coiac commanded vs to come vnto him. Then our guide began to enquire what we would preſent him withal, & was exceedingly offended, when he ſaw that we had nothing ready to preſent. We ſtoode before him, and he ſate maieſtically, hauing muſicke and dauncing in his preſence. Then I ſpake vnto him in the words before recited, telling him, for what purpoſe I was come vnto his lorde, and requeſting ſo much fauour at his hands, as to bring our letters vnto the ſight of his Lord. I excuſed my ſelfe alſo, that I was a Monke, not hauing, nor receiuing, nor vſing any golde, or ſiluer, or any other precious thing, ſaue onely our bookes, and the veſtiments wherein wee ſerued God: and that this was the cauſe why I brought no preſent vnto him, nor vnto his Lord. For I that had abandoned mine owne goods, could not be a tranſporter of things for other men. Then hee anſwered very courteouſly, that being a Monke, and ſo doing, I did well: for ſo I ſhould obſerue my vowe: neither did himſelfe ſtand in neede of ought that we had, but rather was readie to beſtow vpon vs ſuch things as we our ſelues ſtood in neede of: and he cauſed vs to ſit downe, and to drinke of his milke. And preſently after he requeſted vs to ſay our deuotions for him: and we did ſo. He enquired alſo who was the greateſt Prince among the Franckes? And I ſaide, the Emperour, if he could inioy his owne dominions in quiet. No (quoth he) but the king of France. For he had heard of your Highnes by lord Baldwine of Henault. I found there alſo one of the Knights of the Temple, who had bene in Cyprus, and had made report of all things which he ſawe there. Then returned wee vnto our lodging. And on the morow we ſent him a flagon of Muſcadel wine (which had laſted very wel in ſo long a iourney) and a bore full of bisket, which was moſt acceptable vnto him. And he kept our ſeruants with him for that euening. The next morning he commanded me to come vnto the Court, and to bring the kings letters and my veſtimentes, and bookes with me: becauſe his Lorde was deſirous to ſee them. Which we did accordingly, lading one cart with our bookes and veſtiments, and another with bisket, wine, and fruites. Then he cauſed all our bookes and veſtiments to bee laide forth. And there ſtoode round about vs many Tartars, Chriſtians and Saracens on horſeback. At the ſight whereof, he demanded whether I would beſtow all thoſe things vpon his Lord or no? Which ſaying made me to tremble, and grieued me full ſore. Howbeit, diſſembling our griefe as well as we could, we ſhaped him this anſwere: Sir, our humble requeſt is, that our Lorde your maſter would vouchſafe to accept our head, wine, and fruits, not as a preſent, becauſe it is too meane, but as a benediction, leaſt we ſhould come with an emptie hand before him. And he ſhall ſee the letters of my ſouereigne Lord the king, and by them he ſhall vnderſtand for what cauſe we are come vnto him, and then both our ſelues, and all that we haue, ſhall ſtand to his curteſie: for our veſtimentes be holy, and it is vnlawfull for any but Prieſts to touch them. Then he commaunded vs to inueſt our ſelues in the ſaide garments, that we might goe before his Lord: and wee did ſo. Then I my ſelfe putting on our moſt precious ornaments, tooke in mine armes a very faire cuſhion, and the Bible which your Maiеſty gaue me, and a moſt beautifull Plaiter, which the Queenes Grace beſtowed vpon me, wherein there were goodly pictures. Mine aſſociate tooke a miſſal and a croſſe: and the clearke hauing put on his ſurpleſſe, tooke a cenſer in his hand. And ſo wee came vnto the preſence of his Lord: and they lifted vp the felt hanging before his doore, that hee might

Coiat the Neſtorian.

behold

behold vs. Then they caused the clearke and the interpreter thrise to bow the knee: but of vs they required no such submission. And they diligently admonished vs to take heed, that in going in, and in comming out, we touched not the threshold of the house, and requested vs to sing a benediction for him. Then we entred in, singing Salue Regina. And within the entrance of the dooze, stood a bench with cosmos, and drinking cups thereupon. And all his wiues were there assembled. Also the Moals or rich Tartars thrusting in with vs pressed vs sore. Then Coiat caried vnto his lord the censer with incense, which he beheld very diligently, holding it in his hand. Afterward hee caried the Psalter vnto him, which he looked earnestly vpon, and his wife also that sate beside him. After that he caried the Bible: then Sartach asked if the Gospel were contained therein: Yea (said I) and all the holy scriptures besides. He tooke the crosse also in his hand, and demanded concerning the image, whether it were the image of Christ or no: I said it was. The Nestorians & the Armenians do neuer make the figure of Christ vpon their crosses. Wherfore either they seem not to think wel of his passion, or els they are ashamed of it. Then he caused them that stood about vs, to stand aside, that he might more fully behold our ornaments. Afterward I deliuered vnto him your Maiesties letters, with the translation therof into the Arabike & Syriake languages. For I caused them to be translated at Acon into the character & dialect of both the saide tongues. And there were certain Armenian priests, which had skil in the Turkish & Arabian languages. The aforesaid knight also of the order of the Temple had knowledge in the Syriake, Turkish, & Arabian tongues. Then we departed forth, and put off our vestiments, and there came vnto vs certaine Scribes together with the foresaid Coiat, & caused our letters to be interpreted. Which letters being heard, he caused our bread, wine and fruits to be receiued. And he permitted vs also to carie our vestiments and bookes vnto our owne lodging. This was done vpon the feast of S. Peter ad vincula.

No good consequence.

How they were giuen in charge to goe vnto Baatu the Father of Sartach. *Chap.* 18.

The nert morning betimes came vnto vs a certaine Priest, who was brother vnto Coiat, requesting to haue our bore of Chrisme, because Sartach (as he said) was desirous to see it: and so we gaue it him. About euentide Coiat sent for vs, saying: My lord your king wrote good words vnto my lord and master Sartach. Howbeit there are certaine matters of difficulty in them concerning which he dare not determine ought, without the aduise and counsell of his father. And therfore of necessitie you must depart vnto his father, leauing behind you the two carts, which you brought hither yesterday with vestiments and bookes, in my custodie: because my lord is desirous to take more diligent view thereof. Priestly suspecting what mischiefe might ensue by his couetousnes, said vnto him: Sir, we will not [illegible] leaue those with you, but the two other carts also, which we haue in our possession, will we commit vnto your custodie. You shall not (quoth he) leaue those behinde you, but for the other two carts first named, we will satisfie your request. I saide that this could not conueniently be done: but needes we must leaue all with him. Then he asked, whether we meant to carie in the land? I answered: If you throughly vnderstand the letters of my lord the king, you know that we are euen so determined. Then he replied, that we ought to bee patient and lowly: and so we departed from him that euening. On the morrowe after he sent a Nestorian Priest for the carts, and we caused all the foure carts to be deliuered. Then came the foresaid brother of Coiat to meet vs, and separated all those things, which we had brought the day before vnto the Court, from the rest, namely, the bookes and vestiments, and tooke them away with him. Howbeit Coiat had commanded, that we should carie those vestiments with vs, which wee ware in the presence of Sartach, that we might put them on before Baatu, if need should require: but the said Priest tooke them from vs by violence, saying: thou hast brought them vnto Sartach, and wouldest thou carie them vnto Baatu? And when I would haue rendred a reason, he answered: be not so talkatiue, but goe your wayes. Then I sawe that there was no remedie but patience: for wee could haue no accesse vnto Sartach himselfe, neither was there any other, that would doe vs iustice. I was afraide also in regard of the interpreter, least he had spoken other things then I saide vnto him: for his will was good that we should haue giuen away all that wee had. There was yet one comfort remaining vnto me: for when I once perceiued their couetous intent, I conueyed from among our bookes the Bible, and the sentences, and certaine other bookes which I made speciall account of. Howbeit I durst not take away the Psalter of my soueraigne Lady the Queene, because it was too wel known, by reason of the golden pictures therein. And so we returned with the twoother carts vnto our lodging. Then came he that was appointed to be our guide vnto the court of Baatu, willing vs to take our iourney in all poste-haste: vnto whom I said, that I would in no case haue the carts to goe with me. Which thing he declared vnto Coiat. Then Coiat commaun-

ded

bed, that we should leaue them and our seruant with him: And we did as he commanded. And so trauelling directly Eastward towards Baatu, the third day we came to Etilia or Volga: the streams whereof when I beheld, I wondered from what regions of the North such huge and mighty waters should descend. Before we were departed from Sartach, the foresaid Coiar, with many other Scribes of the court said vnto vs: doe not make report that our Lord is a Christian, but a Moal. Because the name of a Christian seemeth vnto them to be the name of some nation. So great is their pride, that albeit they beleeue perhaps some things concerning Christ, yet will they not bee called Christians, being desirous that their owne name, that is to say, Moal should be exalted aboue all other names. Neither will they be called by the name of Tartars. For the Tartars were another nation, as I was informed by them.

They are come as farre as Volga.

The Tartars will be called Moal.

Howe Sartach, and Mangu-Can, and Ken-Can doe reuerence vnto Christians. *Chap.* 19.

At the same time when the French-men tooke Antioch, a certaine man named Con Can had dominion ouer the Northren regions, lying thereabouts. Con is a proper name: Can is a name of authority or dignitie, which signifieth a diuiner or soothsayer. All diuiners are called Can amongst them. Whereupon their princes are called Can, because that vnto them belongeth the gouernment of the people by diuination. Wee doe reade also in the history of Antiochia, that the Turkes sent for aide against the French-men, vnto the kingdome of Con Can. For out of those parts the whole nation of the Turkes first came. The said Con was of the nation of Kara-Caray. Kara signifieth blacke, and Caray is the name of a countrey. So that Kara-Caray signifieth the blacke Caray. This name was giuen to make a difference betweene the foresaid people, and the people of Caray, inhabiting Eastward ouer against ꝑ Ocean sea: concerning whom your maiesty shall vnderstand more hereafter. These Carayans dwelt vpon certaine Alpes, by the which I trauailed. And in a certain plaine countrey within those Alpes, there inhabited a Nestorian shepheard, being a mighty gouernour ouer the people called Yayman, which were Christians, following the sect of Nestorius. After the death of Con Can, the said Nestorian exalted himselfe to the kingdome, and they called him King Iohn, reporting ten times more of him then was true. For so the Nestorians which come out of those parts, vse to doe. For they blaze abroade great rumors, and reports vpon iust nothing. Whereupon they gaue out concerning Sartach, that he was become a Christian, and the like also they reported concerning Mangu Can, and Ken Can: namely because these Tartars make more account of Christians, then they doe of other people, and yet in very deede, themselues are no Christians. So likewise there went forth a great report concerning the said king Iohn. Howbeit, when I trauailed along by his territories, there was no man that knew any thing of him, but onely a fewe Nestorians. In his pastures or territories dwelleth Ken Can, at whose Court Frier Andrew was. And I my selfe passed by it at my returne. This Iohn had a brother, being a mightie man also, and a shepheard like himselfe, called Vut, and he inhabited beyond the Alpes of Cara Caray, being distant from his brother Iohn, the space of three weekes iourney. He was ouer a certain village, called Cara Carum, hauing people also for his subiects, named Crit, or Merkit, who were Christians of the sect of Nestorius. But their Lorde abandoning the worship of Christ, followed after idoles, reteining with him Priests of the saide idoles, who all of them are worshippers of deuils and sorcerers. Beyond his pastures some tenne or fifteene dayes iourney, were the pastures of Moal, who were a poore and beggerly nation, without gouernour, and without Lawe, except their soothsayings, and their diuinations, vnto the which detestable studies, all in those partes doe apply their mindes. Neere vnto Moal were other poore people called Tartars. The foresaid king Iohn died without issue male, and thereupon his brother Vut was greatly inritched, and caused himselfe to be named Can: and his droues and flockes raunged euen vnto the borders of Moal. About the same time there was one Cyngis, a blacke smith among the people of Moal. This Cyngis stole as many cattel from Vut Can, as he could possibly get: insomuch that the shepheards of Vut complained vnto their Lord. Then prouided he an armie, and marched vp into the countrey of Moal to seeke for the saide Cyngis. But Cyngis fledde among the Tartars, and hidde himselfe amongest them. And Vut hauing taken some spoiles both from Moal, and also from the Tartars, returned home. Then spake Cyngis vnto the Tartars, and vnto the people of Moal, saying: Sirs, because we are destitute of a gouernour and Captaine, you see howe our neighbours do oppresse vs. And the Tartars and Moals appointed him to be their Chieftaine. Then hauing secretly gathered together an armie, he brake in suddenly vpon Vut, and ouercame him, and Vut fledde into Caraya. At the same time was the daughter of Vut taken, which Cyngis maried

This history of Presbiter Iohn in the North-east, is alleaged at large by Gerardus Mercator in his generall mappe.

From whence the Turkes first sprang.

An Ocean sea.

Nayman.

Presbiter Iohn.

The place of Ken Kan his abode.

Vut Can, or Vnc Can.

The village of Cara Carum.

Crit and Merkit.

Moal in olde time a beggers people.

The place of the Tartars.

Cyngis.

Mangu-Can. married vnto one of his sonnes, by whom she conceiued, & brought forth the great Can, which now reigneth, called Mangu-Can. Then Cyngis sent ꝑ Tartars before him in al places where he came: and thereupon was their name published and spread abroade: for in all places the people would crie out: Loe, the Tartars come, the Tartars come. Howbeit, through continuall warres, they are nowe, all of them in a maner, consumed and brought to nought. Whereupon the Moals indeuour what they can, to extinguish the name of the Tartars, that they may exalt their owne name. The countrey wherein they first inhabited, and where the Court of Cyngis Can as yet remaineth, is called Mancherule. But because Tartaria is the region, about which they haue obtained their conquests, they esteeme that as their royall and chiefe citie, and there for the most part doe they elect their great Can.

Mancherule.

Of the Russians, Hungarians, and Alanians: and of the Caspian Sea. *Chap.* 20.

NOw, as concerning Sartach, whether he beleeues in Christ, or no, I knowe not. This I am sure of, that he will not be called a Christian. Yea rather he seemeth vnto mee to deride and skoffe at Christians. He lieth in the way of the Christians, as namely of the Russians, the Valachians, the Bulgarians of Bulgaria the lesser, the Soldaianes, the Kerkis, and the Alanians: who all of them passe by him, as they are going to the Court of his father Baatu, to carie giftes: whereupon he is more in league with them. Howbeit, if the Saracens come, and bring greater giftes then they, they are dispatched sooner. He hath about him certaine Nestorian Priestes, who pray vpon their beades, and sing their deuotions. Also, there is another vnder Baatu called Berta, who feedeth his cattell toward Porta ferrea, or Derbent, where lieth the passage of all those Saracens, which come out of Persia, and out of Turkie to goe vnto Baatu, and passing by, they giue rewards vnto him. And he professeth himselfe to be a Saracene, and will not permit swines flesh to be eaten in his dominions. Howbeit, at the time of our returne, Baatu commanded him to remoue himselfe from that place, and to inhabite vpon the East side of Volga: for hee was vnwilling that the Saracens messengers should passe by the saide Berta, because he sawe it was not for his profite. For the space of foure dayes while we remained in the court of Sartach, we had not any victuals at all allowed vs, but once onely a litle Cosmos. And in our iourney betweene him and his father, wee trauelled in great feare. For certaine Russians, Hungarians, and Alanians being seruantes vnto the Tartars (of whom they haue great multitudes among them) assemble themselues twentie or thirtie in a companie, and so secretly in the night conueying themselues from home, they take bowes and arrowes with them, and whomesoeuer they finde in the night season, they put him to death, hiding themselues in the day time. And hauing tired their horses, they goe in the night vnto a company of other horses feeding in some pasture, and change them for newe, taking with them also one or two horses besides, to eate them when they stand in neede. Our guide therefore was sore afraide, least we should haue met with such companions. In this iourney wee had died for famine, had we not caried some of our bisket with vs. At length we came vnto the mighty riuer of Etilia, or Volga. For it is foure times greater, then the riuer of Sein, and of a wonderfull depth: and issuing forth of Bulgaria the greater, it runneth into a certaine lake or sea, which of late they cal the Hircan sea, according to the name of a certain citie in Persia, standing vpon the shore thereof. Howbeit Isidore calleth it the Caspian sea. For it hath the Caspian mountaines and the land of Persia situate on the South side thereof: and the mountaines of Musihet, that is to say, of the people called Assassini towards the East, which mountaines are conioyned vnto the Caspian mountaines: but on the North side thereof lieth the same desert, wherein the Tartars doe now inhabite. Howbeit heretofore there dwelt certaine people called Changlæ. And on that side it receiueth the streams of Etilia; which riuer increaseth in Sommer time, like vnto the riuer Nilus in Ægypt. Vpon the West part thereof, it hath the mountaines of Alani, and Lesgi, and Porta ferrea, or Derbent, and the mountaines of Georgia. This Sea therefore is compassed in on three sides with the mountaines, but on the North side with plaine grounde. Frier Andrew, in his iourney trauelled round about two sides therof, namely the South and the East sides: and I my selfe about other two, that is to say, the North side in going from Baatu to Mangu-Can, and in returning likewise: and the West side in comming home from Baatu into Syria. A man may trauel round about it in foure moneths. And it is not true which Isidore reporteth, namely that this Sea is a bay or gulfe comming forth of the Ocean: for it doeth, in no part thereof, ioyne with the Ocean, but is inuironed on all sides with lande.

Of Berta.

Changlæ.

Frier Andrew.

Of

Of the court of *Baatu*: and howe we were interteined by him. *Chap.* 21.

ALl the region extending from the West shore of the foresaid sea, where Alexanders Iron gate, otherwise called the citie of Derbent, is situate, and from the mountaines of Alania, all along by the fennes of Męotis, whereinto the riuer of Tanais falleth, and so forth, to the North Ocean, was wont to be called Albania. Of which countrey Isidore reporteth, that there be dogs of such an huge stature, and so fierce, that they are able in fight to match bulles, and to master lions. Which is true, as I vnderstand by diuers, who told me, that there towardes the North Ocean they make their dogges to draw in carts like oxen, by reason of their bignesse and strength. Moreouer, vpon that part of Etilia where we arriued, there is a new cottage built, wherein they haue placed Tartars and Russians both together, to ferrie ouer, and transport messengers going and comming to and fro the court of Baatu. For Baatu remaineth vpon the farther side towards the East. Neither ascendeth hee in Sommer time more Northward then the foresaide place where we arriued, but was euen then descending to the South. From Januarie vntill August both he and all other Tartars ascend by the banks of riuers towards cold and Northerly regions, and in August they begin to returne backe againe. We passed downe the streame therefore in a barke, from the foresaid cottage vnto his court. From the same place vnto the villages of Bulgaria the greater, standing toward the North, it is fiue dayes iourney. I wonder what deuill carried the religion of Mahomet thither. For, from Derbent, which is vpon the extreame borders of Persia, it is aboue 30. daies iourney to passe ouerthwart the desert, and so to ascend by the banke of Etilia, into the foresaid countrey of Bulgaria. All which way there is no citie, but onely certaine cottages neere vnto that place where Etilia falleth into the sea. Those Bulgarians are most wicked Saracens, more earnestly professing the damnable religion of Mahomet, then any other nation whatsoeuer. Moreouer, when I first beheld the court of Baatu, I was astonied at the sight thereof: for his houses or tents seemed as though they had bene some huge and mighty citie, stretching out a great way in length, the people ranging vp and downe about it for the space of some three or foure leagues. And euen as the people of Israel knew euery man, on which side of the tabernacle to pitch his tent: euen so euery one of them knoweth right well, towards what side of the court he ought to place his house when he takes it from off the cart. Whereupon the court is called in their language Horda, which signifieth, the midst: because the gouernour or chiefe taine among them dwels alwaies in the middest of his people: except onely that directly towards the South no subiect or inferiour person placeth himselfe, because towards that region the court gates are set open: but vnto the right hand, and the left hand they extend themselues as farre as they will, according to the conuenience of places, so that they place not their houses directly opposite against the court. At our arrival we were conducted vnto a Saracen, who prouided not for vs any victuals at all. The day following, we were brought vnto the court: and Baatu had caused a large tent to be erected, because his house or ordinarie tent could not containe so many men and women as were assembled. Our guide admonished vs not to speake, till Baatu had giuen vs commandement so to doe, and that then we should speake our mindes briefly. Then Baatu demanded whether your Maiestie had sent Ambassadours vnto him or no: I answered, that your Maiestie had sent messengers to Ken-Can: and that you would not haue sent messengers vnto him, or letters vnto Sartach, had not your Highnes bene perswaded that they were become Christians: because you sent not vnto them for any feare, but onely for congratulation, and curtesies sake, in regard that you heard they were conuerted to Christianitie. Then led he vs vnto his pauilion: and wee were charged not to touch the cordes of the tent, which they account in stead of the threshold of the house. There we stoode in our habite bare-footed, and bare-headed, and were a great and strange spectacle in their eyes. For indeed Frier Iohn de Plano Carpini had byn there before my comming: howbeit, because he was the Popes messenger, he changed his habit that he might not be contemned. Then we were brought into the very midst of the tent, neither required they of vs to do any reuerence by bowing our knees, as they vse to doe of other messengers. Wee stood therefore before him for the space wherein a man might haue rehearsed the Psalme, Miserere mei Deus: and there was great silence kept of all men. Baatu himselfe sate vpon a seate long and broad like vnto a bed, guilt all ouer, with three staires to ascend thereunto, and one of his ladies sate beside him. The men there assembled, sate downe scattering, some on the right hand of the saide Lady, and some on the left. Those places on the one side which the women filled not vp (for there were only the wiues of Baatu) were supplied by the men. Also, at the very entrance of the tent, stoode a bench furnished with cosmos, and with stately great cuppes of siluer, and golde, beeing richly set with pretious stones. Baatu beheld vs earnestly, and we him: and he seemed to me to resemble in personage, Mon-

The North Ocean.

The North Ocean.

We descended downe the riuer Volga in a barke.

Astracan.

The description of Baatu his court.

Horda signifieth the midst.

Iohn de Plano Carpini.

sieur

sieur Iohn de beau mont, whose soule resteth in peace. And hee had a fresh ruddie colour in his countenance. At length he commanded vs to speake. Then our guide gaue vs direction, that wee should bow our knees & speak. Whereupon I bowed one knee as vnto a man: then he signified that I should kneele vpon both knees: and I did so, being loath to contend about such circumstances. And again he commanded me to speak. Then I thinking of water vnto God, because I kneeled on both my knees, began to pray on this wise: Sir, we beseech the Lord, from whom all good things doe proceed, and who hath giuen you these earthly benefites, that it would please him hereafter to make you partaker of his heauenly blessings: because the former without these are but vain and vnprofitable. And I added further, Be it knowen vnto you of a certainty, that you shal not obtain the ioyes of heauen, vnles you become a Christian: for God saith, Whosoeuer beleeueth & is baptized, shalbe saued: but he that beleeueth not, shalbe condemned. At this word he modestly smiled: but the other Moals began to clap their hands, and to deride vs. And my silly interpreter, of whom especially I should haue receiued comfort in time of need, was himself abashed & vtterly dasht out of countenance. Then, after silence made, I said vnto him, I came vnto your sonne, because we heard that he was become a Christian: and I brought vnto him letters on the behalfe of my soueraigne Lord the king of France: and your sonne sent me hither vnto you. The cause of my comming therefore is best known vnto your selfe. Then he caused me to rise vp. And he enquired your maiesties name, and my name, and the name of mine associate and interpreter, and caused them all to be put down in writing. He demaunded likewise (because he had bene informed, that you were departed out of your owne countreys with an armie) against whom you waged warre? I answered: against the Saracens, who had defiled the house of God at Ierusalem. He asked also, whether your Highnes had euer before that time sent any messengers vnto him, or no? To you sir? (said I) neuer. Then caused he vs to sit downe, and gaue vs of his milke to drinke, which they account to be a great fauour, especially when any man is admitted to drinke Colmos with him in his own house. And as I sate looking downe vpon the ground, he commanded me to lift vp my countenance, being desirous as yet to take more diligent view of vs, or els perhaps for a kinde of superstitious obseruation. For they esteeme it a signe of ill lucke, or a prognostication of euil vnto them, when any man sits in their presence, holding downe his head, as if he were sad: especially when he leanes his cheeke or chinne vpon his hand. Then we departed forth, and immediatly after came our guide vnto vs, and conducting vs vnto our lodging, saide vnto me: Your master the King requesteth that you may remaine in this land, which request Baatu cannot satisfie without the knowledge and consent of Mangu-Can. Wherefore you, and your interpreter must of necessitie goe vnto Mangu-Can. Howbeit your associate, and the other man shall returne vnto the court of Sartach, staying there for you, till you come backe. Then began the man of God mine interpreter to lament, esteeming himselfe but a dead man. Mine associate also protested, that they should sooner chop off his head, then withdrawe him out of my companie. Moreouer I my selfe saide, that without mine associate I coulde not goe: and that we stood in neede of two seruants at the least, to attend vpon vs, because, if one should chance to fall sicke, we could not be without another. Then returning vnto the court, he told these sayings vnto Baatu. And Baatu commanded saying: let the two Priests and the interpreter goe together, but let the clearke returne vnto Sartach. And comming againe vnto vs, hee tolde vs euen so. And when I would haue spoken for the clearke to haue had him with vs, he saide: No more words: for Baatu hath resolued, that so it shall be, and therefore I dare not goe vnto the court any more. Goset the clearke had remaining of the almes money bestowed vpon him, 26. Yperperas, and no more; 10. whereof he kept for himselfe and for the lad, and 16. he gaue vnto the man of God for vs. And thus were we parted asunder with teares: he returning vnto the court of Sartach, and our selues remaining still in the same place.

The letters of the French king.

Of our iourney towards the Court of Mangu Can.

Chap. 22.

VPon Assumption euen our clearke arriued at the court of Sartach. And on the morrow after, the Nestorian Priestes were adorned with our vestments in the presence of the saide Sartach. Then wee our selues were conducted vnto another house, who was appointed to prouide vs houseroome, victuailes, and horses. But because wee had not ought to bestowe vpon him, hee did all things vntowardly for vs. Then wee rode on forwarde with Baatu, descending along by the banke of Etilia, for the space of fiue weekes together: Sometimes mine associate was so extremelie hungrie, that hee would tell mee in a manner weeping, that it fared with him as though hee had neuer eaten any thing in all his life before. There is a faire or market following the court of Baatu at all times: but it was so farre distant from vs that we could not

They trauell fiue weekes by the banke of Etilia.

not haue recourse thereunto. For wee were constrained to walke on foote for want of horses. At length certaine Hungarians (who had sometime bene after a sort Clergie men) found vs out: and one of them could as yet sing many songs without booke, and was accompted of other Hungarians as a Priest, and was sent for vnto the funerals of his deceased countrey men. There was another of them also prettily well instructed in his Grammer: for hee could vnderstand the meaning of any thing that wee spake, but could not answere vs. These Hungarians were a great comfort vnto vs, bringing vs Cosmos to drinke, yea, and sometimes flesh for to eate also: who, when they requested to haue some bookes of vs, and I had not any to giue them (for indeede we had none but onely a Bible, and a breuiarie) it grieued mee exceedingly. And I saide vnto them: Bring mee some inke and paper, and I will write for you so long as we shall remaine here: and they did so. And I copied out for them Horas beatæ Virginis, and Officium defunctorum. Moreouer, vpon a certaine day, there was a Comanian that accompanied vs, saluting vs in Latine, and saying: Saluete Domini. Wondering thereat and saluting him againe, I demanded of him, who had taught him that kinde of salutation? Hee saide that hee was baptized in Hungaria by our Friers, and that of them hee learned it. He saide moreouer, that Baatu had enquired many things of him concerning vs, and that hee tolde him the estate of our order. Afterwarde I sawe Baatu riding with his companie, and all his subiects that were householders or masters of families riding with him, and (in mine estimation) they were not fiue hundred persons in all. Alength about the ende of Holy roode, there came a certaine rich Moal vnto vs (whose father was a Millenarie, which is a great office among them) saying: I am the man that must conduct you vnto Mangu-Can, and wee haue thither a tourney of foure moneths long to trauell, and there is such extreame colde in those parts, that stones and trees doe euen riue asunder in regarde thereof. Therefore I would wish you throughly to aduise your selues, whether you be able to indure it or no. Vnto whome I answered: I hope by Gods helpe that we shalbe able to indure which other men can indure. Then he saide: if you cannot indure it, I will forsake you by the way. And I answered him: it were not iust dealing for you so to doe: for wee goe not thither vpon anie businesse of our owne, but by reason that we are sent by your lord. Wherefore sithence we are committed vnto your charge, you ought in no wise to forsake vs. Then he saide: all shalbe well. Afterward he caused vs to shewe him all our garments: and whatsoeuer hee deemed to be lesse needfull for vs, he willed vs to leaue it behind in the custodie of our hoste. On the morrow they brought vnto each of vs a furred gowne, made all of rammes skinnes, with the wool still vpon them, and breeches of the same, and bootes also of buskins according to their fashion, and shoes made of felt, and hoods also made of skinnes after their maner. The second day after Holy rood, we began to set forward on our tourney, hauing three guides to direct vs: and we rode continually Eastward, till the feast of All Saints. Throughout all that region, and beyonde also did the people of Changle inhabite, who were by parentage descended from the Romanes. Vpon the North side of vs, wee had Bulgaria the greater, and on the South, the foresaid Caspian sea.

Hungarians.

A Comanian.

A tourney of 4. moneths from Volga.

The 16. of September.

46. dayes.

Of Kangitæ.

Of the riuer of Iagac: and of diuers regions or nations. *Chap.* 23.

Of Iaic.

HAuing trauelled twelue dayes tourney from Etilia, wee found a mightie riuer called Iagac: which riuer issuing out of the North, from the land of Pascatir, descendeth into the foresaid sea. The language of Pascatir, and of the Hungarians is all one, and they are all of them shepheards, not hauing any cities. And their countrey bordereth vpon Bulgaria the greater, on the West frontier thereof. From the Northeast part of the said countrey, there is no citie at all. For Bulgaria the greater is the farthest countrey that way, that hath any citie therein. Out of the forenamed region of Pascatir, proceeded the Hunnes of olde time, who after warde were called Hungarians. Vnto Nert vnto it is Bulgaria the greater. Isidore reporteth concerning the people of this nation, that with swift horses they trauersed the impregnable walles and bounds of Alexander, (which, together with the rocks of Caucasus, serued to restraine those barbarous and blood-thirstie people from inuading the regions of the South) insomuch that they had tribute paied vnto them, as farre as Ægypt. Likewise they wasted all countreis euen vnto France. Whereupon they were more mightie then the Tartars as yet are. And vnto them the Blacians, the Bulgarians, and the Vandals ioyned themselues. For out of Bulgaria the greater, came those Bulgarians. Moreouer, they which inhabit beyond Danubius, neere vnto Constantinople, and not farre from Pascatir, are called Ilac, which (sauing the pronunciation) is al one with Blac, (for the Tartars cannot pronounce the letter B) from whom also descended the people which inhabit the land of Assani. For they are both of the called Ilac (both these, & the other) in ỹ languages of the Russians, ỹ Polonians, & the Bohemians.

Iaic twelue dayes tourney from Volga. Pascatir.

The Hungarians descended from the Bascirdes.

Valachians.

The Sclauonians speake all one language with the Vandals, all which banded themselues with the Hunnes: and now for the most part, they vnite themselues vnto the Tartars: who God hath raised vp from the vtmost partes of the earth, according to that which the Lord saith: I will prouoke them to enuy (namely such as keepe not his Law) by a people, which is no people, and by a foolish nation will I anger them. This prophecie is fulfilled, according to the literal sense thereof, vpon all nations which obserue not the Law of God. All this which I haue written concerning the land of Pascatir, was told me by certaine Friers prædicants, which trauailed thither before euer the Tartars came abroad. And from that time they were subdued vnto their neighbors the Bulgarians being Saracens, whereupon many of them proued Saracens also. Other matters concerning this people, may be known out of Chronicles. For it is manifest, that those prouinces beyond Constantinople, which are now called Bulgaria, Valachia, & Sclauonia, were of old time prouinces belonging to the Greekes. Also Hungaria was heretofore called Pannonia. And wee were riding ouer the land of Cangle, from the feast of Holy roode, vntill the feast of All Saints: trauelling almost euery day (according to mine estimation) as farre, as from Paris to Orleans, and sometimes farther, as we were prouided of poste horses: for some dayes we had change of horses twise or thrise in a day. Sometimes we trauailed two or three daies together, not finding any people, and then we were constrained not to ride so fast. Of 20. or 30. horses we had alwayes the woorst, because wee were strangers. For euery one tooke their choice of the best horses before vs. They prouided mee alwaies of a strong horse, because I was very corpulent & heauy: but whether he ambled a gentle pase or no, I durst not make any question. Neither yet durst I complaine, although he trotted full sore. But euery man must be contented with his lot as it fell. Whereupon wee were exceedingly troubled: for oftentimes our horses were tired before we could come at any people. And then wee were constrained to beate and whip on our horses, and to lay our garments vpon other emptie horses: yea and sometimes two of vs to ride vpon one horse.

Deut. 32. v. 21. Rom. 10. v. 19.

Cangle an huge plaine countrey.

Of the hunger, and thirst, and other miseries, which wee sustained in our iourney. *Chap.* 24.

OF hunger and thirst, colde and wearinesse, there was no end. For they gaue vs no victuals, but onely in the euening. In the morning they vsed to giue vs a little drinke, or some sodden Millet to sup off. In the euening they bestowed flesh vpon vs, as namely, a shoulder and breast of rams mutton, and euery man a measured quantitie of broath to drinke. When we had sufficient of the flesh-broath, we were maruellously wel refreshed. And it seemed to me most pleasant, and most nourishing drinke. Euery Saterday I remained fasting vntil night, without eating or drinking of ought. And when night came, I was constrained, to my great grief and sorow, to eat flesh. Sometimes we were faine to eate flesh halfe sodden, or almost rawe, and all for want of fewel to seethe it withal: especially when we lay in the fields, or were benighted before we came at our iourneis end: because we could not then conueniently gather together the doung of horses or ore: for other fewel we found but seldome, except perhaps a few thornes in some places. Likewise vpon the bankes of some riuers, there are woods growing here and there. Howbeit they are very rare. In the beginning our guide highly disdained vs, and it was tedious vnto him to conduct such vile fellowes. Afterward, when he began to know vs somewhat better, he directed vs on our way by the courts of rich Moals, and we were requested to pray for them. Wherefore, had I caried a good interpreter with me, I should haue had opportunitie to haue done much good. The foresaid Chingis, who was the first great Can or Emperour of the Tartars, had foure sonnes, of whome proceeded by naturall descent many children, euery one of which doeth at this day enioy great possessions: and they are daily multiplied and dispersed ouer that huge and waste desert, which is, in dimensions, like vnto the Ocean Sea. Our guide therefore directed vs, as we were going on our iourney, vnto many of their habitations. And they maruelled exceedingly, that we would receiue neither gold, nor siluer, nor precious and costly garments at their hands. They inquired also, concerning the great Pope, whether he was of so lasting an age as they had heard: For there had gone a report among them, that he was 500. yeeres olde. They inquired likewise of our countreis, whether there were abundance of sheep, oxen, & horses or no? Concerning the Ocean sea, they could not receiue of it, because it was without limits or banks. Upon the euen of the feast of All Saints, we forsook the way leading towards the East, (because the people were now descended very much South) and we went on our iourney by certaine Alpes, or mountaines directly Southward, for the space of 8. dayes together. In the foresaid desert I saw many asses (which they cal Colan) being rather like vnto mules: these did our guide & his companions chase very eagerly: howbeit, they did but lose their labour: for the beastes were too swift for them. Upon the 7. day there appeared to the South of vs huge high mountaines,

Certaine riuers.

Eight dayes iourney southward.

Asses swift of foote.

High mountaines.

mountaines, and we entred into a place which was well watered, and fresh as a garden, and found land tilled and manured. The eight day after the feast of All Saints, we arriued at a certain towne of the Saracens, named Kenchat, the gouernour whereof met our guide at the townes end with ale and cups. For it is their maner at all townes and villages, subiect vnto them, to meet the messengers of Baatu and Mangu-Can with meate and drinke. At the same time of the yere, they went vp on the yce in that countrey. And before the feast of S. Michael, we had frost in the desert. I enquired the name of that prouince: but being now in a strange territorie, they could not tell mee the name thereof, but onely the name of a very smal citie in the same prouince. And there descended a great riuer downe from the mountaines, which watered the whole region, according as the inhabitants would giue it passage, by making diuers chanels and sluces: neither did this riuer eronerate it selfe into any sea, but was swallowed vp by an hideous gulfe into the bowels of the earth: and it caused many fennes or lakes. Also I saw many vines, and dranke of the wine thereof.

Manured grounds.
Kenchat a village of the Saracens.
The 7. day of Nouember.
A great riuer.
Many lakes.
Vines.

How Ban was put to death: and concerning the habitation of the Dutch men. *Chap.* 25.

The day following, we came vnto another cottage neere vnto the mountains. And I enquired what mountains they were, which I vnderstood to be the mountains of Caucasus, which are stretched forth, & continued on both parts to the sea, from the West vnto the East: and on the West part they are conioyned vnto the foresaid Caspian sea, wherinto the riuer of Volga dischargeth his streams. I enquired also of the city of Talas, wherein were certaine Dutchmen seruants vnto one Buri, of whom Frier Andrew made mention. Concerning whom also I enquired very diligently in the courts of Sartach & Baatu. Howbeit I could haue no intelligence of them, but onely that their lord & master Ban was put to death vpon the occasion following: This Ban was not placed in good and fertile pastures. And vpon a certain day being dranken, he spake on this wise vnto his men. Am not I of the stocke and kinred of Chingis Can, as well as Baatu? (for in very deede he was brother or nephew vnto Baatu.) Why then doe I not passe and repasse vpon the banke of Etilia, to feed my cattel there, as freely as Baatu himselfe doeth? Which speeches of his were reported vnto Baatu. Whereupon Baatu wrote vnto his seruants to bring their Lorde bound vnto him. And they did so. Then Baatu demanded of him whether he had spoken any such words? And hee confessed that he had. Howbeit, (because it is the Tartars maner to pardon dranken men) he excused himselfe that he was dranken at the same time. Howe durst thou (quoth Baatu) once name mee in thy drunkennesse? And with that hee caused his head to be chopt off. Concerning the foresaid Dutchmen, I could not vnderstand ought, till I was come vnto the court of Mangu-Can. And there I was informed that Mangu-Can had remoued them out of the iurisdiction of Baatu, for the space of a moneths iourney from Talas Eastward, vnto a certaine village, called Bolac: where they are set to dig gold, and to make armour. Whereupon I could neither goe nor come by them. I passed very neere the saide citie in going forth, as namely, within three dayes iourney thereof: but I was ignorant that I did so: neither could I haue turned out of my way, albeit I had knowen so much. From the foresaide cottage we went directly Eastward, by the mountaines aforesaid. And from that time we trauailed among the people of Mangu-Can, who in all places sang and daunced before our guide, because hee was the messenger of Baatu. For this curtesie they doe affoord eche to other: namely, the people of Mangu-Can receiuing the messengers of Baatu in maner aforesaide: and so likewise the people of Baatu intertaining the messengers of Mangu-Can. Notwithstanding the people of Baatu are more surlie and stoute, and shewe not so much curtesie vnto the subiectes of Mangu-Can, as they doe vnto them. A fewe dayes after, wee entered vpon those Alpes where the Cara Catayans were woont to inhabite. And there wee found a mightie riuer: insomuch that wee were constrained to imbarke our selues, and to saile ouer it. Afterward we came into a certaine valley, where I saw a castle destroyed, the walles whereof were onely of mudde: and in that place the ground was tilled also. And there wee founde a certaine village, named Equinus, wherein were Saracens, speaking the Persian language: howbeit they dwelt an huge distance from Persia. The day following, hauing passed ouer the foresaide Alpes which descended from the great mountains Southward, we entred into a most beautiful plaine, hauing high mountaines on our right hande, and on the left hande of vs a certaine Sea or lake, which containeth fifteene dayes iourney in circuite. All the foresayde plaine is most commodiously watered with certaine riuers distilling from the said mountaines, all which do fall into the lake. In Summer time wee returned by the North shore of the saide lake, and there were great mountaines on that side also. Upon the forenamed plaine there were wont to bee great store of villages: but for the most part they were all wasted, in regarde of the fertile pastures, that the Tartars might

A cottage.
The mountains of Caucasus are extended vnto the Easterne Sea.
The citie of Talas, or Chinciales.
Frier Andrew.
The village of Bolac.
We entred into the territories of Mangu-Can.
Certain Alpes wherein the Cara Catayans inhabited.
A mighty riuer.
Ground tilled.
Equinus.
A lake of fifteene dayes iourney in compasse.

Cailac a great citie, and full of merchants.

feede their cattel there. Wee found one great citie there named Cailac, wherein was a mart, and great store of Merchants frequenting it. In this citie wee remained fifteene dayes, staying for a certaine Scribe or Secretarie of Baatu, who ought to haue accompanied our guide for the dispatching of certaine affaires in the court of Mangu. All this countrey was wont to be called Organum: and the people thereof had their proper language, and their peculiar kinde of w ing.

Contomanni.

But it was altogether inhabited of the people called Contomanni. The Nestorians likewise in those parts vsed the very same kinde of language and writing. They are called Organa, because they were wont to be most skilfull in playing vpon the Organes or citherne, as it was reported vnto me. Here first did I see worshippers of idoles, concerning whom, bee it knowen vnto your maiestie, that there be many sects of them in the East countries.

How the Nestorians, Saracens, and Idolaters are ioyned together. *Chap.26.*

The people called Iugures idolaters.

The first sort of these idolaters are called Iugures: whose land bordereth vpon the foresaid land of Organum, within the said mountains Eastward: and in al their cities Nestorians do inhabit together, and they are dispersed likewise towards Persia in the cities of the Saracens. The citizens of ꝑ foresaid city of Cailac had 3. idole-Temples: and I entred into two of them, to beholde their foolish superstitions. In the first of which I found a man hauing a crosse painted with ink vpõ his hand, wherupon I supposed him to be a Christian: for he answered like a Christian vnto al questions which I demanded of him. And I asked him, Why therefore haue you not the crosse with the image of Iesu Christ therupon? And he answered: We haue no such custome. Whereupon I coniectured that they were indeede Christians: but, that for lacke of instruction they omitted the foresaide ceremonie. For I saw there behind a certaine chest (which was vnto them in steed of an altar, whereupon they set candles and oblations) an image hauing wings like vnto the image of Saint Michael, and other images also, holding their fingers, as if they would blesse some body. That euening I could not find any thing els. For the Saracens doe onely inuite men thither, but they will not haue them speake of their religion. And therfore, when I enquired of the Saracens concerning such ceremonies, they were offended thereat. On the morrow after were the Kalends, and the Saracens feast of Passeouer. And changing mine Inne or lodging the same day, I tooke vp mine abode neere vnto another idole-Temple. For the citizens of the said citie of Cailac doe curteously inuite, & louingly intertaine all messengers, euery man of them according to his abilitie and portion. And entring into the foresaid idole-Temple, I found the Priests of the said idoles there. For alwayes at the Kalends they set open their Temples, and the priests adorne themselues, and offer vp the peoples oblations of bread and fruits. First therefore I will describe vnto you those rites and ceremonies, which are common vnto all their idol-Temples: and then the superstitions of the foresaid Iugures, which be, as it were, a sect distinguished from the rest. They doe all of them worship towards the North, clapping their hands together, and prostrating themselues on their knees vpon ꝑ earth, holding all their foreheads in their hands. Whereupon the Nestorians of those parts will in no case ioyne their hands together in time of prayer: but they pray, displaying their hands before their breasts. They extend their Temples in length East and West: and vpon the North side they build a chamber, in maner of a Vestry for themselues to goe forth into. Or sometimes it is otherwise. If it be a foure square Temple, in the midst of the Temple towards the North side thereof, they take in one chamber in that place where the quire should stand. And within the said chamber they place a chest long and broad like vnto a table: and behinde the saide chest towardes the South stands their principall idole: which I sawe at Caracarum, and it was as bigge as the idole of Saint Christopher. Also a certaine Nestorian priest, which had bin in Caray, saide that in that countrey there is an idole of so huge a bignes, that it may be seen two daies iourney before a man come at it. And so they place other idoles round about the foresaid principal idole, being all of them finely gilt ouer with pure golde: and vpon the saide chest, which is in manner of a table, they set candles and oblations. The doores of their Temples are alwayes opened towardes the South, contrary to the custome of the Saracens. They haue also great belles like vnto vs. And that is the cause (as I thinke) why the Christians of the East will in no case vse great belles. Notwithstanding they are common among the Russians, and Grecians of Gasaria.

Frier William was at Caracarum.

Of their Temples and idoles: and howe they behaue themselues in worshipping their false gods. *Chap.27.*

All their Priests had their heads and beards shauen quite ouer: and they are clad in saffron coloured garments: and being once shauen, they lead an vnmaried life from that time forward: and

and they liue an hundreth or two hundreth of them together in one cloister or couent. Upon those dayes when they enter into their temples, they place two long formes therein: and so sitting vpon the said formes like singing men in a quier, namely the one halfe of them directly ouer against the other, they haue certaine bookes in their hands, which sometimes they lay downe by them vpon the formes: and their heads are bare so long as they remaine in the temple. And there they reade softly vnto themselues, not uttering any voice at all. Whereupon comming in amongst them, at the time of their superstitious deuotions, and finding them all sitting mute in maner aforesayde, I attempted diuers waies to prouoke them vnto speach, and yet could not by any meanes possible. They haue with them also whithersoeuer they goe, a certaine string with an hundreth or two hundreth nutshels thereupon, much like to our bead-roule which we carry about with vs. And they doe alwayes vtter these words: *On mam Hactani*, God thou knowest: as one of them expounded it vnto me. And so often doe they expect a reward at Gods hands, as they pronounce these words in remembrance of God. Round about their temple they doe alwayes make a faire court, like vnto a churchyard, which they enuiron with a good wall: and vpon the South part thereof they build a great portal, wherein they sit and conferre together. And vpon the top of the said portall they pitch a long pole right vp, exalting it, if they can aboue all the whole towne besides. And by the same pole all men may knowe, that there stands the temple of their idoles. These rites and ceremonies aforesayde be common vnto all idolaters in those parts. Going vpon a time towardes the foresayd idole-temple, I found certain priests sitting in the outward portal. And those which I sawe, seemed vnto me, by their shauen beards, as if they had bene French men. They woze certaine ornaments vpon their heads made of paper. The priestes of the foresaide Iugures doe vse such attire whithersoeuer they goe. They are alwaies in their saffron coloured iackets, which be very straighe being laced or buttened from the bosome right downe, after the French fashion. And they haue a cloake vpon their left shoulder descending before and behind vnder their right arme, like vnto a deacon carying the houssel-booke in time of lent. Their letters or kind of writing the Tartars did receiue. They begin to write at the top of their paper drawing their lines right downe: and so they reade and multiply their lines from the left hand to the right. They doe vse certaine papers and characters in their magical practises. Whereupon their temples are full of such short scroules hanged round about them. Also Mangu-Can hath sent letters vnto your Maiestie written in the language of the Moals or Tartars, and in the foresayd hand or letter of the Iugures. They burne their dead according to the auncient custome, and lay up the ashes in the top of a Pyramis. Now, after I had sit a while by the foresaid priests, and entred into their temple and seene many of their images both great and small, I demanded of them what they beleeued concerning God: And they answered: We beleeue that there is onely one God. And I demaunded farther: Whether do you beleeue that he is a spirit, or some bodily substance? They saide: We beleeue that he is a spirite. Then said I: Doe you beleeue that God euer tooke mans nature vpon him? They answered: Noe. And againe I said: Sithence ye beleeue that he is a spirit, to what end doe you make so many bodily images to represent him? Sithence also you beleeue not that hee was made man: why doe you resemble him rather vnto the image of a man then of any other creature? Then they answered saying: we frame not those images whereby to represent God. But when any rich man amongst vs, or his sonne, or his wife, or any of his friends deceaseth, hee causeth the image of the dead party to be made, and to be placed here: and we in remembrance of him doe reuerence thereunto. Then I replyed: you doe these things onely for the friendship and flatterie of men. Noe (said they) but for their memory. Then they demanded of me, as it were in scoffing wise: Where is God? To whom I answered: where is your soule? They said, in our bodies. Then saide I, is it not in euery part of your bodie, ruling and guiding the whole bodie, and yet notwithstanding is not seene or perceiued? Euen so God is euery where and ruleth all things, and yet is he inuisible, being vnderstanding and wisedome it selfe. Then being desirous to haue had some more conference with them, by reason, that mine interpreter was weary, and not able to expresse my meaning, I was constrained to keepe silence. The Moals or Tartars are in this regard of their sect: namely they beleeue that there is but one God: howbeit they make images of felt, in remembrance of their deceased friends, couering them with fine most rich and costly garments, and putting them into one or two carts, which carts no man dare once touch: and they are in the custody of their soothsayers, who are their priests, concerning whom I will giue your Highnesse more at large to vnderstand hereafter. These soothsayers or diuiners do alwaies attend vpon the court of Mangu and of other great personages. As for the poorer or meaner sorte, they haue them not, but such onely as are of the stocke and kindred of Chingis. And when they are to remoue or to take any iourney, the said diuiners goe before them, euen as the cloudie piller went before the children of Israel. And they appoint ground where the tents must be pitched, and first of all they take down their

Bookes.

Paper. So do the people of China vse to write, drawing their lines perpendicularly downward, & not as we doe from the right hand to the left.

owne

owne houses: & after them the whole court doth the like. Also vpon their festiual daies or kalends they take forth the forsayd images, and place them in order round, or circle wise within the house. Then come the Moals or Tartars, and enter into the same house, bowing themselues before the said images and worship them. Moreouer, it is not lawfull for any stranger to enter into that house. For vpon a certaine time I my selfe would haue gone in, but I was chidden full well for my labour.

Of diuers and sundry nations: and of certaine people which were wont to eate their owne parents. *Chap.* 28.

BVt the forsayd Iugures (who liue among the Christians, and the Saracens) by their sundry disputations, as I suppose, haue bene brought vnto this, to beleeue, that there is but one onely God. And they dwelt in certaine cities, which afterward were brought in subiection vnto Chingis Can: whereupon he gaue his daughter in mariage vnto their king. Also the citie of Caracarum it selfe is in a manner within their territory: and the whole countrey of king or Presbyter Iohn, & of his brother Vut lyeth neere vnto their dominions: sauing, that they inhabite in certaine pastures Northward, and the sayde Iugures betweene the mountaines towardes the South. Whereupon it came to passe, that the Moals receiued letters from them. And they are the Tartars principall scribes: & al the Nestorians almost can skill of their letters. Next vnto them, between the forsaid mountaines Eastward, inhabiteth the nation of Tangut, who are a most valiant people, and tooke Chingis in battell. But after the conclusion of a league hee was set at libertie by them, and afterward subdued them. These people of Tangut haue oxen of great strength, with tailes like vnto horses, and with long shagge haire vpon their backes and bellyes. They haue legges greater then other oxen haue, and they are exceedingly fierce. These oxen draw the great houses of the Moals: and their hornes are slender, long, streight, and most sharpe pointed: insomuch that their owners are faine to cut off the endes of them. A cowe will not suffer her selfe to be coupled vnto one of them, vnles they whistle or sing vnto her. They haue also the qualities of a Buffe: for if they see a man clothed in red, they run vpon him immediately to kill him. Next vnto them are the people of Teber, men which were wont to eate the carkases of their deceased parents: that for pities sake, they might make no other sepulchre for them, then their owne bowels. Howbeit of late they haue left off this custome, because that thereby they became abominable and odious vnto al other nations. Notwithstanding vnto this day they make fine cups of the skuls of their parents, to the ende that when they drinke out of them, they may amidst all their iollities and delights call their dead parents to remembrance. This was tolde mee by one that saw it. The sayd people of Teber haue great plentie of golde in their land. Whosoeuer therefore wanteth golde, diggeth till he hath found some quantitie, and then taking so much thereof as will serue his turne, he layeth vp the residue within the earth: because, if he should put it into his chest or storehouse, hee is of opinion that God would withholde from him all other gold within the earth. I sawe some of those people, being very deformed creatures. In Tangut I saw lusty tall men, but browne and swart in colour. The Iugures are of a middle stature like vnto our French men. Amongst the Iugures is the originall and roote of the Turkish, and Comanian languages. Next vnto Teber are the people of Langa and Solanga, whose messengers I saw in the Tartars court. And they had brought more then ten great cartes with them, euery one of which was drawen with fiue oxen. They be little browne men like vnto Spaniards. Also they haue iackets, like vnto the vpper vestment of a deacon, sauing that the sleeues are somewhat streighter. And they haue miters vpon their heads like bishops. But the fore part of their miter is not so hollow within as the hinder part: neither is it sharpe pointed or couered at the toppe: but there hang downe certaine square flappes compacted of a kinde of strawe which is made rough and rugged with extreme heat, and is so trimmed, that it glittereth in the sunne beames, like vnto a glasse, or an helmet well burnished. And about their temples they haue long bands of the forsayd matter fastened vnto their miters, which houer in the wind, as if two long hornes grewe out of their heads. And when the winde tolleth them vp and downe too much, they tie them ouer the midst of their miter from one temple to another: and so they lie circle wise ouerthwart their heads. Moreouer their principal messenger comming vnto the Tartars court had a table of elephants tooth about him of a cubite in length, and a handfull in breadth, being very smoothe. And whensoeuer hee spake vnto the Emperor himselfe, or vnto any other great personage, hee alwayes beheld that table, as if hee had found therein those things which hee spake: neither did he cast his eyes to the right hand, nor to the lefte, nor vpon his face, with whom he talked. Yea, going too and fro before his lord, he looketh no where but only vpon his table. Beyond the (as I vnderstand of a certainty) there are other

The countrey of Presbiter Iohn.

Tangut.

Strange oxen.

The people of Teber.

Abundance of golde.

The stature of the people of Tangut, and of the Iugures.

Langa & Solanga

The people of Solanga resemble Spaniards.

A table of elephants tooth.

people

people called Muc, hauing villages, but no one particular man of them appropriating any cattell vnto himſelfe. Notwithſtanding there are many flockes and droues of cattell in their countrey, & no man appointed to keepe them. But when any one of them ſtandeth in neede of any beaſt, hee aſcendeth vp vnto an hill, and there maketh a ſhout, and all the cattell which are within hearing of the noyſe, come flocking about him, and ſuffer themſelues to be handled and taken, as if they were tame. And when any meſſenger or ſtranger commeth into their countrie, they ſhut him vp into an houſe, miniſtring there things neceſſary vnto him, vntill his buſineſſe he diſpatched. For if anie ſtranger ſhould trauell through that countrie, the cattell would flee away at the very ſent of him, and ſo would become wilde. Beyond Muc is great Cathaya, the inhabitants whereof (as I ſuppoſe) were of olde time, called Seres. For from them are brought moſt excellent ſtuffes of ſilke. And this people is called Seres of a certain towne in the ſame countrey. I was credibly informed, that in the ſaid countrey, there is one towne hauing walles of ſiluer, and bulwarkes or towers of golde. There be many prouinces in that land, the greater part whereof are not as yet ſubdued vnto the Tartars. And amongſt *

The people called Muc.

Great Cathaya.

Somewhat is wanting.

Part of the great Charter granted by king *Edward* the *firſt to the Barons of the Cinque portes, in the ſixt yeere of his reigne* 1278. for their good ſeruices done vnto him by ſea: wherein is mention of their former ancient Charters from *Edward* the Confeſſor, *William* the Conqueror, *William Rufus*, *Henry* the ſecond, king *Richard* the firſt, king *Iohn*, and *Henry* the third continued vnto them.

EDward by the grace of God king of England, lord of Ireland, & duke of Gaſcoigne, to all Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbots, Priors, Earles, Barons, Iuſticiers, Shirifs, Prouoſts, Officers, & to all Bayliffes and true ſubiects greeting. You ſhall knowe that for the faithfull ſeruice that our Barons of the fiue Ports hitherto to our predeceſſors kings of England, & vnto vs lately in our armie of Wales haue done, and for their good ſeruice to vs and our heires kings of England, truly to be continued in time to come, we haue granted & by this our Charter confirmed for vs and our heires, to the ſame our Barons and to their heires, all their liberties and freedomes. So that they ſhall be free from all toll, and from all cuſtome; that is to ſay from all laſtage, tallage, paſſage, cariage, riuage, aſponſage, and from all wrecke, and from all their ſale, carying and recarping through all our realme and dominion, with ſocke and ſoake, toll and theme. And that they ſhall haue Infangthefe, and that they ſhall be wreckefree, lagefree, and louecopfree. And that they ſhall haue Denne and Strande at great Yarmouth, according as it is contayned in the ordinance by vs thereof made perpetually to bee obſerued. And alſo that they are free from all ſhires and hundreds: ſo that if any perſon will plead againſt them, they ſhall not anſwere nor pleade otherwiſe then they were wont to plead in the time of the lord, king Henrie our great grandfather: And that they ſhall haue their ſindelles in the ſea and in the land: And that they be free of all their goods and of all their marchandiſes as our freemen. And that they haue their honours in our court, and their liberties throughout all the land where ſoeuer they ſhall come. And that they ſhall be free for euer of all their lands, which in the time of Lord Henrie the king our father they poſſeſſed: that is to ſay in the 44. yere of his reign, from all maner of ſummonces before our Iuſtices to any maner of pleadings, tourneying in what ſhire ſoeuer their lands are. So that they ſhall not be bound to come before the Iuſtices aforeſaid, except any of the ſame Barons doe implead any man, or if any man be impleaded. And that they ſhall not pleade in any other place, except where they ought, and where they were wont, that is to ſay, at Shepeway. And that they haue their liberties and freedomes from henceforth, as they and their predeceſſors haue had them at any time better, more fully and honourably in the time of the kings of England, Edward, William the firſt, William the ſecond, Henrie the king our great grandfather, and in the times of king Richard, and king Iohn our grandfathers, and lord king Henrie our father, by their Charters: as the ſame Charters which the ſame our Barons thereof haue, and which we haue ſeene, doe reaſonably teſtifie. And we forbid that no man vniuſtly trouble them nor their marchandiſe vpon our forfeyture of ten pounds. So neuertheleſſe, that when the ſame Barons ſhall faile in doing of Iuſtice or in receiuing of Iuſtice, our Warden, and the wardens of our

The fiſhing at great Yarmouth.

Henry the third.

Edward the confeſſor.

heyres

57 Shipps of the Cinque Ports ſerue the king 15 dayes at their owne coſte.

heires of the Cinque Portes, which for the time ſhall be, their Portes and liberties may enter for to doe their full Iuſtice. So alſo that the ſayd Barons and their heires, do vnto vs and to our heirs kings of England by the yeare their full ſeruice of 57. ſhippes at their coſts by the ſpace of fiftene dayes at our ſomounce, or at the ſomounce of our heires. We haue granted alſo vnto them of our ſpeciall grace that they haue Outfangthefe in their lands within the Portes aforeſayd, in the ſame maner that Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbots, Earles and Barons, haue in their manours in the countie of Kent. And they be not put in any Aſſiſes, Iuries, or Recogniſances by reaſon of their forreine tenure againſt their will: and that they be free of all their owne wines for which they do trauaile of our right prize, that is to ſay, of one tunne before the maſt, and of another behind the maſte. We haue granted furthermore vnto the ſaid Barons for vs and our heires, that they for euer haue this liberty, that is to ſay, That we or our heires ſhall not haue the wardſhip or mariages of their heires by reaſon of their landes, which they holde within the liberties and Portes aforeſayde, for the which they doe their ſeruice aforeſayd: and for the which wee and our progenitors had not the wardſhips and mariages in time paſt. But we our aforeſayd confirmation vpon the liberties and freedomes aforeſayde, and our grants following to them of our eſpeciall grace, of newe haue cauſed to be made, ſauing alwaies in al things our kingly dignitie: And ſauing vnto vs and to our heires, plea of our crowne, life and member. Wherefore we will and ſurely command for vs and our heires that the aforeſaid Barons and their heires for euer haue all the aforeſaid liberties and freedomes, as the aforeſaid Charters do reaſonably teſtifie. And that of our eſpecial grace they haue outfangthefe in their lands within the Portes aforeſaid after the maner that Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbots, Earles and Barons haue in their manours in the county of Kent. And that they be not put in Aſſiſes, Iuries, or Recogniſances by reaſon of their forreine tenure againſt their will. And that they bee free of their owne wines for which they trauaile of our right prize or cuſtome, that is to ſay of one tunne of wine before the maſte, and of another tunne behinde the maſte. And that likewiſe for euer they haue the libertie aforeſayde: that is to ſay: That wee and our heires haue not the wardſhips or mariages of their heires by reaſon of their landes which they holde within the liberties and Portes aforeſayd, for which they doe their ſeruice aforeſaid, and for which wee and our predeceſſors the wardſhips and mariages haue not had in times paſt. But our aforeſayd confirmation of their liberties and freedomes aforeſaid and other grants following to them of our eſpeciall grace of newe we haue cauſed to bee made. Sauing alwayes and in all things our regall dignity. And ſauing vnto vs and our heires the pleas of our crowne of life and member as is aforeſayd. Theſe being witneſſes, the reuerend father Robert of Pozeuens Cardinall of the holie Church of Rome, frier William of Southhampton Prior prouincial of the friers preachers in England, William of Valencia our vncle, Roger of the dead ſea, Roger of Clifford, Maiſter Robert Samuel deane of Sarum, Maiſter Robert of Scarborough the Archdeacon of Eaſt Riding, Maiſter Robert of Seyton, Bartholomew of Southley, Thomas of Wayland, Walter of Hoptan, Thomas of Normannel, Steuen of Penneſter, Frances of Bonaua, Iohn of Lenetotes, Iohn of Metingham and others. Giuen by our hand at Weſtminſter the fourteenth day of June, in the ſixth yeare of our reigne.

Thomas Walſingham writeth he had once 1100. ſtrong ſhippes.

The roll of the huge fleete of *Edward* the third before Calice, *extant in the kings great wardrobe in* London, whereby the wonderfull ſtrength of *England* by ſea in thoſe dayes may appeare.

The South fleete.

The Kings	Shippes	25.	Hope	Shippes	2.	
	Mariners	419.		Mariners	59.	
London	Shippes	25.	New Hithe	Shippes	5.	
	Mariners	662.		Mariners	49.	
Aileford	Shippes	2.	Margat	Shippes	15.	
	Mariners	24.		Mariners	160.	
Hoo Or, Mome.	Shippes	2.	Motue	Shippes	2.	
	Mariners	24.		Mariners	22.	
Maydſtone	Shippes	2.	Feuerſham	Shippes	2.	
	Mariners	51.		Mariners	25.	

Sandwich

Sandwich	Ships	22.
	Mariners	504.
Douer	Ships	16.
	Mariners	336.
Wighe	Ships	13.
	Mariners	220.
Winchelſey	Ships	21.
	Mariners	596.
Waymouth	Ships	15.
	Mariners	263.
Lyme	Ships	4.
	Mariners	62.
Seton	Ships	2.
	Mariners	25.
Sydmouth	Ships	3.
	Mariners	62.
Exmouth	Ships	10.
	Mariners	193.
Tegmouth	Ships	7.
	Mariners	120.
Dartmouth	Ships	31.
	Mariners	757.
Portſmouth	Ships	5.
	Mariners	96.
Plimouth	Ships	26.
	Mariners	603.
Loo	Ships	20.
	Mariners	315.
Yalme	Ships	2.
	Mariners	47.
Fowey	Ships	47.
	Mariners	770. 10. Foy.
Briſtol	Ships	22.
	Mariners	608.
Tenmouth	Ships	2.
	Mariners	25.
Haſting	Ships	5.
	Mariners	96.
Romney	Ships	4.
	Mariners	65.
Rye	Ships	9.
	Mariners	156.
Hithe	Ships	6.
	Mariners	122.
Shoreham	Ships	20.
	Mariners	339.
‡Soford	Ships	5.
	Mariners	80. 10. ‡Soford.
Newmouth	Ships	2.
	Mariners	18.
Hamowl-hooke	Ships	7.
	Mariners	117.
Hoke	Ships	11.
	Mariners	208.
Southhāpton	Ships	31.
	Mariners	576.
Leyming-ton	Ships	9.
	Mariners	159
Poole	Ships	4.
	Mariners	94.
Warham	Ships	3.
	Mariners	59.
Swanzey	Ships	1.
	Mariners	29.
Ilfercombe	Ships	6.
	Mariners	79.
‡Patricke-ſtowe	Ships	2.
	Mariners	27. 10. ‡Padſtow.
Polerwan	Ships	2.
	Mariners	60.
Wadworth	Ships	2.
	Mariners	14.
Kardife	Ships	1.
	Mariners	51.
Bridgwater	Ships	1.
	Mariners	15.
Kaermar-then	Ships	1.
	Mariners	16.
Cailechef-worth	Ships	1.
	Mariners	12.
Mulbrooke	Ships	1.
	Mariners	12.
Summe of the South fleete	Ships	493
	Mariners	9639

The North fleete.

Pamburgh	Ships	1.
	Mariners	9.
Newcaſtle	Ships	17.
	Mariners	314.

Walcrish

	Walcrich	Ships	1.	Or, Yermouth.	Yermouth	Ships	43.
		Mariners	22.			Mariners	1950.or 1075.
	Hertilpoole	Ships	5.		Donwich	Ships	6.
		Mariners	145.			Mariners	202.
	Hull	Ships	16.		Orford	Ships	3.
		Mariners	466.			Mariners	62.
	Yorke	Ships	1.		Goford	Ships	13.
		Mariners	9.			Mariners	303.
	Rauenser	Ships	1.		Herwich	Ships	14.
		Mariners	27.			Mariners	283.
	Woodhouse	Ships	1.		Ipswich	Ships	12
		Mariners	22.			Mariners	239.
Stockfish	Strokhithe	Ships	1.		Mersey	Ships	1.
		Mariners	10.			Mariners	6.
	Barton	Ships	3.	New Brickelsey.	Brightling-sey	Ships	5.
		Mariners	30.			Mariners	61.
	Swinefleete	Ships	1.		Colchester	Ships	5.
		Mariners	11.			Mariners	90.
	Saltfleet	Ships	2.		Whitbanes	Ships	1.
		Mariners	49.			Mariners	17.
	Grimesby	Ships	11.		Malden	Ships	2.
		Mariners	171.			Mariners	32.
	Waynefleet	Ships	2.		Derwen	Ships	1.
		Mariners	49.			Mariners	15.
	Wrangle	Ships	1.		Boston	Ships	17.
		Mariners	8.			Mariners	361.
†Or, Linne.	†Lenne	Ships	16.		Swinhumber	Ships	1.
		Mariners	382.			Mariners	32.
	Blackney	Ships	2.		Barton	Ships	5.
		Mariners	38.			Mariners	91.
	Scarborough	Ships	1.		The Summe of the North fleete	Ships	217.
		Mariners	19.			Mariners	4521.

The summe totall of all the English fleete: Ships 700. Mariners 14151.

Estrangers their ships and mariners.

	Bayon	Ships	15.		Flanders	Ships	14.
		Mariners	439.			Mariners	133.
	Spayne	Ships	7.		Gelderland	Ships	1.
		Mariners	184.			Mariners	24.
	Ireland	Ships	1.				
		Mariners	25.				

The summe of all the Estrangers: Ships 38. Mariners 805.

The ſumme of expenſes aſwell of wages, & prests, as for the expenſes of the kings houſes, and for other gifts and rewards, ſhippes and other things neceſſary to the parties of France and Normandie, and before Calice, during the ſiege there, as it appeareth in the accompts of William Norwel keeper of the kings Wardrobe, from the 21. day of April in the 18 yeere of the reigne of the ſaid king, vnto the foure and twentieth day of Nouember in the one and twentieth yeere of his reigne, is iii. hundreth xxxvii. thouſand li. ix. s. iiii. d.

A note out of Thomas Walſingham touching the huge Fleete of *eleuen hundred well furniſhed ſhips wherewith king Edward the third paſſed ouer* vnto Calais in the yeere 1359.

Anno gratiæ 1359. Iohannes Rex Franciæ ſub vmbra pacis, & doloſe obtulit Regi Angliæ Flandriam, Picardiam, Aquitaniam, aliaſque terras quas equitauerat & vaſtarat: pro quibus omnibus ratificandis idem Rex Edwardus in Franciam nuncios ſuos direxit; quibus omnibus Franci contradixerunt. Vnde motus Rex Angliæ, celeriter ſe & ſuos præparauit ad tranſfretandum, ducens ſecum principem Walliæ Edwardum ſuum primogenitum, ducem Henricum Lancaſtriæ, & ferè proceres omnes, quos comitabantur vel ſequebãtur pœne mille currus, habuitque apud Sanwicum inſtructas optime vndecies centum naues, & cum hoc apparatu ad humiliandum Francorum faſtum Franciam nauigauit, relicto domino Thoma de Woodſtock filio ſuo iuniore admodum paruulo, Anglici regni cuſtode, ſub tutela tamen.

The ſame in Engliſh.

In the yeere of our Lord 1359. Iohn the French king craftily, and vnder pretence of peace, offered vnto Edward the third king of England, Flanders, Picardie, Gaſcoigne, and other territories which he had ſpoyled and waſted: for the ratifying of which agreement, the foreſaid king Edward ſent his ambaſſadors into France, but the Frenchmen gainſaied them in all their articles and demaunds. Whereupon the king of England being prouoked, ſpeedily prepared himſelfe and his forces to croſſe the ſeas, carying with him Edward Prince of Wales his heire apparant, and Henry duke of Lancaſter and almoſt all his Nobles, with a thouſand wagons and cartes attending vpon them. And the ſaid king had at Sandwich eleuen hundred ſhips exceedingly well furniſhed: with which preparation he paſſed ouer the ſeas, to abate the Frenchmens arrogancie: leauing his ponger ſonne Thomas of Woodſtocke, being very tender of age, as his vicegerent in the Realme of England; albeit not without a protectour, &c.

The voyage of *Nicholas de Lynna* a Franciſcan Frier, and an excellent *Mathematician of Oxford, to all the Regions ſituate vnder the* North pole, in the yeere 1360. and in the raigne of Edward the 3. king of England.

The voyage of Geraldus Mercator, in the foote of his generall Mappe, vpon the deſcription of the North parts.

Vod ad deſcriptionem partium Septentrionalium attinet, eam nos accipimus ex Itinerario Iacobi Cnoyen Buſcoducenſis, qui quædam ex rebus geſtis Arthuri Britanni citat, maiorem autem partem & potiora, à Sacerdote quodam apud Regem Noruegiæ, An. Dom. 1364. didicit. Deſcenderat is ex illis quos Arthurus ad has habitandas inſulas miſerat, & referebat, An. 1360. Minoritam quendam Anglum Oxonienſem Mathematicum in eas inſulas veniſſe, ipſiſque relictis ad vlteriora arte Magica profectũ deſcripſiſſe omnia, & Aſtrolabio dimenſum eſſe in hanc ſubiectam formam ferè, vti ex Iacobo collegimus. Euripos illos quatuor diebat tanto impetu ad interiorem voraginem rapi, vt naues ſemel ingreſſæ nullo vento retroagi poſſent, nequè verò vnquam tantum ibi ventum eſſe, vt molæ frumentariæ circumagendæ ſufficiat. Simillima his habet Giraldus Cambrenſis (qui floruit, An. 1210.) in libro de mirabilibus Hyberniæ, ſic enim ſcribit. Non procul ab inſulis Hebridibus, Iſlandia, &c. ex parte Boreali, eſt maris quædam miranda vorago, in quam à remotis partibus omnes vndique fluctus marini tanquaſi in Abyſſum vorantur. Si verò nauem hâc fortè tranſire contigerit, tanta rapitur, & attrahitur fluctuum violentia, vt eam ſtatim irreuocabiliter vis voracitatis abſorbeat. Quatuor voragines huius Oceani, a quatuor oppoſitis mundi partibus Philoſophi deſcribunt, vnde & tam marinos fluctus, quàm & Æolicos flatus cauſaliter peruenire nonnulli conſtant.

The ſame in Engliſh.

THOuching the deſcription of the Northparts, I haue taken the ſame out of the voyage of Iames Cnoyen of Hartzeuan Buſke, which alleageth certaine conqueſts of Arthur king of Britaine: and the moſt part, and chiefeſt things among the reſt, he learned of a certaine prieſt in the king of Norwayes court, in the yeere 1364. This prieſt was deſcended from them which king Arthur had ſent to inhabite theſe Iſlands, and he reported that in the yeere 1360, a certaine Engliſh Frier, a Franciſcan, and a Mathematician of Oxford, came into thoſe Iſlands, who leauing them, and paſſing further by his Magicall Arte, deſcribed all thoſe places that he ſawe, and tooke the height of them with his Aſtrolabe, according to the forme that I (Gerard Mercator) haue ſet downe in my mappe, and as I haue taken it out of the aforeſaid Iames Cnoyen. Hee ſayd that thoſe foure Indraughts were drawne into an inward gulfe or whirlepoole, with ſo great a force, that the ſhips which once entred therein, could by no meanes be driuen backe againe, and that there is neuer in thoſe parts ſo much winde blowing, as might be ſufficient to driue a Corne mill.

Giraldus Cambrenſis (who floriſhed in the yeere 1210, vnder king Iohn) in his booke of the miracles of Ireland, hath certaine words altogether alike with theſe. videlicet:

There is a notable whirlepoole on the coaſt of Norway, called Malſtrandr, about the latitude of 68.

Not farre from theſe Iſlands (namely the Hebrides, Iſland &c.) towards the North there is a certaine woonderful whirlpoole of the ſea, whereinto all the waues of the ſea from farre haue their courſe and recourſe, as it were without ſtoppe: which, there conueying themſelues into the ſecret receptacles of nature, are ſwallowed vp, as it were, into a bottomleſſe pit, and if it chance that any ſhippe doe paſſe this way, it is pulled, and drawen with ſuch a violence of the waues, that eftſoones without remedy, the force of the whirlepoole deuoureth the ſame.

The Philoſophers deſcribe foure indraughts of this Ocean ſea, in the foure oppoſite quarters of the world, from whence many doe coniecture that as well the flowing of the ſea, as the blaſts of the winde, haue their firſt originall.

A Teſtimonie of the learned Mathematician maſter *Iohn Dee*, *touching the foreſaid voyage of* Nicholas De Linna.

ANno 1360. (that is to wit, in the 34. yeere of the reigne of the triumphant king Edward the third) a frier of Oxford, being a good Aſtronomer, went in companie with others to the moſt Northren Iſlands of the world, and there leauing his company together, hee trauailed alone, and purpoſely deſcribed all the Northerne Iſlands, with the indraweing ſeas: and the record thereof at his returne he deliuered to the king of England. The name of which booke is Inuentio Fortunata (aliter ſortunæ) qui liber incipit a gradu 54. vſque ad polum. Which frier for ſundry purpoſes after that did fiue times paſſe from England thither, and home againe.

Inuentio Fortunata.

It is to be noted, that from the hauen of Linne in Norfolke (whereof the foreſaid Franciſcan frier tooke his name) to Iſland, it is not aboue a fortnights ſailing with an ordinarie winde, and hath bene of many yeeres a very common and vſuall trade: which further appeareth by the priuileges granted to the Fiſhermen of the towne of Blacknie in the ſaid Countie of Norfolke, by king Edward the third, for their exemption and freedome from his ordinary ſeruice, in reſpect of their trade to Iſland.

An. 2. & 4. & 31. Edwardi tertij.

The voyage of Henry Earle of Derbie, after Duke of *Hereford, and laſtly king of England, by the name of Henry* the fourth, An. Dom. 1390. into Pruſſia and Lettowe, againſt the infidels, recorded by Thomas of Walſingham.

An. Dom. 1390.

DOminus Henricus Comes de Derbie per idem tempus profectus eſt in Pruys, vbi cum adjutorio mareſcalli dictæ patriæ, & cujuſdam Regis vocati Wytot deuicit exercitum Regis de Lettowe, captis quatuor ducibus, & ingentibus peremptis, & amplius quam trecentis, de valentioribus exercitus ſupradicti pariter interemptis. Ciuitas quoque vocatur ‖ Will, in cujus caſtello Rex de Lettowe nomine Skirgalle confugerat, potenti virtute dicti Comitis maxime

‖ Alias Vilna.

maximè, atque ſuorum capta eſt. Namque qui fuerunt de familia ſua primi murum aſcenderant, & vexillum ejus ſuper muros, cæteris vel torpentibus vel ignorantibus, poſuerunt. Captaque ſunt ibi vel occiſa quatuor millia plebanorum, fratre Regis de Poleyn inter cæteros ibi perempto, qui aduerſarius noſtri fuit. Obſeſſumque fuit caſtrum dictæ Ciuitatis per quinque hebdomadas: Sed propter infirmitates, quibus vexabatur exercitus magiſtri de Pruys & de Liſland noluerunt diutiùs expectare. Facti ſunt Chriſtiani de gente de Lettowe octo. Et magiſter de Liſland duxit ſecum in ſuam patriam tria millia captiuorum.

The ſame in Engliſh.

About the ſame time L. Henry the Earle of Derbie trauailed into Pruſſia, where, with the helpe of the Marſhall of the ſame Prouince, and of a certaine king called Wytot, hee vanquiſhed the armie of the king of Lettowe, with the captiuitie of foure Lithuanian Dukes, and the ſlaughter of three, beſides more then three hundred of the principall common ſouldiers of the ſayd armie which were ſlaine. The Citie alſo which is called Wil or Vilna, into the caſtle whereof the king of Lettow named Skirgalle fled for his ſauegard, was, by the valour of the ſayd Earle eſpecially and of his followers, ſurpriſed and taken. For certaine of the chiefe men of his familie, while others were ſlouthfull or at leaſt ignorant of their intent, ſkaling the walles, aduanced his colours thereupon. And there were taken and ſlaine foure thouſand of the common ſouldiers, and amongſt others was ſlaine the king of Poland his brother, who was our profeſſed enemie. And the caſtle of the foreſaid Citie was beſieged for the ſpace of fiue weekes: but by reaſon of the infirmities and inconueniences wherewith the whole armie was annoyed, the great maſters of Pruſſia and of Liſland would not ſtay any longer. There were conuerted of the nation of Lettowe eight perſons vnto the Chriſtian faith. And the maſter of Liſland carried home with him into his countrey three thouſand captiues.

The voyage of *Thomas* of *Woodſtocke* Duke of Glocester *into* Pruſſia, *in the yeere 1391. written* by Thomas Walſingham.

EOdem tempore dux Glouerniæ Dominus ‖ Thomas de Woodſtock, multis mœrentibus, iter apparauit versùs le Pruys: quem non Londinenſium geminitus, non communis vulgi moeror retinere poterant, quin proficiſci vellet. Nam plebs communis tàm Vrbana quàm ruſtica metuebant quòd eo abſente aliquod nouum detrimentum ſuccreſceret, quo præſente nihil tale timebant. Siquidèm in eo ſpes & ſolatium totius patriæ repoſita videbantur. Ipſe verò mòx ut fines patriæ ſuæ tranſijt, illicò aduerſa agitatus fortuna, nunc hàc nunc illàc turbinibus p[illegible] circumfertur; & in tantum deſtituitur, vt de vita etiam deſperaret. Tandem poſt Daciam, poſt Norwagiam, poſt Scoticam barbariem non ſine mortis pauore tranſcurſam, peruenit Northumbriam, & ad caſtellum ſe contulit de Tinnemutha veſùt aſſylum antiquitùs notum ſibi: vbi per aliquot dies recreatus, iter aſſumpſit verſus manerium ſuum de Plaſhy, magnum apportans gaudium toti regno, tam de ejus euaſione, quàm de aduentu ſuo.

‖ Filius natu ſecundus Edwardi 3. Rofficis.

The ſame in Engliſh.

AT the ſame time the Duke of Glocester Lord Thomas of Woodſtock (the pongeſt ſonne of Edward the third) to the great griefe of many, too[illegible] his iourney towards Pruſſia: whom neither the Londoners mones nor yet the lamentation of the communaltie could reſtraine from his intended expedition. For the common people both of the Citie and of the countrey feared left in his abſence ſome newe calamitie might happen; which they feared not while he was preſent. For in him the whole nation ſeemed to repoſe their hope and comfort. Howbeit hauing ſcarce paſſed as yet the bounds of his owne countrey, he was immediatly by hard fortune toſſed vp and downe with dangerous ſtormes and tempeſts, and was brought into ſuch diſtreſſe, that he deſpaired euen of his owne life. At length, hauing not without danger of death, ſailed along the coaſtes of Denmarke, Norway, and Scotland, he returned into Northumberland, and went to the caſtle of Tinmouth as vnto a place of refuge knowen of olde vnto him: where, after hee had refreſhed himſelfe a fewe dayes, hee tooke his iourney toward his Mannour of Plaſhy, bringing great ioy vnto the whole kingdome, aſwell in regard of his ſafetie as of his returne.

The verſes of Geofrey Chaucer in the knights Prologue, who *liuing in the yeere 1402. (as hee writeth himſelfe in his Epiſtle of Cupide)* ſhewed that the Engliſh Knights after the loſſe of Acon, were wont in his time to trauaile into Pruſſia and Lettowe, and other heathen lands, to aduance the Chriſtian faith againſt Infidels and miſcreants, and to ſeeke honour by feats of armes.

The Engliſh Knights Prologue.

A Knight there was, and that a worthie man,
that from the time that he firſt began
to riden out, he loued Cheualrie,
trouth, honour, freedome, and Curteſie.
full worthy was he in his lords warre:
and thereto hath hee riden no man farre,
Long trauaile. As well in Chriſtendome as in Heathenneſſe,
and euer hath honour for his worthineſſe.
Alexandria. At Aliſandre hee was, when it was wonne:
full oft time hee had the bourd begon
abouen all nations in Pruce,
Lettowe, Ruce. In Lettowe had hee riden, and in Ruce,
no Chriſten man ſo oft of his degree:
In Granade at the ſiege had he bee
Algezer in Granado. At Algezer: and riden in Belmarye:
Lepus in Arminia. At Leyes was hee, and alſo at Satalye,
Froyſart. lib. 3. cap. 40. when they were wonne: and in the great ſee
at many a Noble armie had hee bee.
Batalie in the mayne of Alexeere Rhodes. At mortall battailes had he bin fifteene,
Tremiſen is in Barbarie. And foughten for our faith at Tramiſſen,
in liſtes thries, and aye ſlayne his foe:
This ilke worthie Knight had bin alſo,
‖ Or, Palles *Froyſart lib. 3. cap. 40.* ſometime with the lord of ‖ Palathye
Turkie. ayenſt another Heathen in Turkie.
The time when Chaucer wrote, is thus mentioned in the end of his letter of Cupide. Written in the luſtie moneth of May
in our Palace, where many a million
of louers true haue habitation,
The yeere of grace ioyfull and iocond,
a thouſand, foure hundred and ſecond.

The original, proceedings and ſucceſſe of the Northren domeſtical and forren trades and traffiques of this Iſle of *Britain from the time of Nero the Emperour, who deceaſed in the* yeere of our Lord 70. vnder the Romans, Britons, Saxons, and Danes, till the conqueſt: and from the conqueſt, vntill this preſent time, gathered out of the moſt authenticall hiſtories and records of this nation.

A teſtimonie out of the fourteenth Booke of the Annales *of Cornelius Tacitus, prouing London to haue bene a famous Mart* Towne in the reigne of Nero the Emperour, which died in the yeere of Chriſt 70.

AT Suetonius mira conſtantia medios inter hoſtes Londinium perrexit, cognomento quidem coloniæ non inſigne, ſed copia negociatorum & cõmeatu maxime celebre,

The ſame in Engliſh.

BVt Suetonius with wonderfull conſtancie paſſed through the middeſt of his enemies, vnto London, which though it were not honoured with the name and title of a Romane

Romane Colonie, yet was it moſt famous for multitude of Marchants and concourſe of people.

A teſtimonie out of Venerable *Beda* (which died in the yeere of our Lord 734.) prouing London to haue bene a Citie of great traffike and Marchandize not long after the beginning of the Saxons reigne.

Beda Eccleſiaſtice hiſtoriæ Gentis Anglorum lib. 2. cap. 3.

ANno Dominicæ incarnationis ſexcenteſimo quarto Auguſtinus Britanniarum Archiepiſcopus ordinauit duos Epiſcopos, Mellitum videlicet & Iuſtum: Mellitum quidem ad prædicandum prouinciæ Orientalium Saxonum, qui Tameſi fluuio diriminntur à Cantia, & ipſi Orientali Mari contigui, quorum Metropolis Londonia Ciuitas eſt, ſuper ripam præfati fluminis poſita, & ipſa multorum emporium populorum, terra marique venientium.

The ſame in Engliſh.

IN the yeere of the incarnation of Chriſt 604. Auguſtine Archbiſhop of Britaine conſecrated two Biſhops, to wit Mellitus and Iuſtus. He appointed Mellitus to preach to the Eaſt Saxons, which are diuided from Kent by the riuer of Thames, and border vpon the Eaſterne ſea, whoſe chiefe and Metropolitane Citie is London, ſeated vpon the banke of the aforeſayd riuer, which is alſo a Marte Towne of many nations, which repayre thither by ſea and by land.

The league betweene *Carolus Magnus* and *Offa* King of *Mercia concerning ſafe trade of the Engliſh Marchants* in all the Emperours Dominion. This *Offa* died in the yeere of our Lord 795.

OFfa interea Carolum magnum Regem Francorum frequentibus legationibus amicum parauit: quamuis non facile quod ſuis artibus conduceret in Caroli animo inuenerit. Diſcordarunt antea, adeo vt magnis motibus vtrobique concurrentibus, etiam negociatorum commeatus prohiberentur. Eſt Epiſtola Albini huiuſce rei index, cuius partem hic apponam. Malmsbur. de geſtis Regum Anglorum lib. 1. cap. 4.

Neſcio quid de nobis venturum ſit. Aliquid enim diſſentionis diabolico fomento inflammante, nuper inter Regem Carolum & Regem Offam exortum eſt: ita vt vtrinque nauigatio interdicta negociantibus ceſſet. Sunt qui dicant nos pro pace in illas partes mittendos. Et nonnullis interpoſitis, Nunc, inquit, ex verbis Caroli fœdus firmum inter eum & Offam compactum ſubijciam. Carolus gratia Dei Rex Francorum, & Longobardorum, & patricius Romanorum, viro venerando & fratri chariſſimo Offæ Regi Merciorum ſalutem. Primo gratias agimus omnipotenti deo, de ſalute animarum, de Catholicæ fidei ſinceritate, quam in veſtris laudabiliter paginis reperimus exaratam. De peregrinis vero qui pro amore Dei, & ſalute animarum ſuarum beatorum Apoſtolorum limina deſiderant adire, cum pace ſine omni perturbatione vadant. Sed ſi aliqui, non religioni ſeruientes, ſed lucra ſectantes, inueniantur inter eos, locis opportunis ſtatuta ſoluant telonia. Negociatores quoque volumus vt ex mandato noſtro patrocinium habeant in Regno noſtro legitime. Et ſi aliquo loco iniuſta affligantur oppreſſione, reclament ad nos vel noſtros iudices, & plenam videbimus iuſtitiam fieri. Nauigatio interdicta. Negociatorum Anglicorum parocianus.

The ſame in Engliſh.

IN the meane ſeaſon Offa by often legacies ſolicited Charles le maigne the king of France, to be his friend: albeit he could not eaſily finde king Charles any whit enclined to further and promote his craftie attempts. Their mindes were ſo alienated before, that, bearing hatty ſtomacks on both parts, euen the mutuall traffique of their Marchants was prohibited. The Epiſtle of Albinus is a ſufficient teſtimony of this matter: part whereof I will here put downe. I know not (quoth he) what will become of vs. For there is of late, by the inſtigation of the deuill, ſome diſcord and variance ſprung vp betweene king Charles and king Offa: inſomuch Traffique prohibited.

Nauigation forbidden.

that sailing to and fro is forbidden vnto the Marchants of both their dominions. Some say that we are to be sent, for the obtaining of a peace, into those partes. And againe, after a fewe lines, Nowe (quoth he) out of Charles his owne wordes, I will make report of the league concluded betweene him and Offa.

A league betweene Carol. Mag. and K. Offa.

Charles by the grace of God king of the Franks and Lombards and Senatour of the Romanes, vnto the reuerend and his most deare brother Offa king of the Mercians sendeth greeting. First we doe render vnto almightie God most humble thankes for the saluation of soules, and the sinceritie of the Catholique faith, which we, to your great commendation, haue found signified in your letters. As touching those pilgrimes, who for the loue of God and their owne soules health, are desirous to resort vnto the Churches of the holy Apostles, let them goe in peace without all disturbance. But if any be found amongst them not honouring religion, but following their owne gaine, they are to pay their ordinarie customes at places conuenient. It is our pleasure also and

Protection of the English Marchants.

commandement, that your marchants shall haue lawfull patronage and protection in our dominions. Who, if in any place they chance to be afflicted with any iniust oppression, let them make their supplication vnto vs, or vnto our Iudges, and we will see iustice executed to the full.

An ancient testimonie translated out of the olde Saxon lawes,

containing among other things the aduancement of Marchants for their thrise crossing the wide seas, set downe by the learned Gentleman Master William Lambert pagina 500. of his perambulation of Kent.

IT was sometime in English lawes, that the people and the lawes were in reputation: and then were the wisest of the people worthy-worthy, euery one after his degree: Earle, and Churle, Thein, and vnder-Thein. And if a churle thriued so, that hee had fully fiue hides of his owne land, a Church and a Kitchin, a Bellhouse, and a gate, a scate, and a seuerall office in the Kings hall, then was he thenceforth the Theins right worthy. And if a Thein so thriued, that he serued the king, and on his message rid in his houshold, if he then had a Thein that followed him, the which to the kings iourney fiue hides had, and in the kings scate his Lord serued, and thrise with his errand had gone to the king, he might afterward with his forecroth his lords part plap at any great neede. And if a Thein did thriue so, that he became an Earle; then was he afterward an Earles right worthie. And if a Marchant so thriued, that he passed thrise ouer the wide seas, of his owne craft, he was thencefoorth a Theins right worthie. And if a scholar so prospered thorow learning that he degree had, and serued Christ, he was then afterward of dignitie and peace so much worthie, as thereunto belonged: vnlesse he forfaren so, that he the vse of his degree vse ne might.

William of Malmsb. lib. 2. cap. 9. de gestis Regum Anglorum.

A testimonie of certaine priuiledges obtained for the English and Danish Marchants of Conradus the Emperour and Iohn the Bishop of Rome by Canutus the King of England in his iourney to Rome, extracted out of a letter of his written vnto the Cleargie of England.

SIt vobis notum quia magna congregatio nobilium in ipsa solemnitate Paschali, Romæ cum Domino Papa Ioanne, & imperatore Conrado erat, scilicet omnes principes gentium a monte Gargano, vsque ad istum proximum Mare: qui omnes me & honorifice susceperè, & magnificis donis honorauere. Maxime autem ab imperatore donis varijs & muneribus pretiosis honoratus sum, tam in vasis aureis & argenteis, quam in pallijs & vestibus valde pretiosis. Locutus sum igitur cum ipso imperatore, & Domino Papa, & principibus qui ibi erant, de necessitatibus totius populi mei, tam Angli quam Dani, vt eis concederetur lex æquior, & pax securior in via Romã adeundi, & ne tot clausuris per viam arcerentur, & propter iniustum teloneũ fatigarentur. Annuitque postulatis Imperator, & Rodulphus Rex, qui maxime ipsarum clausurarum dominatur, cunctique principes edictis firmarunt, vt homines mei tam Mercatores, quàm alij orandi gratia viatores, absque omni angaria clausurarum & teloneariorum, cum firma pace Romam eant & redeant.

The

The same in English

YOu are to vnderstand, that at the feast of Easter, there was a great company of Nobles with Pope Iohn and Conradus the Emperour assembled at Rome, namely all the princes of the nations from mount Garganus vnto the West Ocean sea. Who all of them honourably intertained me, and welcomed mee with rich and magnificent gifts: but especially the Emperour bestowed ditters costly presents and rewards vpon mee, both in vessels of golde and siluer, and also in cloakes and garments of great value. Wherefore I conferred with the Emperour himselfe and the Pope, and with the other Princes who were there present, concerning the necessities of all my subiects both Englishmen and Danes; that a more fauourable law & secure peace in their way to Rome might bee graunted vnto them, and that they might not bee hindered by so many stops & impediments in their iourney, and wearied by reason of iniust exactions. And the Emperour condescended vnto my request, and king Rodulphus also, who hath greatest authoritie ouer the foresaid stops and streights, and all the other princes confirmed by their Edicts, that my subiects, as well Marchants, as others who trauailed for deuotions sake, should without all hinderance and restraint of the foresaid stops and customers, goe vnto Rome in peace, and returne from thence in safetie.

Garganus a mountaine of Apulia in Italie.

The flourishing state of Marchandise in the Citie of London in the dayes of Willielmus Malmesburiensis, *which died in the yeere 1142. in the reigne of K. Stephen.*

HAud longe a Rosa quasi viginti quinque milliarijs est Londonia Ciuitas nobilis, opima ciuium diuitijs, constipata negociatorum ex omni terra, & maxime ex Germania venientium, commercijs. Vnde fit vt cum vbique in Anglia caritas victualium pro sterili prouentu messium sit, ibi necessaria distrahantur & emantur minore, quàm alibi, vel vendentium compendio, vel ementium dispendio. Peregrinas inuehit merces Ciuitatis finibus Tamesis fluuius famosus, qui citra vrbem ad 80. milliaria fonticulo fusus, vltra plus 70. nomen profert.

Guliel. Malmesb. de gestis pont. Anglorum lib. 3.

The same in English.

NOt farre from Rochester, about the distance of fiue and twenty miles, standeth the Noble Citie of London, abounding with the riches of the inhabitants, and being frequented with the traffique of Marchants resorting thither out of all nations, and especially out of Germanie. Whereupon it commeth to passe, that when any generall dearth of victuals falleth out in England, by reason of the scarcitie of corne, things necessary may there be prouided and bought with lesse gaine vnto the sellers, and with lesse hinderance and losse vnto the buyers, then in any other place of the Realme. Outlandish wares are conueighed into the same Citie by the famous riuer of Thames: which riuer springing out of a fountaine 80. miles beyond the Citie, is called by one and the selfe same name, 70. miles beneath it.

Germanie.

The aforesaid William of Malmesburie writeth of traffike in his time to Bristowe in his fourth booke *de gestis pontificum Anglorum*, after this maner.

IN eadem valle est vicus celeberrimus Bristow nomine, in quo est nauium portus ab Hibernia & Norwegia & cæteris transmarinis terris venientium receptaculum, ne scilicet genitalibus diuitijs tam fortunata regio peregrinarum opum frauderetur commercio.

The same in English.

IN the same valley stands the famous Towne of Bristow, with an Hauen belonging thereunto, which is a commodious and safe receptacle for all ships directing their course for the same, from Ireland, Norway, and other outlandish and forren countreys: namely that a region so fortunate and wielded with the riches that nature hath vouchsafed thereupon should not bee destitute of the wealth and commodities of other lands.

Norway.

The league betweene *Henry* the ſecond and *Fredericke Barbaroſſa Emperour of* Germanie, *wherein is mention of friendly traffike betweene the Marchants of the Empire and England, confirmed in the yeere of our Lord 1157. recorded in the firſt Booke and ſeuenteenth Chapter of Radeuicus Canonicus Friſingenſis, being an appendix to Otto Friſingenſis.*



Ibidem tunc affuere etiam Henrici Regis Angliæ miſſi, varia & precioſa donaria multo lepore verborum adornata præſtantes. Inter quæ papilionem vnum quantitate maximum, qualitate optimum perſpeximus. Cuius ſi quantitatem requiris, non niſi machinis & inſtrumentorum genere & adminiculo leuari poterat: ſi qualitatem, nec materia nec opere ipſum putem aliquando ab aliquo huiuſce apparatu ſuperatum iri. Literas quoque mellito ſermone plenas pariter direxerat, quarum hic tenor fuit. Præcordiali amico ſuo, Frederico Dei gratia Romanorum imperatori inuictiſſimo, Henricus Rex Angliæ, dux Normanniæ, & Aquitaniæ, & Comes Andegauenſis, ſalutem, & veræ dilectionis concordiam. Excellentiæ veſtræ quantas poſſumus referimus grates, dominantium optime, quod nos nuncijs veſtris viſitare, ſalutare literis, muneribus præuenire, & quod his charius amplectimur, pacis & amoris inuicem dignatus eſtis fœdera inchoare. Exultauimus, & quodammodo animum nobis creſcere, & in maius ſenſimus euehi dum veſtra promiſſio, in qua nobis ſpem dediſtis, in diſponendis Regni noſtri negocijs, alacriores nos reddidit, & promptiores. Exultauimus inquam, & tota mente magnificentiæ veſtræ aſſurreximus, id vobis in ſincero cordis affectu reſpondentes, quod quicquid ad honorem veſtrum ſpectare nouerimus, pro poſſe noſtro effectui mancipare parati ſumus, Regnum noſtrum, & quicquid vbique noſtræ ſubijcitur ditioni vobis exponimus & veſtrę committimus poteſtati, vt ad veſtrum nutum omnia diſponantur, & in omnibus veſtri fiat voluntas imperij. Sit igitur inter nos & populos noſtros dilectionis & pacis vnitas indiuiſa, commercia tuta: Ita tamen vt vobis, qui dignitate præminetis, imperandi cedat authoritas, nobis non deerit voluntas obſequendi. Et ſicut veſtræ Serenitatis memoriam veſtrorum excitat in nobis munerum largitio, ſic vos noſtri quoque reminiſci præoptamus, mittentes quæ pulchriora penes nos erant, & vobis magis placitura. Attendite itaque dantis affectum, non data, & eo animo quo dantur accipite. De manu beati Iacobi, ſuper qua nobis ſcripſiſtis, in ore magiſtri Hereberti & Guilielmi Clerici noſtri verbū poſuimus. Teſte Thoma Cancellario apud Northanton.

Commercia inter Germanos & Anglos.

The ſame in Engliſh.

There were preſent alſo the ſame time, the meſſengers of Henry king of England preſenting diuers rich and precious gifts, and that with great learning & eloquence of ſpeech. Amongſt the which we ſaw a pauilion, moſt large in quantity, & moſt excellent in quality. For if you deſire to know the quantitie therof, it could not be erected without engines and a kinde of inſtruments, and maine force: if the qualitie, I thinke there was neuer any furniture of the ſame kinde, that ſurpaſſed the ſame either in ſtuffe or workemanſhip. The ſaid king directed his letters alſo, full of fugred ſpeeches, the tenour whereof was this that followeth.

To his entirely beloued friend Frederick by the grace of God Emperour of the Romanes moſt inuincible, Henry king of England, duke of Normandie and Aquitaine, Earle of Anjou wiſheth health and concord of ſincere amitie. We doe render vnto your highnes (moſt renowmed and peereleſſe Prince) exceeding great thanks for that you haue ſo graciouſly vouchſafed by your meſſengers to viſite vs, in your letters to ſalute vs, with your gifts to preuent vs, and (which wee doe more highly eſteeme of then all the reſt) to beginne a league of peace and friendſhip betweene vs. We reioyced, and in a maner ſenſibly felt our ſelues to bee greatly emboldened, and our courage to encreaſe, whileſt your promiſe, whereby you put vs in good comfort, did make vs more cheerefull and reſolute, in managing the affaires of our kingdome. We reioyced (I ſay) & in our ſecret cogitations did humble obeiſance vnto your Maieſtie, giuing you at this time to vnderſtand frō the ſincere & vnfained affection of our heart, that whatſoeuer we ſhal know to tend vnto your honour, we are, to our power moſt ready to put in practiſe. Our kingdome and whatſoeuer is vnder our iuriſdiction we doe offer vnto you, and commit the ſame vnto your highneſſe, that all matters may be diſpoſed according to your direction, and that your pleaſure may in all things be fulfilled. Let there be therefore betweene our ſelues and our ſubiects, an indiuiſible vnitie of friendſhip and peace, and ſafe trade of Marchandize: yet ſo, as that vnto you (who excell in dignitie) authoritie in commanding may bee aſcribed, and diligence in obeying ſhall not want in vs. And as the liberalitie of your rewards doeth often put vs in remembrance of your Maieſtie, euen ſo in like maner ſending vnto your highneſſe the moſt rare things

things in our custodie, and which we thought should be most acceptable vnto you, wee doe most heartily wish that your selfe also would not altogether bee vnmindefull of vs. Haue respect therefore not vnto the gifts, but vnto the affection of the giuer, and accept of them with that minde, wherewith they are offered vnto you.

Concerning the hand of S. Iames, about which you wrote vnto vs, we haue sent you word by M. Herbert, and by William the Clerke. Witnes Thomas our Chancelour at Northanton.

A generall safe conduct graunted to all forreine Marchants by king Iohn in the first yeere of his reigne, as appeareth in the Records of the Tower, Anno 1. Regis Ioannis.

‖ 1199.



Ioannes Dei gratia &c. Maiori & Communitati Londinensi salutem. Sciatis voluntatem esse nostram, quod omnes Mercatores de quacunq; fuerint terra saluum habeant conductum ire & redire cum mercibus suis in Angliam, Volumus etiam quod eandem habeant pacem in Anglia, quam Mercatores de Anglia habent in terris illis vnde fuerunt egressi. Et ideo vobis præcipimus, quod hoc faciatis denunciari in Balliua vestra, & firmiter teneri; permittentes eos ire & redire sine impedimento per debitas & rectas & solitas consuetudines in Balliua vestra. Teste Galfredo filio Petri comite Essexiæ apud Kinefard 5. die Aprilis.

Solita me catorum consuetudines.

In eadem forma scribitur vicecomiti Sudsex, Maiori & communitati Ciuitatis Winton, Balliuo de Southampton, Balliuo de Lenne, Balliuo Kent, Vicecomiti Norffolciæ & Suffolciæ, Vicecomiti dorset & Sommerset, Baronibus de quinque portubus, Vicecomiti de Southampton sire, Vicecomiti de Herteford & Essex, Vicecomiti Cornubiæ & Deuon.

The same in English

IOhn by the grace of God &c. to the Maior and communaltie of London, greeting. You are to vnderstand, that it is our pleasure, that all Marchants of what nation soeuer, shall haue safe conduct to passe and repasse with their Marchandize into England. It is our will also, that they be vouchsafed the same fauour in England, which is granted vnto the English Marchants in those places from whence they come. And therefore we giue you in charge, that you cause this to be published, and proclaimed in your bailiwicke, & firmely to be obserued, permitting them to goe & come, without impediment, according to the due, right and ancient customes vsed in your said Bailiwicke. Witnesse Geofry Fitz-Peter Earle of Esser at Kinefard the 5. day of Aprill.

The ancient customes of Marchants.

The same forme of writing was sent to the sherife of Sudsex, to the Maior and communaltie of the Citie of Winchester, to the Baily of Southampton, the Baily Lenne, the Baily of Kent, the sherife of Norfolke and Suffolke, the sherife of Dorset and Sommerset, the Baily of the Cinque-ports, the sherife of Southampton-shire, the sherife of Hertford and Essex, the sherife of Cornewal and Deuon.

Literæ regis Henrici tertij ad Haquinum Regem Norwegiæ de pacis fœdere & intercursu mercandisandi | Anno 1. Henrici 3.

‖ 1216.

HEnricus Dei gratia &c. Haquino eadem gratia Regi Norwegiæ salutem. Immensas nobilitati vestræ referimus gratiarum actiones de his quæ per literas vestras & prudentem virum Abbatem de Lisa, nobis significastis, volentes & desiderantes fœdus pacis & dilectionis libenter nobiscum inire, & nobiscum confœderari. Bene autem placet & placebit nobis quod terræ nostræ cõmunes sint, & Mercatores & homines qui sunt de potestate vestra libere & sine impedimento terram nostram adire possint, & homines & Mercatores nostri similiter terrã vestram. Dum tamen literas vestras patentes super hoc nobis destinetis, & nos vobis nostras transmittemus. Interim autem bene volumus & concedimus, quod Mercatores tam de terra vestra quàm nostra eant, veniant, & recedant per terras nostras. Et si quid vestræ federit voluntati, quod facere valeamus, id securè nobis significetis. Detinuimus autem adhuc Abbatem prædictum, & de naui vestra & rebus in ea contentis pro posse nostro restitutionem fieri faceremus: per quem de statu nostro & Regni nostri vos certificare curabimus, & quàm citius &c. Teste me ipso apud Lambithe decimo die Octobris.

Eodem modo scribitur S. Duci Norwegiæ ibidem & eodem die.

The

The letters of King *Henry* the third vnto *Haquinus* *King of* Norway *concerning a treatie of peace* and mutuall traffique of marchandize, &c,

HEnry by the grace of God, &c. vnto Haquinus by the ſame grace King of Norway, ſendeth greeting. Wee render vnto your highneſſe vnſpeakeable thanks for thoſe things which by your letters, and by your diſcreete ſubiect the Abbat of Liſa, you haue ſignified vnto vs, and alſo for that you are right willing and deſirous to begin and to conclude betweene vs both, a league of peace and amitie. And wee for our part both nowe are, and hereafter ſhalbe well contented, that both our lands be common, to the ende that the Marchants and people of your dominions may freely and without impediment reſort vnto our land, and our people and Marchants may likewiſe haue recourſe vnto your territories. Prouided, that for the confirmation of this matter, you ſend vnto vs your letters patents, and wee will ſend ours alſo vnto you. Howbeit in the meane while wee doe will and freely graunt, that the Marchants both of our and your lands, may goe, come, and returne to and from both our Dominions. And if there be ought in your minde, whereby we might ſtand you in any ſtead, you may boldly ſignifie the ſame vnto vs. Wee haue as yet detained the foreſaid Abbat, that wee might, to our abilitie, cauſe reſtitution to be made for your ſhip, and for the things therein contained: by whome wee will certifie you of our owne eſtate, and of the eſtate of our kingdome ſo ſoone, &c. Witneſſe our ſelfe at Lambith the tenth of October.

Another letter in the ſame forme and to the ſame effect was there and then ſent vnto S. Duke of Norway.

Mandatum pro Coga Regis Norwegiæ Anno 13. *Henrici 3.*

MAndatum eſt omnibus Balliuis portuum in quos ventura eſt Coga de Norwegia, in qua venerint in Angliam milites Regis Norwegiæ & Mercatores Saxoniæ, quod cum prædictam Cogam in portus ſuos venire contigerit, ſaluò permittant ipſam Cogam in portubus ſuis morari, quamdiu neceſſe habuerint, & libere ſine impedimento inde recedere quando voluerint, Teſte Rege.

The ſame in Engliſh.

A Mandate for the King of *Norway* his Ship *called the Cog.*

WEe will and commaund all bailifes of Portes, at the which the Cog of Norway (wherein certaine of the king of Norwaie his ſouldiers, and certaine Marchants of Saxonie are comming for England) ſhall touch, that, when the foreſaid Cog ſhall chance to arriue at any of their Hauens, they doe permit the ſaid Cog ſafely to remaine in their ſaid Hauens ſo long as neede ſhall require, and without impeyment alſo freely to depart thence, whenſoeuer the gouernours of the ſayd ſhip ſhall thinke it expedient. Witneſſe the King.

Carta pro Mercatoribus de Colonia anno 20. Henrici 3. *Confirmata per Regem Edwardum primum* 8. Iulij Anno Regni 18, prout extat in rotulo cartarum de Anno 18. Regis Edwardi primi.

‖ Antiqua conſuetudo Gildhallæ Colonienſium Londini.

REx Archiepiſcopis &c. ſalutem. Sciatis nos quietos clamaſſe pro nobis & hæredibus noſtris dilectos noſtros, Ciues de Colonia, & mercandiſam ſuam de illis duobus ſolidis, ‖ quos ſolebant dare de Gildhalla ſua London, & de omnibus alijs

alijs conſuetudinibus & demandis, quæ pertinent ad nos in London, & per totam terram noſtram; & quod liberè poſſunt ire ad ferias, per totam terram noſtram & emere & vendere in villa London & alibi, ſalua libertate Ciuitatis noſtræ London. Quare volumus & firmiter præcipimus pro nobis & hæredibus noſtris, quod prædicti ciues de Colonia prænominatas libertates & liberas conſuetudines habeant per totam terram noſtram Angliæ ſicut prædictum eſt. His teſtibus, venerabili patre Waltero Caerleolenſi Epiſcopo, Willielmo de Ferarijs, Gilberto Baſſet, Waltero de Bello campo, Hugone Diſpenſer, Waltero Mareſcallo, Galfrido Diſpenſer, Bartholomæo Pech, Bartholomæo de Saukeuill, & alijs. Data per manum venerabilis patris Radulphi Ciciſtrenſis Epiſcopi, Cancellarij noſtri apud Dauintre Octauo die Nouembris, Anno Regni noſtri viceſimo.

The ſame in Engliſh

A Charter graunted for the behalfe of the Marchants of Colen in the twentieth yeere of Henry the third, confirmed by King Edward the firſt, as it is extant in the roule of Charters, in the eighteenth yeere of King Edward the firſt.

The King vnto Archbiſhops &c. greeting. Be it knowen vnto you, that wee haue quite clamed, and for vs and our heires releaſed our welbeloued the Citizens of Colen and their marchandize, from the payment of thoſe two ſhillings which they were wont to pay out of their Guildhall at London, and from all other cuſtomes and demaunds, which perteine vnto vs, either in London, or in any other place of our Dominions: and that they may ſafely reſort vnto Fayers throughout our whole Kingdome, and buy and ſell in the Citie of London. Wherefore we will and firmely command for vs and our heires, that the forenamed Marchants of Colen may enioy the liberties and free priuiledges aboue-mentioned, throughout our whole kingdome of England as is aforeſaid. Witneſſes, the reuerend father Walter Biſhop of Carlil, William de Ferarijs, Gilbert Baſſet, Walter de Beau-champ, Hugh Diſpenſer, Walter Mareſcal, Geofrie Diſpenſer, Bartholomew Peach, Bartholomew de Saukeuill and others. Giuen by the hand of the reuerend father Ralph Biſhop of Chicheſter and our Chauncellour at Dauintre, the eight day of Nouember, in the twentieth yeere of our reigne.

The ancient cuſtome of the Coloners of London.

Carta Lubecenſibus ad ſeptennium conceſſa.

Anno 41. Henrici 3.

HEnricus dei gracia Rex Angliæ, dominus Hiberniæ, dux Normanniæ, Aquitaniæ, & Comes Andegauiæ, omnibus Ballius ſuis ſalutem. Sciatis nos ad inſtantiam dilecti & fidelis fratris noſtri Ricardi Comitis Cornubiæ in Regem Romanorum electi, ſuſcepiſſe in protectionem & defenſionem noſtram & ſaluum & ſecurum conductum noſtrum Burgenſes de Lubek in Alemania cum omnibus rebus & mercandiſis quas in Regnum noſtrum deferent, vel facient deferri. Et eis conceſſimus, quod de omnibus rebus & mercandiſis ſuis nihil capiatur ad opus noſtrum vel alterius contra voluntatem eorundem; ſed libere vendant & negocientur inde in Regno prædicto, prout ſibi viderint expedire. Et ideo vobis mandamus, quod dictis Burgenſibus vel eorum nunciis in veniendo in terram noſtram cum rebus & mercandiſis ſuis, ibidem morando, & inde recedendo, nullum inferatis, aut ab alijs inferri permittatis impedimentum aut grauamen. Nec eos contra quietantiam prædictam vexetis, aut ab alijs vexari permittatis. In cuius rei teſtimonium has literas noſtras fieri fecimus patentes per ſeptennium durantes: Dum tamen ijdem Burgenſes interim bene & fideliter ſe habuerint erga præfatum electum fratrem noſtrum. Teſte meipſo apud Weſtmonaſterium vndecimo die Maij Anno Regni noſtri quadrageſimo primo. Hæc litera duplicata eſt, pro Burgenſibus & mercatoribus Dacis, Brunſwig, & Lubek.

Ricardus Comes Cornubiæ Rex Romanorum.

Carta conditionalis.

The

The ſame in Engliſh.

The charter of Lubek granted for ſeuen yeeres, obtained *in the one and fortieth yeere of Henry the third.*

HEnry by the grace of God King of England, Lord of Ireland, Duke of Normandie and Aquitaine, and Earle of Anjou, to all his Bailifs ſendeth greeting. Know ye that at the inſtant requeſt of our welbeloued and truſty brother Richard Earle of Cornewal being of late elected king of the Romanes, we haue receiued vnder our protection and defence, and vnder our ſafe and ſecure conduct, the citizens of Lubek in Alemain, with all their goods and wares, which they ſhall bring or cauſe to be brought into our kingdome. We haue alſo granted vnto them, that of all their goods and merchandize, nothing ſhal be ſeized vnto the vſe of our ſelues, or of any other without their owne conſent, but that they may freely ſell and exerciſe traffike therewith, according as they ſhall thinke expedient. And therefore we ſtraightly command you, that neither your ſelues do offer, nor that you permit any other to offer any impediment or moleſtation vnto the ſaid Burgers or vnto their meſſengers, either at their comming into our land, with their goods and marchandize, in the time of their abode there, or at their departure from thence, and that yee neither moleſt them your ſelues, nor yet ſuffer them by others to be moleſted, contrary to the aforeſaid Charter. In teſtimonie whereof, we haue cauſed theſe our Letters to be made Patents, during the ſpace of ſeuen yeeres next following.

Prouided, that the ſayd Burghers doe in the meane time behaue themſelues well and faithfully towards our foreſaid elected brother. Witneſſe our ſelues at Weſtminſter the eleuenth day of March, in the one and fortieth yeere of our reigne.

This Letter was doubled, namely for the Burghers, and the Marchants of Denmarke, of Brunſwig, and of Lubecke.

Carta pro Mercatoribus Alemanniæ, qui habent domum *in London, quæ Gildhalla Teutonicorum vulgariter nuncupatur Anno 44. Henrici tertij, & Anno primo & 29. Edwardi primi renouata & confirmata.*

AD inſtantiam Sereniſſimi principis Richardi Romanorum Regis chariſſimi fratris noſtri concedimus mercatoribus Alemanniæ, illis videlicet qui habent domum in Ciuitate noſtra London, quæ Gildhalla Teutonicorum vulgariter nuncupatur, quod eos vniuerſos manutenebimus per totum Regnũ noſtrum in omnibus iiſdem libertatibus & liberis conſuetudinibus, quibus ipſi noſtris & ‖ progenitorum noſtrorum temporibus vſi ſunt & gauiſi. Ipſoſque extra huiuſmodi libertates & liberas conſuetudines non trahemus, nec trahi aliquatenus permittemus. In cuius rei teſtimonium has literas noſtras fieri fecimus patentes.

‖ Nota an[illegible] quitatem.

The ſame in Engliſh.

A charter for the Marchants of *Almaine*, who haue an houſe at London *commonly called ‡ the Guild hall of the* Dutch, graunted in the 44. yeere of *Henry* the third, renued and confirmed in the 1. & 29. yeere of *Edward* the firſt.

‡ The Gerlland.

AT the inſtant requeſt of the moſt gracious Prince Richard king of the Romanes our moſt deare brother, wee doe graunt vnto the Marchants of Alemain (namely vnto thoſe that haue an houſe in our citie of London, commonly called the Guildhall of the Dutch Merchants) that we will, throughout our whole Realme, maintaine all and euery of them, in all thoſe liberties and free cuſtomes, which both in our times, and in the times of our progenitors, they haue vſed and enioyed. Neither will we inforce them beyond theſe liberties and free cuſtomes, nor in any wiſe permit them to be inforced. In witneſſe wherof, wee haue cauſed theſe our letters to be made patents.

Note the antiquitie.

Mandatum

Mandatum regis Edwardi primi de mercatoribus alienigenis.

MErcatores extranei vendant mercimonia ſua in ciuitate London &c. infra quadraginta dies poſt ingreſſum ſuum, anno 3. Edwardi primi.

The ſame in Engliſh.

A mandate of king *Edward* the firſt concerning outlandiſh marchants.

WE will and command that outlandiſh marchants doe ſell their wares in the citie of London &c. within fourty dayes of their arriuall.

The great Charter granted vnto forreine marchants by king *Edward* the firſt, in the 31 yeare of his reigne commonly called *Carta mercatoria, Anno Domini* 1303.

EDwardus Dei gratia Rex Angliæ, Dominus Hiberniæ, dux Aquitaniæ, Archiepiſcopis, Epiſcopis, Abbatibus, Prioribus, Comitibus, Baronibus, Iuſtitiarijs, Vicecomitibus, præpoſitis, miniſtris, & omnibus balliuis & fidelibus ſuis ſalutem. Circa bonum ſtatum omnium mercatorum ſubſcriptorum regnorum, terrarum, & prouinciarum, videlicet Alemanniæ, Franciæ, Hiſpaniæ, Portugalliæ, Nauarræ, Lombardiæ, Thuſciæ, Prouincię, Cataloniæ, ducatus noſtri Aquitaniæ, Tholoſanię, Caturluni, Flandriæ, Brabantię, & omnium aliarum terrarum & locorum extraneorum, quocunq; nomine cenſeantur, venientium in regnum noſtrum Anglię & ibidem conuerſantium nos præcipua cura ſollicitat, qualiter ſub noſtro dominio tranquillitatis & plenæ ſecuritatis commoditas eiſdem mercatoribus futuris temporibus præparetur. Vt itaque vota ipſorum reddantur ad noſtra & regni noſtri ſeruitia promptiora, ipſorum petitionibus fauorabiliter annuentes, & pro ſtatu eorundem plenius aſſecurando, in forma quę ſequitur ordinantes, præfatis & hæredibus noſtris in perpetuum ſubſcripta dictis mercatoribus duximus concedenda.

Inprimis videlicet quod omnes mercatores dictorum regnorum & terrarum ſaluè & ſecure ſub tuitione & protectione noſtra in dictum regnum noſtrum Angliæ, & vbique infra poteſtatem noſtram alibi veniant cum mercandiſis ſuis quibuſcunque, de muragio, pontagio & pannagio liberi & quieti. Quodque infra idem regnum & poteſtatem noſtram in ciuitatibus, burgis, & villis mercatorijs poſſint mercari duntaxat in groſſo tam cum indigenis ſeu incolis eiuſdem regni & poteſtatis noſtræ prædictæ, quàm cum alienigenis, extraneis, vel priuatis. Ita tamen quod merces, quæ vulgariter mercerię vocantur, ac ſpecies, minutatim vendi poſſint, prout antea fieri conſueuit. Et quod omnes prædicti mercatores mercandiſas ſuas, quas ipſos ad prædictum regnum & poteſtatem noſtram adducere, ſeu infra idem regnum & poteſtatem noſtram emere, vel aliàs acquirere contigerit, poſſint quo voluerint tam infra regnum & poteſtatem noſtram prædictam, quàm extra ducere vel portare facere, præterquam ad terras manifeſtorum & notoriorum hoſtium regni noſtri, ſoluendo conſuetudines quas debebunt: vinis duntaxat excepris, quæ de eodem regno ſeu poteſtate noſtra, poſtquam infra idem regnum ſeu poteſtatem noſtram ducta fuerint, ſine voluntate & licentia ſpeciali non liceat eis educere quoquo modo. 1. Exceptio contra notorios regni hoſtes.

Item quod prædicti mercatores in ciuitatibus, burgis, & villis prædictis pro voluntate ſua hoſpitari valeant, & morari cum bonis ſuis ad gratiam ipſorum, quorum ſunt hoſpitia ſiue domus. 2.

Item quod quilibet contractus per ipſos mercatores cum quibuſcunque perſonis vndecunque fuerint ſuper quocunque genere mercandiſæ initus, firmus ſit & ſtabilis, ita quod neuter mercatorum ab illo contractu poſſit recedere, vel reſilire, poſtquam denarius Dei inter principales perſonas cõtrahentes datus fuerit & receptus. Et ſi forſan ſuper cõtractu eiuſmodi contentio oriatur, fiat inde probatio aut inquiſitio ſecundũ vſus & conſuetudines feriarũ & villarũ, 3.

vbi dictum contractum fieri contigerit & iniri.

4. Item promittimus præfatis mercatoribus pro nobis & hæredibus noſtris in perpetuum concedentes, quod nullam priſam vel arreſtationem, ſeu dilationem occaſione priſæ de cætero de mercimonijs, mercandiſis ſeu alijs bonis ſuis per nos vel alium ſeu alios pro aliqua neceſſitate vel caſu contra voluntatem ipſorum mercatorum aliquatenus faciemus, aut fieri patiemur, niſi ſtatim ſoluto precio pro quo ipſi mercatores alijs eiuſmodi mercimonia vendere poſſint, vel eis aliter ſatiſfacto, ita quod reputent ſe contentos: Et quod ſuper mercimonia, mercandiſas, ſeu bona ipſorum per nos vel miniſtros noſtros nulla appreciatio aut eſtimatio imponetur.

5. Item volumus quod omnes balliui & miniſtri feriarum, ciuitatum, burgorum, & villarum mercatoriarum mercatoribus antedictis conquerentibus coram ijs celerem iuſtitiam faciant de die in diem ſine dilatione ſecundum legem mercatoriam, de vniuerſis & ſingulis quæ per eandem legem poterunt terminari. Et ſi forte inueniatur defectus in aliquo balliuorum vel miniſtrorum prædictorum, vnde ijdem mercatores vel eorum aliquis dilationis incommoda ſuſtinuerint vel ſuſtineant, licet mercator verſus partem in principali recuperauerit damna ſua, nihilominus balliuus vel miniſter alius verſus nos, prout delictum exigit puniatur. Et punitionem iſtam concedimus in fauorem mercatorum prædictorum pro eorum iuſtitia maturanda.

Lex mercatoria.

6. Item quod in omnibus generibus placitorum, ſaluo caſu criminis pro quo infligenda eſt pœna mortis, vbi mercator implacitatus fuerit, vel alium implacitauerit, cuiuſcunque conditionis idem implacitatus extiterit, extraneus vel priuatus, in nundinis, ciuitatibus, ſiue Burgis, vbi fuerit ſufficiens copia mercatorum prædictarum terrarum, & inquiſitio fieri debeat, ſit medietas inquiſitionis de eijſdem mercatoribus, & medietas altera de probis & legalibus hominibus loci illius vbi placitum illud eſſe contigerit. Et ſi de mercatoribus dictarum terrarum numerus non inueniatur ſufficiens, ponentur in inquiſitione illi qui idonei inuenientur ibidem, & reſidij ſint de alijs bonis hominibus & idoneis de locis in quibus placitum illud erit.

7. Item volumus, ordinamus, & ſtatuimus, quod in qualibet villa mercatoria & feria regni noſtri prædicti & alibi infra poteſtatem noſtram pondus noſtrum in certo loco ponatur, & ante ponderationem ſtatera in præſentia emptoris & venditoris vacua videatur, & quod brachia ſint equalia: & ex tunc ponderator ponderet in æquali. Et cum ſtateram poſuerit in æquali ſtatim amoueat manus ſuas, ita quod remaneat in æquali: quodque per totum regnum & poteſtatem noſtram ſit vnum pondus & vna menſura: & ſigno ſtandardi noſtri ſignentur: Et quod quilibet poſſit habere ſtateram vnius quaternionis, & infra, vbi contra domini loci, aut libertatem per nos & anteceſſores noſtros conceſſam illud non fuerit, ſiue contra villarum & feriarum conſuetudinem hactenus obſeruatam.

8. Item volumus & concedimus, quod aliquis certus homo fidelis & diſcretus Londini reſidens aſſignetur iuſtitiarius mercatoribus memoratis, coram quo valeant ſpecialiter placitare, & debita ſua recuperare celeriter, ſi Vicecomites & Maiores eis non facerent de die in diem celeris iuſtitiæ complementum: Et inde fiat Commiſſio extra Cartam præſentem conceſſa mercatoribus antedictis: ſcilicet de his quæ ſunt inter mercatores & mercatores ſecundum legem mercatoriam deducenda.

Lex mercatoria, quæ

9. Item ordinamus & ſtatuimus, & ordinationem illam ſtatutumque pro nobis & hæredibus noſtris in perpetuum volumus firmiter obſeruari, quod pro quacunque libertate, quam nos vel hæredes noſtri de cætero concedemus, præfati mercatores ſupradictas libertates vel earum aliquam non amittant. Pro prædictis autem libertatibus & liberis conſuetudinibus obtinendis, & priſis noſtris remittendis ijdem ſupradicti mercatores vniuerſi & ſinguli pro ſe & omnibus alijs de partibus ſuis nobis concorditer & vnanimiter conceſſerunt, quod de quolibet dolio vini, quod adducent vel adduci facient infra regnum & poteſtatem noſtram, & vnde marinarijs fretum ſoluere tenebuntur, ſoluent nobis & hæredibus noſtris nomine Cuſtumæ duos ſolidos vltra antiquas cuſtumas debitas & in denarijs ſolui conſuetas nobis, aut alias infra quadraginta dies, poſtquam extra naues ad terram poſita fuerint dicta vina. Item de quolibet ſacco lanarum, quem dicti mercatores, aut alij nomine ipſorum ement & è regno educēt, aut emi & educi facient, ſoluent quadraginta denarios de incremento vltra cuſtumam antiquam dimidię marcę, quæ prius fuerat perſoluta. Et pro laſta coriorum extra regnum & poteſtatem noſtram vehendorum dimidiam marcam ſupra id quod ex antiqua cuſtuma ante ſoluebatur. Et ſimiliter de trecentis pellibus lanitis extra regnum & poteſtatem noſtram ducendis quadraginta denarios vltra certum illud, quod de antiqua

Antiquæ Cuſtumæ.

antiqua cuſtuma fuerat prius datum. Item duos ſcindos de quolibet ſcarlato & panno tincto in grano. Item decem & octo denarios de quolibet panno, in quo pars grani fuerit intermixta. Item duodecem denarios de quolibet panno alio ſine grano. Item duodecem denarios de qualibet æris quintalla.

Cumque de præfatis mercatoribus nonnulli eorum alias exercere ſoleant mercandiſas, vt de Auerio ponderis, & de alijs rebus ſubtilibus, ſicut de pannis Tarſenſibus, de ſerico, & cindallis, de ſera & alijs diuerſis meribus, & de equis etiam & alijs animalibus, blado & alijs rebus & mercandiſis multimodis, quę ad certam cuſtumam facile poni non poterunt, ijdem mercatores conceſſerunt dare nobis & hęredibus noſtris de qualiber libra argenti eſtimationis ſeu valoris rerum & mercandiſarum huiuſmodi, quocunque nomine cenſeantur, tres denarios de libra in introitu rerum & mercandiſarum ipſarum in regnum & poteſtatem noſtram prædictam infra viginti dies poſtquam huiuſmodi res & mercandiſæ in regnum & poteſtatem noſtram prædictam adductæ & etiam ibidem exoneratæ ſeu venditæ fuerint. Et ſimiliter tres denarios de qualibet libra argenti in eductione quarumcunque rerum & mercandiſarum huiuſmodi emptarum in regno & poteſtate noſtris prædictis vltra cuſtumas nobis aut alijs ante datas. Et ſuper valore & eſtimatione rerum & mercandiſarum huiuſmodi de quibus tres denarij de qualibet libra argenti ſicut prædicitur ſunt ſoluendi, credatur eis per literas, quas de Dominis aut ſocijs ſuis oſtendere poterunt: Et ſi literas non habeant ſtetur in hac parte prædictorum mercatorum, ſi præſentes fuerint, vel valetorum ſuorum in eorundem mercatorum abſentia, iuramentis. 10.

Liceat inſuper ſocijs de ſocietate prędictorum mercatorum infra regnum & poteſtatem noſtram prædictas, lanas vendere alijs ſuis ſocijs, & ſimiliter emere ab ijſdem abſque cuſtuma ſoluenda. Ita tamen quod dictæ lanę ad tales manus non deueniant, quod de cuſtuma nobis debita defraudemur. Et præterea eſt ſciendum, quod poſtquam ſupradicti mercatores ſemel in vno loco infra regnum & poteſtatem noſtram cuſtumam nobis conceſſam ſuperius pro mercandiſis ſuis in forma ſoluerint ſupradicta, & ſuum habeant inde warantum, ſiue huiuſmodi mercandiſæ infra regnum & poteſtatem noſtram remaneant, ſiue exterius deferantur, (exceptis vinis, quæ de regno & poteſtate noſtris prædictis ſine voluntate & licentia noſtra ſicut prædictū eſt, nullatenus educantur:) Volumus, ac pro nobis, ac hæredibus noſtris concedimus, quod nulla exactio, priſa, vel præſtatio, aut aliquod onus ſuper perſonas mercatorū prędictorum, mercandiſas ſeu bona eorundem aliquatenus imponatur contra formam expreſſam ſuperius & conceſſam. His teſtibus veracibus principalibus, Roberto Cantuarienſi Archiepiſcopo totius Angliæ primate, Waltero Couentriæ & Lichfildię epiſcopo, Henrico de Lacy Lincolnienſe, Humfredo de Bohum comite Herfordienſe & Eſſexię & Conſtabulo magno Anglię, Adomaro de Valentia, Galfrido de Gaymal, Hugone de Leſpenſor, Waltero de Bello campo, ſeneſcallo hoſpitij noſtri, Roberto de Burijs, & alijs. Datum per manum noſtrā apud Windeſore, primo die Februarij, anno regni noſtri xxxj. 11.

The aforeſaid generall Charter in Engliſh.

EDward by the grace of God king of England, lord of Ireland, duke of Aquitaine, to Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbots, Priors, Earles, Barons, Iuſtices, Vicecomes, gouernours, officers, and all bayliffes, and his faithfull people ſendeth greeting. Wee haue ſpeciall care for the good eſtate of all marchants of the kingdomes, lands, and countreis following: to wit of Almaine, France, Spaine, Portugal, Nauarre, Lombardie, Florence, Prouence, Catalonia, of our duchie of Aquitaine, Tholoſa, Caturlune, Flanders, Brabant, and of all other forreine countreis and places by what name ſoeuer they be called, which come into our kingdome of England, and there remayne, that the ſayd marchants may liue in quiet and full ſecuritie vnder our dominion in time to come. Wherefore that their hearts deſires may bee more readily inclined to our ſeruice and the ſeruice of our kingdome, wee fauourably agreeing to their petitions, for the fuller aſſuring of their eſtate, haue thought good to graunt to the ſayd marchants for vs and our heires for euer theſe priuiledges vnder written, ordaining in forme as followeth.

1. First, that all marchants of the ſayd kingdomes and countreys may come into our kingdome of England, and any where elſe into our dominion with their marchandiſes whatſoeuer ſafely and ſecurely vnder our defence and protection without paying wharfage, pontage, or pannage. And that in Cities, Boroughs, and market townes of the ſayd kingdome and dominion they may traffique onely by the great as well with the naturall ſubiects and inhabitantes of our aforeſayde kingdome and dominion, as with forreiners, ſtraungers, or priuate perſons. Yet ſo, that marchandiſes which are commonly called mercerie wares,

and ſpices, may be ſold by the ſmall, as heretofore hath bin accuſtomed. And that all the aforeſaid marchants may carry or cauſe to be caried whither they will, as well within our realme or dominion, as out of the ſame; ſauing vnto the countreis of the manifeſt and knowne enemies of our kingdome, thoſe marchandiſes which they ſhall bring into our foreſayd realme and dominion, or buy, or otherwiſe purchaſe in our ſayd realme and dominion, paying ſuch cuſtomes as they ought to doe: except onely wines, which it ſhall not be any wayes lawfull for them to carry out of our ſayd realme and dominion without our ſpeciall fauour and licence, after they be once brought into our realme and dominion.

An exception for trafficking with ſ known enemies of the kingdome.

2. Item that the aforeſayd marchants may at their pleaſure lodge & remaine with their goods in the cities, boroughs, and townes aforeſaid, with the good liking of thoſe which are owners of their lodgings.

3. Item that euery bargaine made by the ſaid marchants with any maner of perſons, of what places ſoeuer they be, for any kind of marchãdiſe whatſoeuer, ſhalbe firme & ſtable, ſo that none of both the marchants ſhall thinke or giue backe from that bargaine, after that the earneſt penie be once giuen and taken bet wene the principall bargayners. And if peraduenture any ſtrife ariſe about the ſame bargaine, the triall and inquirie thereof ſhall be made according to the vſes and cuſtomes of the fayres and townes where it chanced that the ſaid bargaine was made and contracted.

4. Item, we promiſe the aforeſaid marchants granting for euer for vs and our heires, that from hence forth we will not in any wiſe make nor cauſe to be made any ſtay or arreſt, or any delay by reaſon of arreſt of their wares, marchandiſes or other goods, by our ſelues, or by any other or others for any neede or accident againſt the will of the ſayd marchants, without preſent payment of ſuch a price as the marchants would haue ſold thoſe marchandiſes for to other men, or without making of them other ſatisfaction, ſo that they ſhall hold themſelues well contented: and that no price or valuation ſhalbe ſet vpon their wares, marchandiſes, & goods by vs or by any officer of ours.

5. Where is this Law now become? Item, we will that all bayliffes and officers of fayres, cities, boroughs, and market townes ſhall doe ſpeedie iuſtice from day to day without delay according to the lawe of Marchants to the aforeſayd marchants when they ſhall complaine before them, touching all and ſinguler cauſes, which may be determined by the ſame law. And if default be found in any of the bayliffes or officers aforeſayd, whereby the ſayd marchants or any of them haue ſuſtained, or do ſuſtaine any damage through delay, though the marchant recouer his loſſes againſt the partie principall, yet the bayliffe or other officer ſhall be puniſhed to vs ward, according to the qualitie of the default. And wee doe grant this puniſhment in fauour of the aforeſayd marchants in regard of the haſtening of their iuſtice.

6. Item, that in al maner of pleas, ſaumg in caſe where puniſhmẽt of death is to be inflicted, where a marchant is impleaded, or ſueth another, of what condition ſoeuer hee bee which is ſued, whether ſtranger or home borne, in fayres, cities, or boroughs, where ſufficient numbers of marchants of the foreſayd countreis are, and where the triall ought to bee made, let the one halfe of the Iurie be of the ſayd marchants, and the other halfe of good and lawfull men of the place where the ſuite ſhall fall out to bee: and if ſufficient number of marchants of the ſayd countries cannot bee found, thoſe which ſhall be found fit in that place ſhall be put vpon the iurie, and the reſt ſhall be choſen of good and fit men of the places where ſuch ſuit ſhall chance to be.

7. Item we will, we ordaine, and wee appoint, that in euery market towne and fayre of our realme aforeſayd and elſewhere within our dominion our weight ſhall bee ſet in ſome certaine place; and that before the weighing the balance ſhall bee ſeene emptie in the preſence of the buyer and of the ſeller, and that the ſkales bee equall: and that afterward the weigher weigh in the equall balance. And when hee hath ſet the balances euen, let him ſtraitgh way remoue his hands, ſo that the balance may remayne euen: And that throughout all our kingdome and dominion there be one weighe and one meaſure, and that they be marked with the marke of our ſtandard. And that euery man may haue a weight of one quarter of an hundred, and vnder, where the ſame hath not bin contrary to the liberty of the lord of the place, and contrary to the libertie granted by vs and our predeceſſors, or contrary to the cuſtome of townes and fayres which hath hitherto beene obſerued.

8. Item we will and we grant that ſome certaine faythfull and diſcreete man reſident in London be appointed to doe Juſtice to the aforeſayd marchants, before whome they may haue their ſuites decided, and may ſpeedily recouer their debts, if the Shiriffes and Maior ſhould not from day to day giue them ſpeedy iuſtice. And hereof let a Commiſſion be made: which we grant vnto the aforeſaid marchants beſides this preſent Charter: to wit of ſuch things as betweene marchant and marchant are to be decided according to the lawe of marchants.

9. Item we ordayne and appoint, and wee will that this ordinance and ſtatute ſhall firmely bee obſerued for euer for vs and our heires, that the aforeſayd marchants ſhal not looſe the aforeſaid liberties

berties nor any of them, for any libertie whatſoeuer, which wee or our heires hereafter ſhall graunt. And for the obteyning of the aforeſayd liberties and free cuſtomes, and for remiſſion of our arreſting of their goods, the aforeſayd marchants all and euery of them for themſelues and all other of their parties with one accorde and one conſent haue granted vnto vs, that of euery tunne of wine, which they ſhall bring or cauſe to be brought into our realme and dominion, for which they ſhall bee bound to pay freight vnto the mariners, beſides the olde cuſtomes which are due and were woont to bee payd vnto vs, they will pay vnto vs and to our heires in the name of a cuſtome two ſhillings in money, either out of hande, or elſe within fortie dayes after the ſayd wines ſhall bee brought on land out of the ſhippes. Item for euery ſacke of wooll, which the ſayd marchants or others in their name ſhall buy and carie out of the realme, or cauſe to bee brought and caried out, they will pay forty pence aboue the old cuſtome of halfe a marke, which was payed heretofore: And for a laſt of hides to bee carried out of our realme and dominion halfe a marke aboue that which heretofore was payed by the olde cuſtome. And likewiſe for three hundreth Felles with the wooll on them to bee tranſported out of our realme and dominion forty pence, aboue that certaine rate which before was payed by the olde cuſtome: Alſo two ſhillings vpon euery ſcarlate and euery cloth died in graine. Item eighteene pence for euery cloth wherein any kind of graine is mingled. Item twelue pence vpon euery cloth dyed without graine. Item twelue pence vpon euerie quintall of copper.

And whereas ſundrie of the aforeſayd marchants are woont to exerciſe other marchandiſes, as of Hauer de pois, and other fine wares, as ſarcenets, lawnes, cindalles, and ſilke, and diuers other marchandiſes, and to ſell horſes and other beaſtes, corne, and ſundrie other things and marchandiſes, which cannot eaſily bee reduced vnto a certaine cuſtome: the ſayd marchants haue granted to giue vnto vs, and to our heires of euery pound of ſiluer of the eſtemation and value of theſe kinde of goods and marchandiſes, by what name ſoeuer they be called, three pence in the pound in the bringing in of theſe goods into our realme and dominion aforeſaid, within twenty dayes after theſe goods and marchandiſes ſhall be brought into our realme and dominion, and ſhall be there vnladen and ſolde. And likewiſe three pence vpon euery pound of ſiluer in the carying out of any ſuch goods and marchandiſes which are bought in our realme and dominion aforeſayd aboue the cuſtomes beforetime payd vnto vs or any of our progenitors. And touching the value and eſtimation of theſe goods and marchandiſes, whereof three pence of euery pound of ſiluer, as is aforeſayd, is to be payd, credite ſhalbe giuen vnto them vpon the letters which they are able to ſhewe from their maſters or parteners. And if they haue no letters in this behalfe, we will ſtand to the othe of the foreſayd marchants if they bee preſent, or in their abſence to the othes of their ſeruants.

Moreouer, it ſhall be lawfull for ſuch as be of the company of the aforeſayd marchants within our realme and dominion aforeſayd, to ſell woolles to other of their company, and likewiſe to buy of them without paying of cuſtome. Yet ſo, that the ſaid wools come not to ſuch hands, that wee be defrauded of the cuſtome due vnto vs. And furthermore it is to be vnderſtood, that after that the aforeſaid marchants haue once payed in one place within our realme and dominion, the cuſtome aboue granted vnto vs in forme aforeſayd for their marchandiſes, & haue their warrant therof, whether theſe marchandiſes remayne within our kingdome or be caried out (excepting wines, which in is aforeſayd) we will and we grant for vs and our heires, that no execution, attachment, or loane, or any other burthen be layd vpon the perſons of the aforeſayd marchants, vpon their marchandiſes or goods in any caſe, contrary to the forme before mentioned and granted. The faithfull & principall witneſſes of theſe preſents are theſe, Robert Archbiſhop of Canterbury, Primate of all England, Walter biſhop of Couētrey and Lichfield, Henry Lacie of Lincolne, Humfrey de Bohume, Earle of Herford and Eſſex, high Conſtable of England, Adomare of Valentia, Geofrey of Gaymal, Hugh Spenſer, Walter Beauchampe Seneſchall of our houſe, Robert of Bures, and others. Giuen by our owne hand at Windeſore the firſt day of February, in the yere of our reigne xxxi.

De mercatoribus Angliæ in Norwegia areſtatis, & eorum mercimonijs dearreſtandis literæ Edwardi ſecundi anno ſexto regni ſui, Haquino regi Norwegię.

MAgnifico principi domino Haquino Dei gratia regi Norwegię illuſtri, amico ſuo chariſſimo Edwardus eadē Dei gratia rex Anglię, Dom. Hibernię, & dux Aquitanię ſalutē cū dilectione ſincera. Miramur nō modicū & in intimis conturbamur de grauaminibus

& oppreſſionibus quæ ſubditis noſtris infra regnum veſtrum cauſa negociandi venientibus his diebus plus ſolito abſque cauſa rationabili, ſicut ex graui querela didicimus, inferuntur. Nuper ſiquidem Willihelmus filius Laurentij de Waynfleete, Simon filius Alani de eadem, Guido filius Mathei & eorum ſocij mercatores noſtri nobis conquerendo monſtrarunt, quod cum ipſi quoſdam homines & ſeruientes ſuos cum tribus nauibus ſuis ad partes regni veſtri, ad negotiandum ibidem tranſmiſiſſent: & naues illæ in portu villæ veſtræ de Tonnesbergh halece & alijs bonis diuerſis vſque ad magnam ſummam oneratæ fuiſſent: Et licet nautis nauiũ prædictarum hominibuſque & ſeruientibus prædictis à regno veſtro liberè cum nauibus & bonis prædictis ad partes Angliæ redeundi veſtras fieri feceritis de cõductu, poſtmodum tamen antequã naues illæ propter venti contrarietatẽ portum prædictum exire potuerunt, quidam balliui veſtri naues prædictas cum hominibus & bonis omnibus tunc exiſtentibus in eiſdem, occaſione mortis cuiuſdam militis nuper balliui veſtri in Vikia per malefactores & piratas, dum naues prædictæ in portu ſupradicto ſicut præmittitur remanſerunt ſupra mare vt dicitur interfecti, de mandato veſtro vt dicebant arreſtarunt, & diu ſub areſto huiuſmodi detinebant, quouſque videlicet homines & marinarij prædicti de quadraginta libris ſterlingorũ certo die ſtatuto ad opus veſtrum pro qualibet naui prędictarum ſoluendis inuiti & coacti ſecuritatem inueniſſent: Et ſimiliter de eiſdem nauibus cum hominibus prædictis infra portum prædictum citra feſtũ natiuitatis Sancti Ioannis Baptiſtæ proximo futuro ad ſtandum tunc ibidem de perſonis & nauibus ſuis veſtræ gratiæ ſeu voluntatis arbitrio reducendis tres obſides vlterius liberaſſent: quod ipſis valde graue cenſetur, & auditu mirabile auribus audientium non immerito reputatur. Et quia contra rationem & æquitatem, omnemq; iuſtitiam fore dinoſcitur, atque legem, quòd delinquentium culpę ſeu demerita in perſonis vel rebus illorum qui criminis rei conſcij vel participes, ſeu de huiuſmodi delinquentium ſocietate non fuerunt, aliqualiter vlciſcantur, veſtram amicitiam affectuoſe requirimus & rogamus, quatenus præmiſſa diligenti meditatione zelo iuſtitiæ ponderantes, obſides prędictos iubere velitis ab hoſtagiamento huiuſmodi liberari, dictumq; ſecuritatem relaxari penitus & reſolui. Scientes pro certo, quod ſi malefactores prędicti, qui dictum militem veſtrum, vt dicitur, occiderunt, alicubi infra regnum ſeu poteſtatem noſtram poterunt inueniri, de ipſis iuſtitiam & iudicium ſecundum legem & conſuetudinem eiuſdem regni fieri faciemus. Non enim poſſumus his diebus æquanimiter tolerare, quod naues prędictę ſeu aliæ de regno noſtro, quæ ſemper promptę ad noſtrum ſeruitium eſſe debent, extra idem regnum ad partes remotas ſe diuertant ſine noſtra licentia ſpeciali. Quid autem ad hanc noſtram inſtantiam faciendum decreueritis in premiſſis, nobis ſi placeat reſcribatis per preſentium portatorem. Datæ apud Windeſore decimo ſexto die Aprilis.

4 Villa de Tonneſbergh.

The ſame in Engliſh.

The letters of *Edward* the ſecond vnto *Haquinus* king of *Norway*, concerning the Engliſh marchants arreſted in *Norway*, and their goods to be freed from areſt.

TO the mighty Prince, lord Haquinus, by the grace of God the famous king of Norway his moſt deare friend, Edward by the ſame grace of God, king of England, lord of Ireland, duke of Aquitaine, greeting and ſincere loue. We maruell not a little, and are much diſquieted in our cogitations, conſidering the greeuances and oppreſſions, which (as wee haue beene informed by pitifull complaints) are at this preſent, more then in times paſt, without any reaſonable cauſe inflicted vpon our ſubiects, which doe vſually reſort vnto your kingdome for traffiques ſake. For of late one William the ſonne of Laurence of Wainfleete, and one Simon the ſonne of Alan of the ſame towne, and Guido the ſonne of Mathew, and their aſſociates our marchants, in complayning wiſe declared vnto vs: that hauing ſent certaine of their factors and ſeruants, with three ſhippes into your dominions, there to exerciſe traffique, and the ſayd ſhips being laden in the hauen of your towne of Tonnesbergh, with herrings and other commodities, to a great value: and alſo the ſaid mariners, men, and ſeruants of the foreſayd ſhippes, being licenced by vertue of the ſafe conduct which you had granted them, freely to returne from your kingdome vnto the parts of England with their ſhips and goods aforeſayd, but afterward not being able to depart out of your hauen by reaſon of contrary windes: certaine of your bayliffes vpon occaſion of the ſlaughter of a knight being himſelfe alſo of late your bayliffe of Vikia, committed by malefactors and pirates vpon the ſea, whileſt the ſayd ſhippes remained in the hauen aforeſayd, did at your commandement (as they ſay) arreſt, and for a long ſeaſon alſo

The towne of Tonnesbergh.

detained

deteined vnder that arreſt, the ſayeſaid ſhips, with all the men and goods that were in them: namely vntill ſuch time, as the men and mariners aforeſaide (being driuen perforce, and conſtrained thereunto) ſhould lay in ſufficient ſecuritie for the payment of fortie pounds ſterling, vpon a certain day appointed, vnto your vſe, for euery of the foreſaide ſhips: and alſo vntill they had moreouer deliuered three pledges, for the bringing of the ſaide ſhips and men backe againe into the foreſaid hauen, before the feaſt of the natiuitie of S. Iohn the Baptiſt next enſuing, then and there to ſtand vnto your fauour and curteſie, as touching the ſaid perſons, and thoſe ſhips of theirs: which dealing, the parties themſelues take very grieuouſly, yea, and all others that heare thereof thinke it to be a ſtrange and vnwonted courſe. And becauſe it is moſt vndoubtedly contrary to all reaſon, equitie, iuſtice, and lawe, that the faults or demerits of offenders ſhould in any ſort be puniſhed in ſuch perſons, or in their goods, as neither haue bene acceſſory nor partakers in the crime, nor haue had any ſociety with the ſaide offenders: we doe heartily intreat and requeſt your Highnes, that weighing and pondering the matter in the balance of iuſtice, you would of your loue and friendſhip, command the foreſaid pledges to be ſet at libertie, and the ſaid ſecuritie vtterly to bee releaſed and acquited. And know you this for a certaintie, that if the foreſaide malefactors, who (as it is reported) flewe your Knight aforeſaide, ſhall any where within our realme and dominions be found, we will cauſe iuſtice and iudgement to bee executed vpon them, according to the Lawe and [illegible]ome of our ſayde Realme. For we cannot in theſe times conueniently and well indure, that the ſhips aforeſaide, or any other ſhips of our kingdome (which ought alwayes to be in a readineſſe for our ſeruice) ſhould without ſpeciall licence, depart out of our ſaide kingdome, vnto forreine dominions. Howe, what you ſhall think good at this our requeſt to performe in the premiſſes, may it pleaſe you by the bearer of theſe preſents to returne an anſwere vnto vs. Geuen at Windſore the 16. of Aprll.

Another Letter of *Edward* the ſecond, to *Haquinus* King of Norway, in the behalfe of certaine Engliſh *Marchants.*

MAgnifico Principi Dom. Haquino Dei gratia regi Norwegiæ illuſtri, amico ſuo chariſſimo, Edwardus eadem Dei gratia Rex Angliæ, dominus Hyberniæ, & dux Aquitaniæ, ſalutem cum dilectione ſincera. Querelam dilectorum Mercatorum noſtrorum Thomæ de Swyn de Waynfleete, & Simonis filij Alani de eadem recepimus, continentem, Quod cùm ipſi nuper quoſdam ſeruientes ſuos infrà regnum veſtrum pro ſuis ibidem exercendis mercimonijs tranſmiſiſſent, Theſaurarius veſter bona & mercimonia prædictorum Thomæ & Simonis ad valenciam quadraginta librarum, quæ ſeruientes prædicti in villa de Northberne in ſua cuſtodia Labuerunt, die Sancti Michaelis vltimò præterita fecit abſque cauſa rationabili arreſtari, & ea adhuc taliter arreſtata detinet iniuſtè, in ipſorum Thomæ & Simonis damnum non modicum & depauperationem manifeſtam. Et quia eiſdem mercatoribus noſtris ſubuenire volumus, quatenus ſuadente iuſtitia poterimus in hac parte, veſtram amicitiam requirimus cum affectu, quatenus audita querela prædictorum Thomæ & Simonis, vel ipſorum attturnatorum ſuper reſtitutione bonorum & mercimoniorum prædictorum impendere velitis eiſdem celeris iuſtitiæ complementum: Ita quod pro defectu exhibitionis iuſtitiæ ſuper arreſtatione prædicta non oporteat nos pro mercatoribus noſtris prædictis de alio remedio prouidere. Nobis autem quid ad hanc noſtram inſtantiam duxeritis faciendum, reſcribere velitis per præſentium portitorem. Datæ vt ſuprà.

Northberne villa.

The ſame in Engliſh.

TO the mighty Prince Lord Haquinus, by the grace of God the famous King of Norway, his moſt deare friend Edward by the ſame grace of God king of England, Lorde of Ireland, and Duke of Aquitaine, greeting and ſincere loue. Wee receiued the complaint of our welbeloued Marchants Thomas de Swyn of Waynfleet, and Simon the ſonne of Alanus of the ſame towne: the contents whereof are, that whereas of late, the ſaide parties ſent certaine of their ſeruants to traffike in your kingdome, your Treaſurer vpon the feaſt of S. Michael laſt paſt, without any iuſt or reaſonable occaſion, cauſed the goods and merchandiſe of the foreſaide Thomas and Simon, to the value of fortie pound, which their ſaid ſeruants had vnder their cuſtodie at the towne of Northberne, to be arreſted, and as yet alſo iniuriouſly deteineth the ſame vnder the ſame arreſt, to the great damage and impouerifhing of the ſayd Thomas and Simon. And foraſmuch as our deſire is to ſuccour theſe our marchants to far forth as we can, Iuſtice requiring no leſſe in this behalfe,

we

wee doe right earneſtly requeſt you, that hauing heard the complaint and ſupplication of the foreſayde Thomas and Simon, or of their Attorneyes, you would of your loue and friendſhip, vouchſafe them ſpeedie adminiſtration of Iuſtice, about the reſtitution of their goods and marchandiſe aforeſaide: leaſt that for want of the exhibiting of Iuſtice about the foreſaid arreſt, we be conſtrained to prouide ſome other remedie for our marchants aforeſaid. Our requeſt is, that you would by the bearer of theſe preſents, returne an anſwere vnto vs, what you are determined to doe, at this our inſtant motion. Giuen as aboue.

A third letter of King *Edward* the ſecond, to Haquinus *King of* Norway *in the behalfe* of certaine Engliſh Marchants.

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MAgnifico Principi Domino Haquino Dei gratia Regi Norwegiæ illuſtri, amico ſuo chariſſimo, Edwardus eadem Dei gratia Rex Angliæ, dominus Hyberniæ, & dux Aquitaniæ, ſalutem cum dilectione ſincera. Pro mercatoribus noſtris Lennæ, & partium vicinarum, quos Balliuus & Officiarij veſtri ciuitatis veſtræ Bergen dudum ceperunt, & ſtricto carceri manciparunt, quorum multi vt iam intelleximus, propter alimentorum ſubtractionem & duritiam, ac aſperitatem carceris perierunt, vt ipſorum & bonorum ſuorum deliberationem præcipere curaretis, veſtræ ſerenitati Regiæ noſtras nuper tranſmiſimus literas ſpeciales. Sed vos, retentis adhuc in carcere noſtris mercatoribus ſicut prius, nobis per literas veſtras quas audiuimus & intelleximus diligenter, inter cætera reſcripſiſtis, quod quidam mercatores de regno veſtro de iniurijs, violentijs & arreſtationibus, quibus in regno noſtro his diebus ſunt, vt aſſerunt, contra iuſtitiam aggrauati, multipliciter conquerunntur, adijciendo in veſtris literis memoratis, quod quidam iniquitatis filij in villa Lennæ, ad piſcandum vt dicebant halecia venientes, quendam militem Balliuum veſtrum, in Vikis ſuis cum decem alijs ſubditis veſtris, in veſtris & regni veſtri negotijs exiſtentibus crudeliter occiderunt. Super quibus mens noſtra grauatur quàmplurimum & turbatur, præſertim quum nunquam noſtræ fuerit voluntatis, quod iniuriæ, violentiæ, ſeu arreſtationes aliquæ mercatoribus, vel aliis de regno veſtro per aliquos de regno & poteſtate noſtris fierent indebitè vel iniuſtè: nec adhuc intelligere poſſumus, quod mercatoribus veſtris per aliquem vel aliquos de ſubditis noſtris hinc vſque aliter factum fuerit: Scientes pro certo quod ſi nobis per inquiſitionem legitimas conſtare poterit huiuſmodi grauaminа ſubditis veſtris infra regnum noſtrum illata fuiſſe, nos ſufficientes emendas, & ſatisfactiones debitas ſuper illis, celeriſque iuſtitiæ complementum fieri faciemus. Et inſuper ſi malefactores prædicti, qui præfatum militem, & alios ſecum exiſtentes, vt præmittitur, occiderunt, de regno, ſeu poteſtate noſtra ſint, vel infrà idem regnum vel poteſtatem poterunt inuenire, de ipſis iudicium & iuſtitiam fieri præcipiemus, ſecundùm Leges & conſuetudines regni noſtri. Et quia inter nos & vos, noſtróſque & veſtros ſubditos hinc inde foueri deſideramus mutuam concordiam & amorem; ita quod mercatores noſtri & veſtri mercandiſas ſuas in noſtris & veſtris regnis & dominijs liberè, & abſque impedimento valeant exercere, prout temporibus progenitorum noſtrorum fieri conſueuit, & ex dictarum literarum veſtrarum ſerie collegimus euidenter vos promptos eſſe ſimiliter, & paratos ad omnia & ſingula, quæ pro vobis & veſtris ſubditis ſuper diſcordijs, contentionibus, aut grauaminibus inter noſtros & veſtros ſubditos qualitercunque ſuſcitatis pro bono pacis & iuſtitiæ fuerint æquanimiter facienda: Nos conſimilia pro nobis & noſtris, quantum ad nos & ad ipſos attinet, illius amore, qui pacis author fore dinoſcitur, & pro quiete & commodo populi vtriuſque regnorum noſtrorum, quatenus ius & ratio dictitauerint, promittimus nos facturos: Veſtram amicitiam requirentes obnixius & rogantes, quatenus mercatores noſtros prædictos, qui adhuc ſuperſtites relinquuntur, quos etiam tempore, quo dicta felonia committi dicebatur, intercluſos tenebat cuſtodia carceralis, iubere velitis noſtri contemplatione, zelóque iuſtitiæ ab huiuſmodi cuſtodia liberari, bona ab ipſis capta eis prout iuſtum fuerit reſtitui faciendo. Et vt deliberatio mercatorum noſtrorum prædictorum, & bonorum ſuorum eò facilius concedatur, placeat vobis cum diligentia debita ponderare, quod Galfridus Drewe, & quidam alij mercatores noſtri de Lenne, quibuſdam mercatoribus de regno veſtro occaſione ejuſdem grauaminis ipſis mercatoribus veſtris, ad ſectam Tidemanni Lippe infrà regnum

Antiquitas commercij inter Anglum & Norwegiam.

regnum nostrum, vt dicebatur, illati, centum libras sterlingorum persoluerunt, sicut in quodam scripto indentato inter Ingelramum Lende de Thorenden, & quosdam alios mercatores vestros ex parte vna, & præfatum Galfridum, & quosdam alios de regno nostro similiter ex altera confecto, vidimus contineri. Si qui verò de subditis vestris de aliquibus subditis nostris, de aliqua iniuria ipsis facta querelas in curia nostra deponere voluerint, & prosequi cum effectu, ipsorum subditorum vestrorum petitiones admitti, & eis super querelis huiusmodi plenam & celerem iustitiã fieri faciemus. Ita quod ijdem subditi vestri exinde reputare debebunt meritò se contentos. Et interim de excessibus & grauaminibus subditis vestris infrà regnum nostrum qualitercunque illatis inquiri faciemus cum diligentia veritatem. Vestræ igitur voluntatis beneplacitum in præmissis nobis rescribere velitis per præsentium portitorem. Datæ apud Westminster tertio die Aprilis.

The same in English.

TO the mighty Prince king Haquinus, by the grace of God the famous king of Norway, his most deare friend Edward by the same grace of God, king of England, lord of Ireland, Duke of Aquitaine, greeting and sincere loue. We sent of late vnto your royall maiestie our special letters, for the behalfe of our late marchants of Lenne, and of the coast adioyning (whome your baily and officers of the citie of Bergen lately apprehended, committing them to close prison, many of whome, as we vnderstand, are, for want of due nourishment, and by reason of the extremitie & loathsomnesse of the prison, quite perished) that you would cause them and their goods to bee released. Howbeit, you receiuing as yet our marchants in durance as before, in your letters, which we haue diligently heard, and throughly vnderstood, haue, amongst other matters, returned this answere vnto vs: that certaine marchants of your kingdome doe make sundrie complaints of iniuries, violences and arrests, whereby they haue lately (as themselues auouch) contrary to iustice bene aggrieued and oppressed in our dominions: adding moreouer in your sayde letters, that certaine sommes of iniquitie of the towne of Lenne, comming, as they saide, to fish for herrings, cruelly murthered a certaine Knight, who was in times past your bayliffe of Vikia, together with ten others of your subiects, being imployed about the affaires of your kingdome. In consideration whereof our minde is exceedingly and aboue measure grieued and troubled, especially sithence it was neuer any part of our intent, that any iniuries, violences, or arrests should vniustly be inflicted vpon any marchants, or any others of your realme by any of our kingdomes: neither can we as yet haue any intelligence, that any such hard measure hath bene offered vnto any of your marchants, by any one or moe of our subiects: giuing you for a certaintie to vnderstand, that if vpon lawfull inquisition we shalbe aduertised of any such grieuances, which haue bene offered vnto your subiects within our realme, we will cause speedie iustice to be administred, and sufficient recompence, and due satisfaction to be made in regarde thereof. And moreouer, if the saide malefactors, which, as it is aforesaid, slewe the forenamed Knight, and others of his companie, either be appertaining vnto our kingdome and dominion, or may at any time be found within our saide kingdome or dominion, we will command iustice and iudgement to be executed vpon them, according to the lawes and customes of our realme. And forasmuch as our desire is, that mutuall concord and amitie should be maintained and cherished between your and our subiects on both parts: so that our and your marchants may, in both our Realmes and dominions, freely and without impediment exercise their traffique, as in the times of our progenitors it hath bene accustomed: Whereas also we euidently gathered out of the contents of your letter, that you are in like sort readie and willing to put all things in practise, which are by you and your subiects (for the taking away of discords, contentions, and molestations howsoeuer occasioned, and sprung vp betweene your and our subiects) louingly to be performed: we also doe promise for our selues, and our subiects, so much as in vs and them lieth, for his sake who is knowen to be the author of peace, and for the benefite & tranquilitie of both our Realmes (as iustice and reason shall moue vs) to doe the like. Desiring and earnestly requesting at your hands, that of your loue and friendship, hauing regard of vs, and consideration of iustice, you would commaund that our forsaide marchants, who as yet remaine alme, and who also at the time of the saide felonie committed, were shut vp in close prison, be deliuered out of the saide thraldome, causing their goods which haue bene taken from them, to bee, according vnto iustice, restored to them again. And that the deliuerie of our forsaide marchants and goods, may be the more easily perfited vnto, may it please you with diligent obseruation to consider, that Gefferey Drew, and certaine other of our marchants of Lenne, vpon occasion of the greiuances offered vnto your marchants within our Realme, (as the report goeth) at the suite of Tidman Lippe, paide vnto the same your marchants an hundreth pound sterling: euen as in a certain Indenture made

The antiquitie of traffique betweene England and Norway.

betweene

betweene Ingelram Lende of Thorenden, and ſome other of your marchants on the one part, and betweene the ſoreſaide Geffrey, and certaine of our marchants on the other part, wee ſawe contained. Moreouer, if any of your ſubiects be minded to exhibite, and effectually to proſecute their complaints in our Court, concerning any of our ſubiects, or of any iniury done vnto them, we will cauſe the petitions of thoſe your ſubiects to be admitted, and alſo full and ſpeedie iuſtice to be adminiſtred, vpon any ſuch like complaints of theirs. Inſomuch, that thoſe your ſubiects ſhal thinke themſelues right well and ſufficiently contented therewithall. And in the meane ſpace we will cauſe diligent inquiſition of the trueth to be made, of all exceſſes and greuances howſoeuer offered vnto your ſubiects within our dominions. May it pleaſe you therfore, by the bearer of theſe preſents, to returne an anſwere vnto vs, what you are determined to doe in the premiſſes. Giuen at Weſtminſter, the third day of Aprill.

De Stapula tenenda in certo loco ordinatio, Anno 13. *Edwardi ſecundi.*

REx collectoribus cuſtumæ lanarum & pellium lanutarum in portu London ſalutem. Cùm nos viceſimo die Maij anno regni noſtri ſexto attendentes damna & grauamina, quæ mercatoribus de regno noſtro diuerſimodè euenerunt, ex eo quod mercatores tam indigenæ quàm alienigenæ lanas & pelles lanutas infrà regnum & poteſtatem noſtram ementes, & ſe cum eiſdem lanis & pellibus ad vendendum eas ad diuerſa loca infrà terras Brabantiæ, Flandriæ, & de Artoys eorum libito voluntatis tranſtulerint: & volentes etiam huiuſmodi damnis & grauaminibus quatenus bono modo poſſemus prouidere, de conſilio noſtro ordinauerimus, quod mercatores indigenæ & alienigenæ lanas & pelles huiuſmodi infrà regnum & poteſtatem prædictam ementes, & ad terras prædictas ibidem vendendas ducere volentes, lanas illas & pelles ad certam ſtapulam infrà aliquam earundem terrarum, per Maiorem & Communitatem eorundem mercatorum, de regno noſtro ordinandam aſſignari, ac prout & quando expedire viderint mutandum, & non ad alia loca in terris illis ducant, ſeu duci faciant vllo modo: & inter cætera conceſſerimus mercatoribus de regno noſtro ſuprædicto pro nobis & hæredibus noſtris, quòd ipſi Maior & conſilium dictorum mercatorum, qui pro tempore fuerint, quibuſcunque mercatoribus indigenis ſeu alienigenis, qui contra dictam ordinationem venerint, & modo rationabili conuicti fuerint, certas pecuniæ ſummas pro delictis illis inponant, & quod illæ huiuſmodi ſummæ de bonis & mercimonijs mercatorum ſic delinquentium, vbicunque ea infrà regnum & poteſtatem prædictam inueniri contigerit, per miniſtros noſtros ad opus noſtrum leuentur: prout in Charta noſtra inde confecta plenius continetur: quam quidem Chartam per ſingulos comitatus regni noſtri ſuper coſteras maris fecimus publicari, & firmiter inhiberi, ne qui mercatores indigenę ſeu alienigenæ contra tenorem Chartę prędictę ſub pœnis contentis in eadem venerint vllo modo: Ac poſtmodum dato nobis intelligi, quod quamplures mercatores tam indigenæ quàm alienigenæ, lanas & pelles lanutas infrà regnum & poteſtatem prædictas ementes, & ſe cum eiſdem lanis & pellibus ad vendendum eas ad alia loca in dictis terris, quàm ad Stapulam iuxta conceſſionem noſtram prędictam per Maiorem & cõmunitatem dictorum mercatorum de regno noſtro in aliqua terrarum illarum ordinatam & aſſignatam tranſtulerint in noſtri contemptum, & contra Chartam ordinationis, publicationis & inhibitionis prædictarum aſſignauerimus quoſdam fideles noſtros in diuerſis partibus regni ad inquirendum de lanis & pellibus lanutis ad dictas terras alibi quàm ad Stapulam illam ductis, ita quod emendæ inde ad nos pertinentes, ad opus noſtrum leuentur; etiam intellexerimus, quod quaſi omnes mercatores tam indigenæ quàm alienigenæ huiuſmodi mercimonia in dicto regno noſtro exercentes ſunt culpabiles de præmiſſis: & quod plures inde indictati, ac alij timentes inde indictari, lanas ſuas ac pelles lanutas ſub nominibus aliorum non culpabilium faciunt aduocari, & extra regnum noſtrum tranſmitti quibuſdam alienigenis, ſic culpabilibus in dictum regnum forſitan non reuerſuris, vt ſic foriſfacturas prædictas effugiant, & nos de emenda ad nos ſic pertinente illudant: quæ ſi permitterentur ſic tranſire in noſtri damnum non modicum redundarent. Nos volentes huiuſmodi fraudibus obuiare, & noſtris damnis quatenus bono modo poterimus præcauere, vobis præcipimus firmiter iniungentes, quod à ſingulis mercatoribus lanas ſeu pelles lanutas per portum prædictum ad partes exteras ducere volentibus corporale ſacramentum ad ſancta Dei Euangelia recipiatis, quod ipſi lanas ſeu pelles lanutas ſub nomine ipſius, cuius propriæ ſunt, & non alterius aduocabunt. & tunc recepta ab illo cuius lanæ & pelles huiuſmodi erunt, vel nomine ſuo ſufficiente ſecuritate pro qua reſpondere volueritis, de reſpondendo & faciendo nobis id quod ad nos pertinet de lanis & pellibus lanutis per ipſum ductis ſeu miſſis ad aliquam dictarum

Maior & Communitas ſtapulæ.

Charta anno regni ſexto confecta.

ctarum terrarum Flandriæ & Brabantiæ, & de Artoys contra formam Chartæ, proclamationis, & inhibitionis ſupradictarum, ſi ipſum ſuper hoc conuinci contingat, lanas & pelles illas lanutas extra portum prædictum, receptа prius cuſtuma debita de eiſdem, ad partes exteras tranſire permittatis. Teſte Rege apud Doueram decimo octauo die Iunij, per ipſum Regem & Conſilium.

Et poſtmodum per breue de priuato ſigillo eodem modo mandatum eſt collectoribus cuſtumæ prædictæ in portubus ſubſcriptis: Videlicet,

In portu villæ Southhampton.
In portu villæ Weymouth.
In portu villæ Sancti Botolphi.
In portu villæ de Kingtone ſuper Hull.
In portu villæ de nouo Caſtro.
In portu villæ de magna Iernemutha.
In portu villæ de Lenne.
In portu villæ de Gypwico.

The ſame in Engliſh.

An Ordinance of the Staple to bee holden at one certaine place.

THe King vnto his Collectors of cuſtome, for wooll and woollen fels, in his port of London, greeting. Whereas we vpon the 20. of May, in the firſt yeere of our reigne, conſidering the damages and grieuances that haue diuerſly happened vnto the marchants of our realme, vpon occaſion that the marchants both of our owne, & of other countreis, buying vp wooll and woollen fels within our kingdome and dominions, haue, for the better ſale thereof, at their pleaſure conueyed theſelues, and tranſported the ſaid wooll & fels into ſundry places within the prouinces of Brabant, Flanders and Artoys: and being deſirous alſo, to our power, to prouide a remedie againſt ſuch damages and inconueniences, haue ordained by our counſel, that all marchants, both homeborne and aliens, buying vp ſuch wools and fels, within our kingdome and dominion aforeſaid, and being deſirous to tranſport them into the foreſaid prouinces, there to bee ſolde, may carrie the ſaide wools and fels, or cauſe them to be caried to ſome certaine ſtaple, within any of the ſaide Prouinces, by the Maior and Communaltie of the ſaid marchants of our realme, to be appointed and aſſigned, and when they ſhall thinke it expedient, to be changed and remoued, and not vnto any other place within the ſaide Prouinces whatſoeuer: and whereas alſo, amongſt other things, we haue granted vnto the marchants of our foreſaid realme, for vs and our heires, that the Maior and Counſel of the ſaide marchants for the time being, may impoſe vpon all marchants, home-borne or aliens whatſoeuer, that ſhall tranſgreſſe the foreſaid ordination, and ſhall thereof lawfully be conuicted, certaine ſummes of money to be paid for their offences, and that ſuch ſummes muſt by our miniſters and officers, to our vſe, be leuied out of the goods and wares of the marchants ſo offending, whereſoeuer they ſhall chance to be found within our kingdome and dominions aforeſaid, as in our Charter made for the ſame purpoſe, it is more plainly expreſſed, (which Charter we haue cauſed to be publiſhed vpon the Sea-coaſts, throughout all the countreys of our realme, and a ſtrong prohibition to be proclaimed, that no marchants, neither home-borne, nor ſtrangers, may in any wiſe tranſgreſſe the tenour of the foreſaide Charter, vnder the penalties therein contained) and whereas afterward it beeing giuen vs to vnderſtand, that diuers marchants both home-borne, and aliens, bought vp ſuch woolles and woollen felles within our ſaide Realme and dominions, and conueyed themſelues with the ſaide wools and felles for the ſale thereof, vnto other places within the foreſaide Prouinces, beſides the ſaide Staple, which was, according to our graunt aforeſaide, appointed and ordained by the Maior and communaltie of the ſaid marchants of our Realme, in ſome one of thoſe Prouinces, to the contempt of our authoritie, and contrary to the Charter of the ordination, publication, and inhibition aforeſaide, wee aſſigned certaine of our faithfull ſubiects, in diuers parts of our Realme, to make inquiſition for ſuch wools and woollen felles, as were conueyed vnto any other place of the ſaide Prouinces, then vnto the Staple, ſo that by theſe meanes, the penalties due vnto vs might bee leuied vnto our vſe: and hauing intelligence alſo, that in a manner all marchants both home-borne, and ſtrangers harboring ſuch wares in our kingdome, are culpable of the premiſſes, and that many being indicted thereupon, and others fearing to bee indicted, doe cauſe their wools and woollen felles to bee auouched vnder the names of perſons

A Charter made in the firſt yeere of his reigne.

ſons not culpable, and to be ſent ouer vnto certaine ſtrangers being alſo culpable, and not minding perhaps to return any more into our realme, that they may ſo eſcape the forefaid forfeitures, and defraud vs of the penaltie, appertaining of right vnto vs, (which abuſes, if they were ſuffered ſo to goe vnpuniſhed would redound vnto our extreame hinderance:) and being likewiſe deſirous to withſtand ſuch deceitfull dealing, and ſo farre forth as wee can, to preuent our owne loſſes, we firmely command, and ſtreightly charge you, that you doe receiue of euery particular marchant, deſirous to conuey any wools, or woollen fels out of the foreſaid port, into any forrein dominions, a corporal oath vpon Gods holy Euangeliſts: that they ſhall auouch all thoſe wools and woollen fels vnder his name vnto whom they doe properly belong, & vnder the name of none other: and then taking ſufficient ſecurity from the owner of thoſe wools and fels, or in his name, in regard whereof you will vndertake to warrantize, and make good vnto vs thoſe penalties and forfaitures which ſhal vnto vs appertaine, for all wools, and woollen fels conueied or ſent by any of the foreſaid merchants vnto any of the ſaid prouinces of Flanders, Brabant, and Artoys, contrary to the Charter of the Proclamation and inhibition aboue mentioned (if they ſhal chance to be conuinced hereof) that firſt, our due cuſtome being receiued, you doe permit the ſaid wools and woollen fels to paſſe out of the foreſaid port into forrein countries. Witnes the king at Douer the 18. day of June. By the king himſelfe and his Councell.

And afterwarde by a Writte vnder the Kings priuie Seale there was a like commandement giuen vnto the Collectors [illegible] ſame aforeſayde in the portes vnderwritten, [illegible] to ſay:

In the port of the Towne of
- Weymouth,
- Southhampton,
- Saint Botulphs towne, now called Boſton.
- Kingſtone vpon Hull,
- Newcaſtle.
- Iernemouth magna, or Yarmouth,
- Lenne,
- Gypwick or Ipſwich.

A Catalogue of the great Maſters of the Order of the Dutch knights, commonly called the Hoſpitalaries of Ieruſalem: *and what great exploites euery of the ſaide Maſters hath atchieued,* either in conquering the land of *Pruſſia*, or in taming and ſubduing the Infidels, or els in keeping them vnder their obedience and ſubiection, taken out of Munſter.

THe order of the Dutch knights had their firſt originall at Ieruſalem in the yere of our Lorde 1190. within the Hoſpitall of the bleſſed Virgine: and the firſt Maſter of the ſaide order was called Henrie of Walpot, vnder whome many good things, and much wealth and riches were throughout all Germanie and Italie procured vnto the order: and the ſaide Hoſpitall was remoued from Ieruſalem vnto Ptolemais, otherwiſe called Acon, and the foreſaid Order grew and mightily increaſed, whereof I will hereafter diſcourſe more at large in my Treatiſe of Syria. Henrie of Walpot deceaſed in the yeere of Chriſt 1200. The 2. Maſter was Otto of Kerpen, and he continued Maſter of the Order for the ſpace of fiue yeeres. The 3. was Hermannus Bare a godly and deuout perſon, who deceaſed in the yeere 1210. being interred at Acon, as his predeceſſors were. The 4. was Hermannus de Saltza, who thirtie yeeres together gouerned the ſaide Order, and managed the firſt expedition of warre againſt the infidels of Pruſſia, and obtained another Maſter alſo in Pruſſia to bee his Deputie in the ſame region. In the yeere 1239. the knights of the ſwoord, [illegible] into Liuonia to conuert the inhabitants thereof vnto Chriſt, ſeeing they were not of ſufficient force to performe that enterpriſe, and that their enemies increaſed on all ſides, they vnited themſelues vnto the famous Order of the Dutch knights in Pruſſia, that their worthie attempt might bee defended and promoted by the aide and aſſiſtance of the ſaide Dutch knights. At the very ſame time was enſigne of the croſſe was exalted throughout all Germanie againſt the Pruſſians, and a great armie of ſouldiers was gathered together, the Burgraue of Meidenburg being generall of the armie, who comoining themſelues vnto the Dutch knights, ioyned battell with the Infidels, and ſlew about fiue hundred Gentiles, who before time had made horrible inuaſions and [illegible] into the dominions of Chriſtians, waſting all with fire and ſwoord, but eſpecially the [illegible], and Lubonia, which were the Prouin-

Fuſſini fratres.

The firſt warre moued againſt the Pruſſian infidels, anno dom. 1239.

ters of Conradus Duke of Mallouia. Howe, the foreſaide knighes hauing made to huge a ſtrength-
ter, built the caſtle of Reden, betweene Pomerania and the land of Colin, and ſo by degrees vp
gorge footing in the lande, and daylie erected moze caſtles, as namely, Crutzburg, Willenburg,
Reſil, Bartenſtein, Brunsburg, and Heilsburg, and furniſhed them all with garriſons. The firſt
Maiſter of the Dzder was Conradus Landgrauius, the brother of Lodouick, which was husband
vnto Ladie Elizabeth. This Conradus, by his fathers inheritance, gaue great riches and poſ-
ſeſſions vnto the Dzder, and cauſed Ladie Elizabeth to be interred at Marpurg, within the re-
ligious houſe of his ſaide Dzder. Under the gouernment of this Maiſter, Acon in the lande of
Paleſtina was ſubdued vnto the Saracens. Moreouer, in the yeere 1254. there was another
great armie of ſouldiers prepar○ againſt Pruſſia, [illegible] the Princes of Germanie. Foz Oda-
cer, alias Odoacer king of Bohemia, Otto Marque[illegible] of Brandeburg, the Duke of Auſtria,
the Marques of Morauia, the Biſhops of Colen and [illegible] Olmutz came marching on with great
ſtrength of their Nobles and common ſouldiers, and inuading the lande of Pruſſia in the Winter
ſeaſon, they conſtrained the inhabitants thereof to receiue the Chriſtian faith, and to become
obedient vnto the knighes. After which exploite, by the aduiſe and aſſiſtance of king Odoacer,
there was a caſtle built vpon a certaine hill of Samogitia, which immediately after grewe to be
a great citie, being at this day the ſeate of the Prince of Pruſſia: and it was called by Odoacer
Kunigsberg, that is to ſay, Kings Mount, oz Mount royall, being finiſhed in the yeere 1255. But
of this foze the knighes did hinde and reſtraine the furie of the Infidels on all ſides, and compelled
them to obedience. The firſt Maiſter was called Boppo ab Oſterna, vnder whom the citie of Ku-
nigsberg was built. At the very ſame inſtant the knighes beeing occupied about the warre of
Curland, the Pruſſians conſpiring together, and abandoning the Chriſtian faith, in furious maner
armed themſelues againſt ꝑ Chriſtians, defaced and burnt down Churches, ſlew Prieſts, and to
the vtmoſt of their abilitie, baniſhed all faithfull people. The repoꝛt of which miſdemeanour be-
ing publiſhed throughout all Germanie, an huge armie was leuied and ſent foz the defence and
ſuccour of the knighes, which marching into the land of Natan, made many ſlaughters, through
the inconſtancie of foztune ſometimes woonne, and ſometimes loſt the victozie. Alſo the Infidels
beſieged theſe three caſtles, namely, Barſtenſtein, Crutzberg and Kunigsberg, and brought ex-
treame famine vpon the Chriſtians contained within the ſaide foztes. Againe, in the yeere of
our Lozd 1262. the Earle of Iuliers, with other Princes and great chiualrie came downe, and
giuing charge vpon the Pruſſians, put three thouſand of them to the edge of the ſwoꝛde. After-
ward the Pruſſians banding themſelues togethe[illegible], were determined to ſpoile the caſtle of Kunigſ-
berg, but their confederacie being diſcloſed, they had the repulſe. And when the knighes had
preuailed againſt them, they laide in pledges, and yet foz all that were not afraid to breake their
fidelitie. Foz vpon a certaine time, after they had giuen diuers pledges, they ſlewe two noble
knighes of the Dzder, and ſo by that meanes incenſed the principall of the ſaide ozder, inſomuch
that they cauſed two paire of gallous to be ſet vp beſides the caſtle, e thirtie of the Pruſſians pled-
gees to be hanged therupon. Which ſeueritie ſo vexed and prouoked the Pruſſians, that in reuenge
of the ſaid iniury, they renewed bloody and cruel warres, ſlew many Chriſtians, yea, and put 40.
knigh[illegible] with the maſter of the Dzder, and the Marſhal, vnto the edge of the ſwoꝛd. There was
at the ſame inſtant in Pomerania a Duke called Suandepolcus, profeſſing the Chriſtian faith, but
being ioyned in league with the Pruſſians, he indeuoured foz many yeeres, not onely to expell the
knighes, but all Chriſtians whatſoeuer out of the lande of Pruſſia, in which warre the foreſaide
knighes of the Dzder ſuffered many abuſes. Foz they loſt almoſt all their caſtles, and a great
number of [illegible]emſelues alſo were ſlaine. This Suandepolcus put in practiſe many lewde attempts
againſt religion. Foꝛ [illegible]e he was baptized, he did moze miſchiefe then the very Infidels them-
ſelues, vntill ſuch time [illegible] the knighes being aſſiſted by the Princes of Germanie, brought the
ſaide Duke and the Pruſſians alſo into ſuch ſtraights, that (maugre their heads) they were con-
ſtrained to ſue foz peace. Afterward Swandepolcus lying at the point of death, admoniſhed
his ſonnes that they ſhould not doe any iniurie vnto the knighes of the ozder, affirming that him-
ſelfe neuer proſpered ſo long as he vzged warre againſt them. Howbeit his ſonnes [illegible] certaine
time obſerued not their fathers counſel, vntill at length one of them named Wartellaus, [illegible]
ated one of the Dzder, and the other called Samborus beſtowed by legacie his goods and [illegible]
ons vpon the ſaide Dzder, receiuing maincenance and exhibition from the ſaide Dzder, during the
terme of his life. At ſo[illegible]turned alſo vnder the gouernment of the foreſayde Maiſter Boppo, that
one Eppy Martine a Colin beeing accompanied with another knight, went into the countrey
to ſee howe the Pruſſians were imployed. And [illegible]meeting with three Pruſſians, they ſlew two,
and the third they reſerued to guide them the diſcreeteſt way. But this guide betrayed them
into their enemies handes. Which when they perceiued, they ſlewe the Traytour. Then

The Pruſſians abandon Chriſtianitie.

ſlue

fiue Pruſſian horſemen came riding and tooke them, deliuering them bounde to the cuſtodie of two. And the other three purſued the horſes of the two, which broke loose in the time of the frape. And they tarying ſomewhat long, the other two woulde haue beheaded the two Knightes in the meane ſeaſon. And as one of them was ſtriking with his drawen ſworde, at the necke of Sir Martine, hee ſaide vnto them: Sirs, you doe vnwiſely in that you take not off my garment before it bee defiled with bloode. They therefore looſing the coardes wherewith hee was bounde, to take off his garment, ſet his armes more at liberty. Which Syr Martine well perceiuing reached his keeper ſuch a bore, that his ſworde fell to the grounde. Which hee with all ſpeede taking vp, ſlewe both the keepers and vnbounde his fellowe Knight. Moreouer, ſeeing the other three Pruſſians comming furtouſly vpon them, with ſtoute courageous hearts they made towarde the ſaide Pruſſians, and ſlew them, and ſo eſcaped the danger of death. The ſeuenth great Maſter was Hanno de Sangerſhuſen, who deceaſed in the yeere one thouſand two hundreth ſeuentie fiue. The eight was Hartmannus ab Heldringen who deceaſed in the yeere 1282. The ninth was Burckardus a Schuuenden beeing afterwarde made knighte of the order of Saint Iohns. The tenth was Conradus a Feuchtuuang: vnder this man the Citie of Acon in Paleſtina was ſacked by the Soldan, and manie people were ſlaine. The Templars which were therein returned home out of Fraunce, where they had great reuenewes. The Knightes of Saint Iohn, who alſo had an Hoſpitall at Acon, changed their place, and went into the Iſle of Cyprus, and from thence departing vnto Rhodes, they ſubdued that Iſlande vnto themſelues. Nowe the Dutch Knights abounded with wealth and poſſeſſions throughout all Germanie, beeing Lordes of a good part of Pruſſia, Liuonia, and Curland, whoſe chiefe houſe was then at Marpurg, till ſuch time as it was remooued vnto Marieburg, a Towne of Pruſſia. The eleuenth great Maſter was Godfrey Earle of Hohenloe. Vnder this man the knightes ſuſtained a great ouerthrowe in Liuonia: but hauing ſtrengthned their armie, they ſlewe neere vnto Rye foure thouſande of their enemies. The twelfth Maſter was Sifridus a Feuchtuuang. Vnder this man, the principall houſe of the Order was tranſlated from Marpurg to Marieburg, which in the beginning was eſtabliſhed at Acon, and from thence was remooued vnto Venice, and from Venice vnto Marpurg. This Sifridus deceaſed in the yeere 1341. The thirteenth Maſter was called Charles Beffart of Triers. This man built a fort vpon the riuer of Mimmel, and it was named Chriſtmimmel. The fourteenth was Warnerus ab Orſele, whome a certaine knight of the Order ſlewe with his ſworde. The 15. was Ludolphus Duke of Brunſwick, who built the Towne of Ylgenburg, and deceaſed 1352. The ſixteenth was Theodoricus Earle of Aldenborg, and hee built the Towne of Bartenſtein. The ſeuenteenth was Ludolphus ſirnamed King. The eighteenth was Henrie a Tuſimer. The nineteenth Winricus a Knoppenrode. In this mans time the knights took the king of the Lithuanians named Kinſtut captiue, and kept him priſoner in Marieburg halfe a yeere, but by the helpe of a ſeruaunt, hauing broken out of the Caſtle, hee eſcaped away by night. But fearing that hee was layde waite for in all places, hee left his horſe, and went on foote through vnknowen pathes. In the day time hee hidde himſelfe in ſecrete places, and in the night hee continued his iourney vntill hee came vnto Maſſouia. But all the Knightes ioye was turned into ſorrowe, after they had loſt ſo great an enemie. The twentieth grand Maſter was Conradus Zolner of Rotenſtein. The one and twentieth Conradus Walenrod. The two and twentieth Conradus a Iungingen, who deceaſed in the yeere one thouſand foure hundreth and ſeuen. The three and twentieth Vlricus a Iungingen. This man dyed in battell in the yeere one thouſand foure hundreth and tenne: which battell was fought againſt Vladiſlaus Father of Caſimire. Both parties had leuied mightie and huge forces: vnto the Polonians the Lithuanians and the Tartars had ioyned themſelues, ouer whome one Vitoldus was captaine: the Dutch Knights had taken vp Souldiers out of all Germanie. And when eache armie had encamped themſelues one within twentie furlongs of another, (hoping for victorie and impatient of delay) the great Maſter of the Pruſſians ſent an Herault to denounce warre vnto the King, and immediately (alarme beeing giuen) it is reported that there were in both armies fourtie thouſand horſemen in a readineſſe. Vladiſlaus commaunded the Lithuanians and the Tartars to giue the firſt onſette, and placed the Polonians in the rereward of the battell: on the contrarie ſide, the Pruſſians regarded leaſt of all to reſerue any ſtrong troupes behinde, which might reſcue ſuch as were wearie, and renew the fight, if neede ſhoulde require, but ſet forward the flower and chiualrie of all his Souldiers in the verie forefront of the battell. The charge beeing giuen certaine warmen

Tartars

A memorable ſtratagem.

4000.

This man ſent an ambaſſage to Richard the ſecond.

Tartars & Lithuanians were ſlaine handſmooth: howbeit the multitude preſſed on, neither durſt the fearefull Polonians turne their backes, and ſo a cruell battell was fought vpon the heapes of dead carkaſes. The combate continued a long time, terrible ſlaughters were committed, and the Lithuanians and Tartars were ſlaine like ſheepe. But when newe and freſh enemies continually iſſued forth, the Dutch knights being wearied, began to fight more faintly. Which Vladiſlaus no ſooner perceiued, but in all haſte hee ſends forwarde his mightie and well armed bande of Polonians, who ſuddenly breaking in renewed the skirmiſh. The Dutch were not able to withſtand the furie of the freſh troupes (great odds there is betweene the wearied ſouldier and him that comes in a freſh) inſomuch that the knights with their people were conſtrained to flee. The maſter of the Order ſeeing his ſouldiers giue wap vnto the enemie, gathered a companie together, and withſtoode him in the face, howbeit himſelfe was ſlaine for his labour, the flight of his people proued greater and more diſhonourable, neither did the Dutch ceaſe to flee, ſo long as the Polonian continued the chaſe. There fell on the Knights partie manie thouſands of men, and the Polonians gotte not the victorie without great ſpoile and damage. This battell was foughten in regard of the bounds of regions in the yeere 1410. All Pruſſia following the happie ſucceſſe of the Polonian king (except Marieburg onely) yeelded themſelues vnto him being Conquerour. Howbeit the Emperour Sigiſmund taking vp the quarell, peace was ordained betweene the knights and Polonia, and a league concluded, certaine ſummes of money alſo were paide vnto the Polonian, Pruſſia was reſtored vnto the knights, neither was the ſaide Order diſturbed in the poſſeſſion of their lands vntill the time of Friderick. The 24. Maſter was Henrie Earle of Plaen. This man being depoſed by the Chapter, was 7. yeres holden priſoner at Dantzik. The 25. Maſter was Michael Kuchenmeiſter, that is, maſter of the Cookes of Sternberg. The 26. was Paulus a Ruſſdorff. The 27. Conradus ab Ellerichſhauſen. This man, after diuers and ſundry conflicts betweene the Dutch knights, and the king of Polonia, concluded a perpetuall league with the ſaide king. Howbeit the citizens of Dantzig ſecretely going about to obtayne their freedome, that the foreſaide Order might haue no dominion ouer them, made ſute vnto the Polonian king to be their Protector. This Conradus died in the yeere 1450. The 28. was Lewis ab Ellerichſhauſen. Vnder this man there aroſe a dangerous ſedition in Pruſſia betweene the chiefe cities and the knights of the Order. The citizens demanded libertie, complaining that they were oppreſſed with diuers moleſtations. Whereupon they priuily made ſute vnto Caſimir their king of Polonia. The Maſter of the Order ſeeing what would come to paſſe began to expoſtulate with the king, that he kept not the peace which had bene concluded betweene them to laſt for euer. Alſo Frederick the Emperour commaunded the Pruſſians to returne vnto the obedience of the knights, who by the dint of their ſwordes had releaſed that prouince out of the hands of Infidels, and had bought it with the ſhedding of much blood. Not withſtanding the popular ſort perſiſting ſtil in their ſtubborne determination, proceeded at length to open warre. The cities adhearing vnto the king vſurped diuers Caſtles belonging to the Maſter, tooke certain Commanders and knights, yea, and ſome they ſlewe alſo. Fiftie and fiue townes conſpired together in that rebellion: but thinking their eſtate and ſtrength not ſure enough againſt their own gouernors without forrein aide, they chooſe king Caſimir to be their lord. Hereupon the Polonian king marches into Pruſſia with a great armie, taking poſſeſſion of ſuch cities as yeelded themſelues vnto him, and proceeding forward againſt Marieburg, beſieged the caſtle and the towne. In the meane ſeaſon the Maſter hauing hired an armie of Germane ſouldiers, ſuddenly ſurpriſed the king at vnawares in his tents, and ſlewe about 300. Polonians, tooke priſoners 136. noblemen, ſpoiled their tents, tooke away their horſes, victuals, and armour, inſomuch that the king himſelfe hardly eſcaped vpon one horſe. Theſe things came to paſſe in the yeere 1455. The Maſter hauing thus obtained the victorie, ſent his armie into the countrey, and recouered the caſtles and cities which he had loſt, to the number of 80. putting many of his enemies alſo vnto the ſword. Pozcouer, he recouered Kunigsberg being one of the foure principall cities, which are by name Thorne, Elburg, Kunigsberg, and Gdanum, that is to ſay, Dantzig. And when the warre was longer protracted then the Maſter could well beare, and a whole yeres wages was vnpaid vnto his captains, thoſe captaines which were in the garriſon of Marieburg conſpired againſt the Maſter, and for a great ſumme of money betrayed the caſtle of Marieburg vnto the king. Which practiſe beeing knowen, the Maſter fled to Kunigsberg, and newe warre was begunne, and great ſpoile and deſolation was wrought on both ſides: vntill at length, after compoſition made, the king retayned Pomerella, and all the caſtles and townes therein, together with Marieburg and Elburg: and the maſter inioyed Samatia, Kunigsberg, &c. This compoſition was concluded in the yeere 1466. The 29. Maſter was Henrie Reuſſ, firſt being deputie, and afterwarde Maſter of Pruſsia. The 30. was Henrie a Richtenberg, who deceaſed in the yeere 1477. The 31. called

The great maſter ouercommeth the king of Polonia.

The king by treaſon offers thwarth the Maſter.

Martine Truchses died in the yeere 1489. The 32. Iohn a Tiesten died in the yeere 1500. The 33. being Duke of Saxonie, and marques of Misn, deceased in the yeere 1510. This man began to call in question, whether the foresaid composition concluded betweene the king of Polonia, and the Order, were to bee obserued or no: especially sithence it conteined certaine articles against equitie and reason. Whereupon he appealed vnto the Bishop of Rome, vnto the Emperor, vnto the princes and electors of Germany, and preuailed with them so farre forth, that there was a day of hearing appointed at Posna in Polonia. And the Legates of both parts meeting heard complaints and excuses, & dispatched no other businesse. In the meane time Prince Frederick deceased in the tenth yeere of his gouernment. The 34. Master was Albertus marques of Brandenburg, whom the King of Polonia did so grieuously molest with war, and oppressed all Prussia with such extreme rigour, that the Prince of the countrey was constrained to make a league of foure yeeres with him, and to yeeld vnto such conditions, as turned to the vtter ouerthrowe of the whole Order. Amongst other conditions are these which follow. Sithence that the originall of all discorde betweene Polonia and the order doeth from hence arise, for that hitherto in Prussia, no lawfull heyre and successor hath borne rule and authority, but diuers and sundry haue had the gouernment therof, by whose meanes the nations haue bene prouoked one against another, much Christian blood hath bin shed, the lands and inhabitants grieuously spoiled, and many widowes and Orphans made: the Popes, Emperors, and Princes being often sollicited for the establishing of that perpetuall league, which Casimir hath heretofore concluded &c. Sithence also that the truce which hath bene agreed vpon of both parties is in shorte time to be expired, and that it is to bee feared, that bloody warres will then be renewed, and that all things will proue worse and worse, vnlesse some lawfull composition be made, and some good and wholesome deuise be put in practise, as well for the benefit of the King and of his posteritie, as for the commoditie of the whole common weale of Prussia, especially considering that Albertus the Marques refuseth not to submitte himselfe to the Councell of the King, &c.

The Oration or speech of the Ambassadours sent from *Conradus* de *Zolner* Master generall of the land of *Prussia*, vnto *Richard* the second, King of England, *and France, &c.*

The messengers which are sent from the Master generall of the land of *Prussia*, doe propound and declare the affaires and negotiations vnderwritten.

The ancient assistance of the kings of England against infidels.

Whereas it is apparant, that diuers and sundrie times heeretofore, your famous progenitours and predecessours the kings of England haue alwaies bene gracious promoters and speciall friends vnto the generall Masters of the land of Prussia, and of the whole order: whereas also they haue bountifully beholden, by their Barons, Knights, and other their nobles of the kingdome of England, vnto the Masters and order aforesaide, sundry and manifolde fauourable assistances in the conquest of the Infidels (in whose steppes your excellent Maiestie insisting, haue, in these your dayes shewed your selfe in like sort right graciously affected vnto the Master generall which nowe is, and vnto his famous Predecessour) in due consideration of the premisses, and in regard also of diuers other affaires, which are at this present to be propounded vnto your Highnes, the foresaid Master general which now is hath caused vs his messengers to be sent with letters of credence vnto your Maiestie: humbly praying, and earnestly beseeching your roial clemency, that in times to come, the said Master general, his successors, & our whole Order may of your bounty most graciously obtaine the same fauour, benevolice, and stedfast amity & friendship, which hath bin continued from the times of your foresaid predecessors: in regard wherof we do offer the said Master of ours, and our whole company, vnto your highnes, as your perpetual and deuote friends. Notwithstanding (most soueraigne Prince) certaine other things we haue to propound vnto your Grace, in the name & behalfe of our saide Master and Order, by way of complaint, namely, that at certaine times past, and especially within the space of 8. yeeres last expired, his subiects and marchants haue sustained sundry damages and ablations of their goods, by diuers subiects and inhabitants of your realme of England, and that very often, both by sea and land: the which, for the behalf, and by the appointment of the Master generall aforesaid, & of his predecessors, are put downe in registers, and recorded in the writings of his cities in the land of Prussia. Of which parties damnified, some haue obtained letters from the Master general

that

that now is, & also from his predecessor, vnto your renowmed grandfather K. Edward of famous memory, and sundry times vnto your highnes also, to haue restitution made for their goods taken from them: whereby they haue nothing at al preuailed, but heaping losse vpon losse haue misspent their time & their charges: both because they were not permitted to propound & exhibit their complaints & letters before your maiesty, and also for diuers other impediments. Certain of them also considering how others of their countriemen had laboured in vain, & fearing the like successe, haue troubled the Master general very often with grieuous and sundry complaints, craning & humbly beseeching at his hands, that he would vouchsafe graciously to prouide for thē as his faithful & loial subiects, as touching the restitution of their losses: especially seeing þ so much wealth of the English marchants was euery yeere to be found in Prussia, as being arrested, they might obtaine some reasonable satisfaction for their losses. Which thing the Master general aforesaid & his predecessor also haue deferred vnto this present (albeit to þ great losse of their subiects) thereby hauing meere & principal respect vnto those special curtesies and fauours which your excellent Maiesty & your worthy progenitors haue right graciously vouchsafed vpon our Masters and Order: neither yet for the iniuries aforesaid, was there euer any maner of offence, or molestation offered vnto any of your subiects noble or ignoble whatsoeuer. Moreouer, in the name & behalfe of our foresaid Master general we do propound vnto your excellency by way of complaint, that in the yere last past, 6. dayes after þ feast of the Ascension, certain persons of your realm of England, with their ships & apparelments coming vnto the port of Flanders, named Swen, & finding there, amongst sundry other, 6. ships of Prussia resident, which had there arriued wt diuers goods & marchandises: and being informed that they were of Prussia, & their friends, they caused them & their ships to remain next vnto their owne ships, protesting vnto them, that they should in no sort be molested or damnified by thēselues or by any other of their company, & that they would faithfully defend them, as if they were their own people, frō þ hands of their aduersaries: & for their farther security & trust, they deliuered some of their own men & their standerds into our mens ships: howbeit a while after being stirred vp, & bent far otherwise, they took out of þ foresaid ships al kind of armors, wherwith they were to gard & defend themselues frō pirats, & they detained the maisters of those ships, not suffring them to return vnto their own ships & cōpanies, one alloot þ said ships (hauing taken al the goods out of her) they cōsumed with fire. And within 3. daies after they came with one accord vnto þ abouenamed ships, and tooke away from them all goods and marchandises which they could find, and all the armour and weapons of the said ships, the chestes also of the marchants, of the ship-maisters, & of other persons they brake opē, taking out money, iewels, garments, & diuers other commodities: and so they inflicted vpō them irrecouerable losses and vnkind grieuances. And departing out of the foresaid haland called Sandwich, Who, being afterward released, were compelled to sweare, that they should not declare þ iniuries offred vnto them, either before your roiall maiesty, or your hon. Councell, or your chācelor: neither were they permitted to come on shore. And being offred such hard measure, when they made pitiful mones & complaints vnto your foresaide subiects, amongst other matters they spake on this wise vnto them: Do you complain of iniuries & losses offered vnto vs? Loe, in your own cōtrey of Prussia there are English marchants, & goods sufficient, go your waies home therfore, & recouer your losses, taking two for one: and in this maner they were left, & so departed. Afterward returning vnto þ land of Prussia, they & their friends repaired vnto the Mast. general, iointly and vñ one consent making their complaint vnto him of the losses which had bin inflicted vpon thē by your subiects. And prostrating thēselues at his feet, they all and euery of them made their humble suites, þ he would haue compassion on them, as vpon his poore subiects, regarding thē selues, their wiues, & children, and pitying their distres, and penury, and that he would graciously procure some redresse for them. And when he offred his letters vnto them, willing them to prosecute their cause before your highnes, they answered that they were no way able to defray the expenses, and that others, who were in like sort damnified, had laboured that way altogether in vain & to no purpose: beseeching him again and again, that he would by another kind of means, namely by arresting of your marchants and their goods, procure thē restitution of their losses. At length the Master general being moued by so many and so great complaints, and by the molestation of his subiects, caused (albeit full sore against his will) a certaine portion of English marchants goods to be laid hold on, and to be arrested, in his cities of Elburg & Dantzik, and to be bestowed in sure places, vntil such time as he might conueniently by his messengers propound and exhibit all and singular the premisses vnto your highnes. And to minish as the foresaid Master general and our Order do know no iust occasion, wherby they haue deserued your maiesties indignation, but are firmely and most vndoubtedly perswaded, to finde all curtesie, fauour, and friendship at your Highnesse, according to your wonted clemencie: the said Master generall therefore maketh

Edward the 3.

The arresting of the English goods and marchants.

no doubt, that al the aboue written damages & molestacions, being in such sort, against God and iustice, offred vnto his subiects by yours, be altogether vnknown vnto your magnificence, & committed against your mind: wherfore presently vpon the foresaid arrest of your marchants goods, he dispatched his messengers vnto your roial maiesty. Wherof one deceased by the way, namely in the territory of Holland: & the other remained sick in those parts for a long season: & so that ambassage took none effect. Wherfore the said master general was desirous to send vs now ỳ second time also vnto your Highnes. We do make our humble suite therfore, in the name & behalf of our Master and Order aforesaid, vnto your kingly supremacy, that, hauing God and iustice before your eies, and also the dutifull and obsequious demeanor of the said master, and other towards you, you would vouchsafe to extend your gracious clemency, for the redresse of the premisses: wherby the foresaid losses may be restored and repaied vnto our subiects. All which notwithstanding, that it would please you of your wisedome & prouidence to procure so absolute a remedy, by meanes whereof, in time to come, such dealings and inconueniences may be auoided on both parts, & finally that your marchants may quietly be possessed of their goods arrested in Prussia, and our marchants may be admitted vnto the possession of their commodities attached in England, to conuert & apply them vnto such vses, as to themselues shal seem most conuenient. Howbeit (most gracious prince and lord) we are to sollicite your Highnesse, not onely about the articles to be propounded concerning the losses aforesaide, but more principally, for certain sinister reports and superstitious slanders, wherwith certaine of your subiects, not seeking for peace, haue falsly informed your maiesty, & your most honorable & discreete Counsel: affirming that at the time of ỳ aforesaid arrest your marchants were barbarously intreated, that they were cast into lothsom prisons, drenched in myre and water vp to ỳ neck, restrained from al conference and company of men, and also that their meat was throwen vnto them, as a bone to a dog, with many other enormities, which they haue most slanderously deuised concerning the master general aforesaid, and his people, and haue published them in these dominions: vpon the occasion of which falshoods certain marchants of our parts, and of other regions of Alemain (who, of your special beneuolence, were indued with certaine priuileges and fauours in your citie of London, and in other places) were, as malefactors, apprehended and caried to prison, vntil such time as the trueth was more apparent. Whereupon, the foresaide master generall propoundeth his humble suite vnto your maiestie, that such enemies of trueth and concord, your Maiesty would vouchsafe in such sort to chastise, that they may be an example vnto others presuming to doe the like.

Moreouer, (high and mighty Prince and lord) it was reported vnto our Master general, that his former Legats required of your maiesty safe conduct freely to come into your highnesse Realme. Which when hee heard, he was exceedingly offended therat, sithence vndoubtedly they did not this at his commaundement or direction. We therefore humbly beseech your Grace, as touching this ouersight, to holde the Master generall excused, because there is no need of safeconduct, betweene speciall friends.

Furthermore, sundry damages and complaints of the foresaid general Master, and his subiects are briefly exhibited, and put downe in the billes following. Also, all and singular damnified persons, besides other proofes, were compelled to verifie these losses by their formall othes, taken vpon the holy Bible.

Lastly, we doe make our humble suite and petition vnto the prouidence and discretion of your Highnes, and of your honorable Councell, that concerning the premisses, and all other matters propounded, or to be propounded vnto your Maiesty, we may obtaine a speedy answere, and an effectuall end. For it would redound vnto our great charges and losse to make any long delayes.

An agreement made by the Ambassadors of *England* and *Prussia*, confirmed by king *Richard* the second.

RIchard by the grace of God, king of England, and France, and lorde of Ireland, To all, vnto whom these present letters shall come, greeting. We haue seene and considered the composition, ordination, concord, and treatie, betweene our welbeloued clearke, master Nicholas Stocket, licentiat in both lawes, Walter Sibel, and Thomas Graa, citizens of our cities of London & York, our messengers and ambassadors on the one part: and the honourable and religious personages, Conradus de Walrode, great commander, Sifridus Walpode de Bassenheim, chiefe hospitalary commander in Elburg, and Vlricus Hachenberg Treasurer, the messengers and ambassadors of the right reuerend and religious lord, lord Conradus Zolner de Rothenstein, master generall of the knightly order of the Dutch hospital of Saint Mary at Ierusalem on the other part, lately concluded and agreed vpon in these words. In the name of the supreame and indiuisible Trinitie, the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghost, Amen. Forasmuch as the author of peace will haue peacemakers

makers to be the ſons of diſſeuenes, and the execrable enemie of peace to be expelled out of the dominions of Chriſtians: therefore for the perpetuall memorie of the thing, be it knowen vnto all men who ſhall ſee or heare the tenour of theſe preſents: that there being matter of diſſenſion and diſcord bred betweene the moſt renowmed prince and king, Richard by the grace of God king of England and France, and lord of Ireland, and his ſubiects on the one part: and the right reuerend and religious lord, lord Conradus Zolner de Rothinſtein, Maſter generall of the knightly order of the Dutch hoſpitall of S. Marie at Ieruſalem, and his land of Pruſſia, and his ſubiects alſo, on the other part: the foreſaid lord and generall maſter, vpon mature counſell and deliberation had, ſent his honourable ambaſſadours towards England vnto the forenamed moſt ſouereigne prince and king, to propound and make their complaint vnto him of violence and iniuries offered (as it is ſaid) by the Engliſh vnto the Pruſſians: in conſideration whereof certaine goods of the marchants of England were arreſted in the land of Pruſſia. Whoſe complaint the foreſayd moſt gracious prince did courteouſly and friendly admit, receiue, and accept, and after many ſpeeches vttered in this treaty, louingly diſmiſſed them vnto their owne countrey againe, promiſing by his letters vnto the foreſayd reuerend Maſter generall, that hee would diſpatch his ambaſſadours vnto the land of Pruſſia. Whereupon, in the yeere 1388. he ſent the hono: and reuerend perſonages Maſter Nicholas Stocket licentiate of both lawes, Thomas Graa, and Walter Sibill, citizens of London and Yorke, with ſufficient authority and full commandement, to handle, diſcuſſe, and finally to determine the foreſaid buſines, and with letters of credence vnto the right reuerend lord and maſter generall aforeſayd. Which ambaſſadours, together with Iohn Beuis of London their 1388.
informer, and the letters aforeſaid, and their ambaſſage, the ſaid right reuerend lord and Maſter generall, at his caſtle of Marienburgh, the 28. of July, in the yeare aforeſaid, reuerently and honourably receiued and entertained: and in his minde eſteemed them worthy to treate and decide the cauſes aforeſayd: and ſo vnto the ſayd ambaſſadours he ioyned in commiſſion on his behalfe, three of his owne counſellers, namely the honourable and religious perſonages Conradus de Walrode great commander, Seiffridus Walpode de Baſſenheim chiefe hoſpitalary and commander in Elburg, Wolricus Hachenberger treaſurer, being all of the order aforeſaid. Which ambaſſadors ſo entreating about the premiſſes, and ſundry conferences and conſultations hauing paſſed between them, friendly and with one conſent, concluded an agreement and concord in manner following: That is to ſay:

Firſt, that all arreſtments, reprizals, and impignorations of whatſoeuer goods and marchandiſes in England and Pruſſia, made before the date of theſe preſents, are from henceforth quiet, free, and releaſed, without all fraud and diſſimulation: inſomuch that the damages, charges and expenſes occaſioned on both parts by reaſon of the foreſayd goods arreſted, are in no caſe hereafter to be required or challenged by any man: but the demaunds of any man whatſoeuer propounded in this regard, are and ought to be altogether fruſtrate and voide, and all actions which may or ſhall be commenced by occaſion of the ſayd goods arreſted, are to be extinct and of none effect. 1.

Moreouer, it is ſecondly concluded and agreed, that all and ſinguler Pruſſians pretending themſelues to be iniuried by the Engliſh at the Port of Swen, or elſewhere, howſoeuer, and whenſoeuer, before the date of theſe preſents, hauing receiued the letters of the foreſaide right reuerende lord and Maſter generall, and of the cities of their abode, are to repayre towards England, vnto the ſayd hon: embaſſadours, who are to aſſiſt them, and to propound and exhibite their complaintes, vnto the forenamed lord and king. The moſt gracious prince is bounde to doe his indeuor, that the parties damnified may haue reſtitution of their goods made vnto them, or at leaſt complete iuſtice and iudgement without delay. Alſo in like maner all Engliſh men affirming themſelues to haue bene endamaged by Pruſſians, whereſoeuer, howſoeuer, and whenſoeuer, are to haue recourſe vnto the often forenamed right reuerend lorde the Maſter generall, with the letters of their king and of the cities of their aboad, propounding their complaints and cauſes vnto him. Who likewiſe is bound to doe his indeuour that the ſayd loſſes and damages may be reſtored, or at the leaſt that ſpeedie iudgement may be, without all delayes, executed. This caueat being premiſed in each clauſe, that it may and ſhall be freely granted and permitted vnto euery man that will ciuilly make his ſuite and complaint, to doe it either by himſelfe, or by his procurator or procurators. 2.

Alſo thirdly it is agreed, that whoſoeuer of Pruſſia is determined criminally to propound his criminal complaints in England: namely that his brother or kinſeman hath beene ſlaine, wounded, or maimed, by Engliſh men, the ſame partie is to repayre vnto the citie of London in England, and vnto the ſayd ambaſſadors, bringing with him the letters of the ſayd right reuerend lord the maſter generall, and of the cities of their abode: which ambaſſadors are to haue free and full authority, according to the complaints of the men of Pruſſia, and the anſwers of the Engliſh men, to make and ordaine a friendly reconciliation or honeſt recompence betweene ſuch parties: which reconci- 3.

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liation the ſayd parties reconciled are bound vnſoundedly & without delay to obſerue. But if there be any Engliſh man found, who ſhall raſhly contradict or contemne the compoſition of the foreſayd ambaſſadors: then the ſayd ambaſſadours are to bring the forenamed Pruſſian plaintifes before the preſence of the kings Maieſtie: and alſo to make ſupplication on the behalfe of ſuch plaintifes, that complete iuſtice and iudgment may without delayes bee adminiſtred, according as thoſe ſuites are commenced. Moreouer whatſoeuer Engliſh man, againſt whom anie one of Pruſſia would enter his action, ſhall abſent himſelfe at the terme, the ſayd ambaſſadours are to ſummon and aſcite the foreſayd Engliſh man to appeare at the terme next inſuing, that the plaintifes of Pruſſia may in no wiſe ſeeme to depart or to returne home, without iudgement or the aſſiſtance of lawe. Nowe if the ſayd Engliſh man being ſummoned ſhall be found ſtubborne or diſobedient, the forenamed ambaſſadours are to make their appeale and ſupplication in manner aforeſayd. And in like ſorte in all reſpects ſhall the Engliſh plaintifes be deale withall in Pruſſia, namely in the citie of Dantzik, where the deputies of the ſayd citie and of the citie of Elburg ſhal take vnto themſelues two other head burroughs, one of Dantzik, and the other of Elburg: which foure commiſſioners are to haue in al reſpects, the very like authority of deciding, diſcuſſing, and determining all criminall complaints propounded criminally, by Engliſh men againſt any Pruſſian or Pruſſians, by friendly reconciliation, or honeſt recompenſe, if it be poſſible. But if it cannot friendly be determined, or if anie Pruſsian ſhall not yeeld obedience vnto any ſuch order or compoſition, but ſhalbe found to contradict and to contemne the ſame: from thenceforth the ſaid foure deputies and headburroughs are to make their appeale and ſupplication vnto the Maſter generall of the land aforeſayd, that vnto the ſayd Engliſh plaintifes ſpeedy iudgement and complete iuſtice may be adminiſtred. But if it ſhall ſo fall out that any of the principall offenders ſhall decreaſe, or already are deceaſed in either of the ſayd countries, that then it ſhall bee free and lawfull for the plaintife to proſecute his right againſt the goods or heires of the party deceaſed. Alſo, for the executing of the premiſſes the termes vnder written are appointed: namely the firſt, from the Sunday whereupon Quaſi modo geniti is to be ſung next enſuing, vntill the ſeuenth day following: The ſecond vpon the feaſt of the holy Trinitie next to come, and for ſeuen dayes following: The third vpon the eight day after Saint John Baptiſt next to come, & for ſeuen days following: The fourth, laſt, and peremptory terme ſhall be vpon the feaſt of S. Michael next to come, and vpon ſeuen dayes next following. And from thenceforth all cauſes which concerne death, or the mayming of a member, with all actions proceeding from them, are to remaine altogether voide and extinct. And if peraduenture any one of the foreſayd ambaſſadours, ſhall in the meane ſeaſon dye, then the other two ſhall haue authority to chuſe a third vnto them. And if after the date of theſe preſents any cauſe great or ſmall doth ariſe or ſpring forth, it muſt bee decided in England and in Pruſsia, as it hath beene accuſtomed in times paſt and from ancient times.

An ancient cuſtome.

4. The priuiledges of the Engliſh marchats in Pruſſia.

Alſo, it is further concluded and agreed vpon, that all lawfull marchants of England whoſoeuer ſhall haue free licence and authority, with all kinds of ſhippes, goods, and marchandiſes, to reſorte vnto euery port of the land of Pruſsia, and alſo to tranſporte all ſuch goods and marchandiſes by farther vnto any other place in the ſayde land of Pruſsia, and there with all kindes of perſons freely to bargaine and make ſale, as heretofore it hath from auncient times bene accuſtomed. Which priuiledge is granted in all things and by all circumſtances vnto the Pruſsians in England. And if after the date of theſe preſents, betweene the ſayd kingdome of England, and land of Pruſsia any diſſenſion or diſcorde (which God forefend) ſhould ariſe: then the foreſayd ſouereigne prince and king of England, and the ſayd right reuerend lord the Maſter generall are mutually by their letters and meſſengers to giue certificate and intimation one vnto another, concerning the matter and cauſe of ſuch diſſenſion and diſcord: which intimation, on the behalfe of the foreſaid ſouereigne prince & king of England, ſhall be deliuered in the forenamed caſtle of Marienburg: but on the behalfe of the ſayd right reuerend lord the Maſter generall, ſuch intimation ſhall be giuen in the citie of London aforeſayd, vnto the Maior of the ſaid citie: that then ſuch a denunciation or intimation being made, the marchants of England and the ſubiects of the land of Pruſsia may, within the ſpace of one yeere next following, freely and ſafely returne home with al their goods & marchandiſes: if at the leaſt, in the mean while, ſome compoſition, & friendly league betweene the two foreſayd countries be not in ſome ſorte concluded. And that all the premiſſes may more firmely and faithfully be put in due practiſe and execution on both partes, for the ſtrong and inuiolable keeping of peace and tranquillity: and alſo for the full confirmation and ſtrengthening of all the ſayne premiſſes, the three foreſayd honourable and religious perſonages being by the ſaid right reuerend lord the Maſter general appointed as commiſſioners to deale in the aboue written ordination and compoſition, haue cauſed their ſeales vnto theſe preſents to be

put:

put: and the ſayd ordination alſo, and letter in the ſame tenour word for word, and in all points euen as it is inſerted into theſe preſents, they haue mutually receiued frō the abouenamed three ambaſſadours of the right ſoueraigne king of England vnder their ſeales. Giuen at the caſtle of Marienburg in the yeare of our lord aforeſayd, vpon the twentieth day of the moneth of Auguſt. And we therefore doe accept, approue, ratifie, and by the tenour of theſe preſents doe confirme, the compoſition, ordination, concorde, and treaty aforeſayd. In teſtimony whereof we haue cauſed theſe our letters to be made patents. Witneſſe our ſelues at Weſtminſter the 22. of October, in the thirteenth yeare of our reigne.

By the king and his counſell.

Lincolne.

The letters of *Conradus de Iungingen*, Maſter generall of *Pruſſia*, written vnto *Richard* the ſecond, king of *England*, in the yeere 1398, for the renouncing of a league and compoſition concluded betweene *England* and *Pruſſia*, in regard of manifold iniuries offered vnto the Pruſſians.

OVr humble commendations, with our earneſt prayers vnto God for your Maieſtie, prenoſed. Moſt renowmed prince and mighty lord, it is not (we hope) out of your Maieſties remembrance, how our famous predeceſſour going immediately before vs ſent certaine letters of his vnto your highneſſe, effectually containing ſundry complaints of griuances, iniuries and loſſes, wherewith the marchants of his lande and order being wount in times paſt to viſite your kingdome with their goods and marchandiſes, haue bene contrary to their liberties and priuiledges annoyed with manifold iniuries and wrongs. Eſpecially ſithens they haue bene moleſted in your realme, being contrary to the friendly compoſition made and celebrated by the hono: perſonages, maſter Nicholas Stocket, Thomas Graa and Walter Sibil, in the yeare 1388, with the aſſiſtance of their coarbiters on our part, and contrary to God and all iuſtice, of nelled with manifold damages, loſſes, and grieuances: as in certaine articles exhibited vnto our predeceſſour aforeſayd it doeth more manifeſtly appeare. In conſideration whereof being vehemently moued by the damnified parties, he humbly beſought your highneſſe by his meſſengers and letters, for complement and execution of iuſtice. About the which affayres your Maieſtie returned your letters of anſwere vnto our ſayd predeceſſor, ſignifying that the ſayd buſineſſe of articles concerned all the communalty of your realme, and that your highneſſe purpoſed, after conſultation had in your parliament, to ſend a more deliberate anſwere concerning the premiſſes, vnto our predeceſſour aforeſayd. Howbeit he being by death tranſlated out of this preſent world, and our ſelues by the prouidence of God ſucceeding in his roome, and alſo long time expecting an effectuall anſwere from your highneſſe, are not yet informed as we looked for: albeit the complaints of iniuries and loſſes offered vnto our ſubiects doe continually increaſe. But from henceforth to prouide a remedie and a caueat for the time to come, the ſayd complaint worth vpon great reaſons mooue and inuite me. Sithens therefore in regard of the ſayd compoſition, neither you nor your ſubiects may be iudged in the empire: and ſithens plaine reaſon requireth that the one be not inriched by the others loſſe: as vndoubtedly our ſubiects ſhould ſuſtaine great damage by the compoſition aforeſayd, by vertue whereof your ſubiects doe enioy all commodities in our lande, and contrariwiſe our ſubiects in your realme haue ſuffered, & as yet ſundrie wayes do ſuffer manifold diſcommodities, loſſes and iniuries. Wherefore (moſt ſoueraigne prince and mighty lord) being reaſonably mooued vpon the cauſes aforeſayd, we doe, by the aduiſe of our counſellers, renounce and repeale the ſayd compoſition concluded as is aboue written, together with the effect thereof, purely and ſimply renouncing the ſame by theſe preſents: refuſing hereafter to haue either our ſelues or our ſubiects in any reſpect to ſtand bound by the vertue of the ſayd compoſition: but from henceforth, and for the times heretofore alſo, bee it altogether voide and of none effect.

Prouided notwithſtanding, that from the time of the notice of this denunciation giuen vnto the hono: Maior of your citie of London, for the ſpace of a yeare next enſuing, it ſhall be lawfull for all marchants of your kingdome whatſoeuer, with their goods and marchandiſes to returne home, according to the forme in the foreſayd compoſition expreſſed: conditionally that our ſubiects may euen ſo in all reſpects be permitted to depart, with the ſafety of their goods and liues out of your dominions: this preſent renuntiation, reuocation, and retractation of the order and compoſition aforeſayd, notwithſtanding. Howbeit if any other affayres whatſoeuer, deuoutly to ſubmit our ſelues vnto your highneſſe pleaſure [illegible] and, both our ſelues, and our whole order are right willing

willing and deſirous: and alſo to beneſite and promote your ſubiects we will indeuour to the vtmoſt of our power. Giuen in our caſtle of Marienburg in the peare of our Lord 1398, and vpon the 22. day of Febyuary.

Frater *Conradus de Iungingen*, maſter generall of the Order of the Dutch knights of S. *Maries* hoſpital at *Ieruſalem*.

A briefe relation of *William Eſturmy*, and *Iohn Kington* concerning their ambaſſages into *Pruſſia*, and the *Hanſ-townes*.

1403. IN primis, that in the moneth of July, and in the peare of our Lord 1403, and the fift peare of the reigne of our ſoueraigne Lord the king that nowe is, there came into England the ambaſſadours of the mighty lord Fr: Conradus de Iungingen, being then Maſter generall of Pruſſia, with his letters directed vnto our ſaid ſoueraigne lord the king, requiring amends and recompenſe for certaine iniuries vniuſtly offered by Engliſh men vnto the ſubiects of the ſaid Maſter generall, written in 20. articles, which amounted vnto the ſumme of 19120. nobles and a halfe &c.

Item, that the third day of the moneth of October, in the peare of our Lord aboue written, and in the fift peare of the reigne of our ſoueraigne lord the king, between the reuerend father in God, Henrie then biſhop of Lincolne lord chancelor, and William lord de Roos high treaſurer of England, on the one party and the ſaid ambaſſadours on the other party, it was (according to their petition) amongſt other things ordayned: namely that the liege people of our ſoueraigne lord the king ſhould freely be permitted, vntill the feaſt of Eaſter then next after enſuing to remaine in the land of Pruſſia, and from thence with their goods & marchandiſes to returne vnto their own home: and alſo, that the ſubiects of the ſaid Maſter generall in the kingdome of England ſhould haue licence and liberty to doe the like. Prouided alwayes, that after the time aboue limitted, neither the Engliſh marchants in the land of Pruſſia, nor the Pruſſian marchãts in the realme of England ſhould vſe any traffique of marchandiſe at all, vnleſſe in the meane ſpace it were otherwiſe agreed and concluded by the ſaid king and the ſaid Maſter generall.

Item, immediately after our ſaid ſoueraigne lord the king ſent his letters by Iohn Browne marchant of Lin vnto the foreſaid Maſter generall, for to haue mutuall conuerſation and intercourſe of dealing to continue ſome certain ſpace, betweene the marchants of England and of Pruſſia: promiſing in the ſame letters, that he would in the meane ſeaſon ſend vnto the foreſaid Maſter his ambaſſadors to intreat about the pretended iniuries aforeſaid: which letters the foreſaid Maſter, for diuers cauſes, refuſed to decide vnto, as in his letters ſent vnto our lord the king, bearing date the 16. day of the moneth of July, in the peare of our lord 1404, more plainely appeareth.

Item, that after the receit of the letters of the Maſter aforeſaid, which are next aboue mentioned, our ſaid king, according to his promiſe, ſent William Eſturmy knight, M. Iohn Kington clerke, and William Brampton citizen of London, from his court of parliament holden at Couentrie, very ſlightly (as ſeemed) as his ambaſſadours into Pruſſia.

Item, before the arriuall of the ſaid ambaſſadours in Pruſſia, all intercourſe of traffique betweene the Engliſh and the Pruſſians, in the realme of England, and in the land of Pruſſia was altogether reſtrained and prohibited: and in the ſame land it was ordayned and put in practiſe, that in whatſoeuer porte of the land of Pruſſia any Engliſh marchant had arriued with his goods, he was not permitted to conueigh the ſaid goods, out of that porte, vnto any other place of the land of Pruſſia, either by water, or by lande, vnder the payne of the forfeiting of the ſame: but was enioyned to ſell them in the very ſame porte, vnto the Pruſſians onely and to none other, to the great preiudice of our Engliſh marchants.

Item, that after the arriuall of the ſaid Engliſh ambaſſadours in the land of Pruſſia, it was ordayned, that from the eight day of the moneth of October, in the peare of our lord 1405, all Engliſh marchants
1405. whatſoeuer ſhould haue free liberty to arriue with all kindes of their marchandiſe in whatſoeuer port of the land of Pruſſia, and to make ſale of them in the ſaid land, as hath beene before from auncient times bene accuſtomed. Alſo ſundry other commodious priuiledges vnto the realme of England were then ordayned and eſtabliſhed: as in the indentures made for this purpoſe it doth more manifeſtly appeare.

Item, the ſaid Engliſh ambaſſadours being arriued in the land of Pruſſia, demanded of the ſaid Maſter generall, a reformation and amends, for the damages and iniuries offered by the Pruſſians vnto the liege people of our ſoueraigne lord and king, written in fifteene articles, which in ſumme amounted vnto the ſumme of 4535. nobles.

Item, the ſaid Maſter generall, beſides the articles exhibited vnto our ſoueraigne lord the king (as it is aboue mentioned) deliuered vnto the ſaid ambaſſadours diuers other articles of certaine iniuries

iniuries offered (as it ſayth) vniuſtly by Engliſh men, vnto his ſubiects, which amounted vnto the ſumme of 5100. nobles.

Item, it was afterward concluded, that vpon the firſt of May next then inſuing, namely in the peere of our Lord 1406, or within the ſpace of one peare immediatly following there ſhould bee made a commen eat, iuſt, and reaſonable ſatiſfaction, for all moleſtations vniuſtly offered on both parties, as well on the behalfe of our ſouereigne lord the king, as of the foreſayd Maſter generall. Which ſatiſfaction not being performed, the Pruſſians with their goods & marchandiſes, within three moneths after the end of the ſayd peare next following, were without moleſtation or impediment, enioined to depart out of the realme of England with their ſhips and goods, and the Engliſh men like wiſe, out of the territories and dominions of the ſaid Maſter generall, & both of them, without any further admonition, to abſtaine & ſeparate themſelues, from both the countreis aforeſayd. For the performance of which premiſſes, the ambaſſadors on both parts being ſufficiently inſtructed, were appointed to meete the firſt day of May, at the towne of Dordract in Holland. 1406.

Item, that the ſayd William Eſturmy and Iohn Kington in their returne homewards from Pruſſia towards England paſſed through the chiefe cities of the Hans, and treated in ſuch ſorte with the Burgomaſters of them, that there were ſent meſſingers and agents, in the behalfe of the common ſociety of the Hans marchants, vnto the towne of Dordract, to conferre with the ambaſſadors of England, about the redreſſing of iniuries attempted on both parts: where diuers agreements were ſet downe beeweene the ſayd ambaſſadors, and meſſengers, as in the indentures made for the ſame purpoſe it doth more manifeſtly appeare.

Item, that the meeting appointed at the towne of Dordract, vpon the firſt of May, was by the letters of the foreſayd ambaſſadors, prorogued vnto the firſt of Auguſt then next enſuing, and afterward by vertue of the kings letters vnto the firſt day of March next following: and there was another day of prorogation alſo.

Item, that after the prorogations aforeſayd, the ambaſſadors of England, and the meſſengers & commiſſioners of Pruſſia met together at the towne of Hage in Holland, the 28. day of Auguſt, in the peere of our lord 1407. And there was a treaty beeween the concerning the ſumme 25934. nobles and an halfe, demanded on the behalfe of the ſayd Maſter generall for amends and recompenſe in conſideration of wrongs offered vnto himſelfe and vnto his ſubiects of Pruſſia, as is aforeſayd. Alſo the ſayd Maſter and his Pruſſians, beſides the ſumme not yet declared in the articles, which is very ſmall, are to reſt contented and ſatiſfied with the ſumme of 8957. nobles, in lieu of all the damages aforeſaid: no times of paiment being then aſſigned or limited, but afterward to be reaſonably limited and aſſigned, by our ſayd ſouereigne lord the king. Inſomuch, that our ſaid ſouereigne lord the king is to write his full intention & determination concerning this matter, in his letters to be deliuered the 16. day of March, vnto the aldermen of the marchants of the Hans reſiding at Bruges. Otherwiſe, that from thenceforth all league of friendſhip ſhall bee diſſolued beeweene the realme of England and the land of Pruſſia.

Alſo it is farther to be noted, that in the appointment of the ſumme nert before written to be diſburſed out of England, this condition was added in writing, namely, that if by lawful teſtimonies it may ſufficienely and effectually be prooued, concerning the chiefe articles aboue written, or any part of them, that ſatiſfaction was made vnto any of thoſe parties, to whom it was due: or that the goods, of and for the which complaint was made on the the behalfe of Pruſſia, in the ſayd articles, did or doe pertayne vnto others, or that any other iuſt, true, or reaſonable cauſe may lawfully be prooued & alledged, why the foreſaid ſums or any of them ought not to be payed: that the ſame as ſhalbe found, either to haue bene payd already, or to appertaine vnto others, or by any true, iuſt, and reaſonable cauſe alleaged, not to be due. Neither is it to be doubted, but for the greater part of the ſumme due vnto the Pruſſians, that not our lord the king, but others (which will in time be nominated) are, by all equity and iuſtice, to be compelled to make ſatiſfaction.

Alſo, at the day and place aboue mentioned it was appointed and agreed vpon, that our lord the king and his liege ſubiects, for the ſaid 4535. nobles demanded of the Engliſh in conſideration of recompenſe to be made for iniuries offered vnto the Pruſſians, are to diſcharge & pay the ſumme of 764. nobles, which are not as yet diſburſed: but they haue referred a petition to them, vnto whom the ſayd ſumme is due, or if they pleaſe, there ſhalbe made ſatiſfaction: which will be very hard and extreme dealing.

Item, that in the laſt aſſembly of the ſayd ambaſſadors of England and meſſengers of Pruſſia, holden at Hage, made as is aforeſayd, for the behalfe of England, there were exhibited anew certaine articles of iniuries againſt the Pruſſians. The value of which loſſes amounted vnto the ſumme of 1825. nobles and three ſhillings.

Item

Item, on the contrary part for the behalfe of the Pruſſians the ſumme of 1355. nobles, eight ſhillings and fiue pence.

Item, foraſmuch as diuers articles propounded, as well on the behalfe of England, as of Pruſſia, and of the cities of the Hans, both heretofore and alſo at the laſt conuention holden at Hage, were ſo obſcure, that in regard of their obſcurity, there could no reſolute anſwere bee made vnto them: and other of the ſayd articles exhibited, for want of ſufficient proofes, could not clearely be determined vpon: it was appointed and concluded, that all obſcure articles giuen vp by any of the foreſayd parties whatſoeuer, ought before the end of Eaſter then next enſuing, and within one whole yeare after, to be declared before the Chancelour of England, for the time being: and other articles euidently exhibited, but not ſufficiently proued, to be proued, vnder paine of perpetuall excluſion. Which being done accordingly, compleate iuſtice ſhall be adminiſtred on both parts.

Item, as concerning the eleuenth article, for the behalfe of the Pruſſians, firſt exhibited, which contained loſſes amounting vnto the ſumme of 2445. nobles: as touching the firſt article on the behalfe of England exhibited in the land of Pruſſia, containing loſſes which amounted to the ſumme of 900. nobles: after many things alledged on both parts, relation thereof ſhall be made in the audience of the king and of the Maſter generall: ſo that they ſhall ſet downe, ordaine, and determine ſuch an ende and concluſion of thoſe matters, as ſhall ſeeme moſt expedient vnto them.

Now concerning the *Liuonians* who are ſubiect vnto the great Maſter of *Pruſſia*.

INprimis, that the Maſter of Pruſſia demaunded of the ſayd Engliſh ambaſſadours, at their being in Pruſſia, on the behalfe of them of Liuonia, who are the ſayd Maſter his liege people, to haue reſtitution of their loſſes, vniuſtly (as he ſayth) offered vnto them by the Engliſh, namely, for the robbing and rifling of three ſhips. The valne of which ſhips and of the goods contained in them, according to the computation of the Liuonian marchants, doeth amount vnto the ſumme of 8037. pound, 12. ſhillings 7. pence.

Theſe ſhips were taken by the Engliſh the 20. of July 1404.

Howbeit afterward the trueth being inquired by the ſayd ambaſſadors of England, the loſſe of the Liuonians exceedeth not the ſumme of 7498. pound, 13. ſhillings, 10. pence halfepeny farthing.

Item, foraſmuch as in the ſayd ſhips, on the behalfe of the ſayd Maſter, and of certaine cities of the Hans, there are alleadged aboue 250. men very barbarouſly to be drowned, of whome ſome were noble, and others honourable perſonages, and the reſt common marchants & mariners, there was demaunded, in the firſt yere of conuention holden at Dordract, a recompenſe at the handes of the ſayd Engliſh ambaſſadors: albeit this complaint was exhibited in the very latter end of all the negotiations, in forme of a ſcedule, the tenor whereof is in writing at this preſent, & beginneth in maner following: Cum vita hominum &c. Howbeit in the laſt conuention holden at Hage, as is aforeſaid, it was concluded betweene the ambaſſadours of England, and the meſſengers and commiſſioners of the land of Pruſſia, and of the cities of the Hans; that our ſayd ſoueraigne lord the king, ſhould, of his great pietie, vouchſafe effectually to deuiſe ſome conuenient and wholeſome remedie for the ſoules of ſuch perſons as were drowned.

Item, that our ſayd ſoueraigne lord the king will ſignifie in writing his full purpoſe & intention as touching this matter, vnto the aldermen of the Hans marchants reſiding at Bruges, vpon the ſixteenth day of March next following. Otherwiſe, that from hencefoorth all amity and friendſhip, betweene the realme of England and the land of Pruſſia ſhall be diſſolued.

Neither is it to be doubted, but that a great part of the ſayd goods, for the which they of Liuonia doe demaund reſtitution, namely wares and furres, redounded vnto the vſe and commodity of our ſoueraigne lord the king. And alſo our ſaid ſoueraigne lord the king gaue commandement by his letters, that ſome of the ſayd goods ſhould be deliuered vnto others. And a great part of them is as yet reſerued in the towne of Newcaſtle. One Benteld alſo hath the beſt of the ſayd three ſhips in poſſeſſion. Alſo it is reported and thought to be true, that certaine Furriers of London, which will be detected in the end, haue had a great part of the ſayd goods, namely of the Furres.

Now as concerning the cities of the *Hans*.

Hamburgh.

INprimis the Hamburgers exhibited nine articles, wherein they demaunded reſtitution for certaine damages ſuffred, as they ſayd, by the Engliſh men, the value of which loſſes amounted vnto the ſumme of 9117. nobles, 20. pence. For the which, after due examination, there was promiſed reſtitution to the ſumme of 416. nobles, 5. ſhillings. Beſides the two articles propoun-

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bee againſt the of Scardeburg, the ſumme whereof was 231. pounds, 15. s. 8. d. touching the which there was ſentence giuen in England by the cõmiſſioners of our lord the king, the execution wherof was promiſed vnto the ſaid Hamburgers by the ambaſſadors of England: leaue and licence being reſerued vnto the ſayd Hamburgers, of declaring or explaining certaine obſcure articles by them exhibited, which declaration was to be made at the feaſt of Eaſter then next to come, or within one yeare next enſuing the ſaid feaſt, vnto the chancelor of England for the time being, and of proouing the ſayd articles and others alſo, which haue not as yet ſufficiently bene proued. Which being done they are to haue full complement and execution of iuſtice.

Alſo by the Hamburgers there are demaunded 445. nobles from certaine of the inhabitants of Linne in England. Which ſumme, it is ſhalbe prooued to be due vnto any Engliſh men, the Hamburgers are to reſt contented with thoſe goods, which they haue already in their poſſeſſions.

Breme. Item, they of Breme propounded fiue articles, wherein the ſumme conteined amounteth vnto 4414. nobles. And there was no ſatiſfaction promiſed vnto them. But the ſame libertie and licence was reſerued vnto them, in like maner as before vnto the Hamburgers.

Stralesſund. Item, they of Stralesſund propounded 23. articles, whereof the ſumme amounted vnto 7415. nobles, 20. d. for the which there was promiſed ſatiſfaction of 253. nobles, 3. q. Alſo here is a certaine to be obſerued: that they of Stralesſund had of Engliſh mens goods a great ſumme particularly to be declared, which will peraduenture ſuffice for a recompenſe. And ſome of their articles are concerning iniuries offered before 20, 22, 23, 24. yeres paſt. Alſo their articles are ſo obſcure that they will neuer, or very hardly be able to declare or proue them. Howbeit there is reſerued the very ſame liberty vnto them, that was before vnto the Hamburgers.

Lubec. Item, they of Lubec propounded 23. articles, the ſumme whereof extended vnto 8690. nobles and an halfe: whereupon it was agreed, that they ſhould haue paied vnto them 550. nobles. There was reſerued the ſame libertie vnto them, which was vnto the men of Stralesſund.

Gripeſwold. Item, they of Gripeſwold exhibited 5. articles, the ſumme whereof amounted vnto 2092. nobles and an halfe. For the which there was promiſed ſatiſfaction of 152. nobles and an half. And the ſaid men of Gripeſwold haue of the goods of Engliſh men in poſſeſſion, to the value of 2201. nobles, 18. s. as it is reported by them of Linne. And the ſame libertie is reſerued vnto them that was vnto the Hamburgers.

Campen. Item, they of Campen propounded ten articles, the ſumme whereof extended vnto 1405. nobles. There is no ſatiſfaction promiſed vnto them: but the ſame liberty is reſerued vnto them, which was vnto the other aboue mentioned.

Item, the ambaſſadors of England demaunded of the citizens of Roſtok & Wiſmer, for damages & iniuries by them committed againſt the ſubiects of the foreſayd ſouereigne king 32407. nobles, 2. s. 10. d. And albeit euery of the foreſayd cities ſent one of their burgomaſters vnto the towne of Hage in Holland, to treat with the Engliſh ambaſſadours, it was in the end found out, that they had not any authority of negociating or concluding ought at al. And therfore they made their faithfull promiſes, that euery of the ſaid cities ſhould ſend vnto our ſouereigne Lord the king one or two procurators or procuratours ſufficiently inſtructed to treat & conclude with our ſaid ſouereigne lord the king about the damages and iniuries aforeſaid at the feaſt of the nauitie of Saint Iohn the Baptiſt.

Compoſitions and ordinances concluded between the meſſengers of *Frater Conradus de Iungingen* maſter generall of *Pruſsia*: and the chancelor and treaſurer of the realme of *England* 1403.

IN the yere of our Lord 1403. vpon the feaſt of S. Michael the Archangel, the right honorable Henrie biſhop of Lincoln, chancelor of England, and the lord de Roos high treaſurer of England, & the ambaſſadors of Pruſsia, John Godek of Dantzik, & Henry Monek of Elbing, maſters of the ſame cities haue at Weſtminſter treated in maner of compoſition about the articles vnder written: betweene the moſt ſouereigne lord the king of England, and the right reuerend & honorable Conradus de Iungingen Maſter general of Pruſsia, as concerning the iniuries offered vnto the people of Pruſsia and Liuonia vpon the ſea by the Engliſh.

First, that all ſhips with their appurtenances, & the commodities of the mariners, according vnto the condition of the things, and all other goods taken away by the Engliſh, which are actually vndiuided & whole, are incontinently & with al ſpeed to bee reſtored. And if there bee any defect in ought, the value of the ſaid defect is to be accounted, & with other loſſes of goods to be reſtored, at the terme of the reſtitution to be made and deliuered.

Item, that all ſhips, damages, and goods (as they are conteined in our bill of accuſation) which are not now immediately reſtored, are to be reſtored and payd in the land of Pruſsia, betweene this

and the terme appointed, with full execution and complement of iuſtice.

Item, concerning the perſons throwen ouer boord or ſlaine in the ſea: it ſhall remayne to be determined as the will and pleaſure of the moſt mighty prince the king of England, and of the right reuerend the Maſter of Pruſſia.

Item, betweene this and the terme appointed for the reſtoring of the goods taken away, vntill there be due payment & reſtitution of the ſaid goods performed, the marchants of England and of Pruſſia are in no wiſe to exerciſe any traffique of marchandiſe at all in the foreſaid lands.

1403. Memorandum, that the third day of the moneth of October, in the yere of our Lord 1403. and in the firſt yere of the reigne of the moſt mighty prince and lord, king Henrie the fourth, by the grace of God king of England and France &c. betweene the reuerend father Henrie biſhop of Lincoln, chancelor, and the right honorable William lord de Roos, high treaſurer of England, both of them counſellers vnto the ſaid ſouereigne king on the one party, and the right worſhipfull John Godeke, and Henrie Moneke, ſent as meſſengers by the right reuerend and religious perſonage, Frater Conradus de Iungingen Maſter generall of the Dutch knights of the Order of S. Mary on the other party: it was of the requeſt and inſtance of the ſaid meſſengers, appointed, and mutually agreed vpon, that all the liege people and ſubiects of the ſaid ſouereigne lord and king ſhall haue free licence and liberty vntill the feaſt of Eaſter next enſuing, ſafely to trauel vnto the land of Pruſſia aforeſaid, there to remaine, and thence, with their ſhips, marchandiſes, & other their goods whatſoeuer, to returne vnto their owne home: which on the other ſide, all the ſubiects of the ſaid Maſter generall may, within the terme preſtred, likewiſe doe, in the foreſaid realme of England. Prouided alwayes, that after the time aboue limited, neither the ſaid marchants of the realme of England may in the land of Pruſſia, nor the marchants of that land, in the realme of England, exerciſe any traffique at all: vnles it be otherwiſe ordained by ſome compoſition, betweene the foreſaid king of England, & the ſaid Maſter generall in the meane time concluded. In witneſſe wherof, one part of this preſent Indenture is to remaine in the cuſtodie of the foreſaid meſſengers. Giuen in the Chapter-houſe of the Church of S. Paul at London, the day and yere aboue written.

The letters of the chancelor and treaſurer of *England*, vnto *Frater Conradus de Iungingen*, maſter generall of *Pruſſia* 1403.

RIght reuerend and mighty lord, your honorable meſſengers John Godeke, and Henry Moneke, the bearers hereof comming of late before the preſence of our moſt ſouereigne lord the king of England and of France, and being welcomed by our ſaid lord with a chearefull and fauourable countenance, they preſented certaine letters on your behalfe vnto the kings Maieſtie, with that reuerence which beſeemed them: expounding vnto his highnes, ſundry piracies & moleſtations offered of late vpon the ſea, by his liege people & ſubiects vnto yours, contrary to the leagues of peace and amitie, which hitherto (by Gods grace) haue bene maintained and continued on both parts. In conſideration of which piracies and moleſtations, your meſſengers demanded full reſtitution and recompenſe to be made, either vnto the damnified parties, or vnto their procurators. We therefore at that time, eſpecially being in the preſence of our ſouereigne (who with his puiſſant army tooke his iourney ſtreight towards the remote part of Wales being ſubiect vnto his dominion, to ſee iuſtice executed vpon his people of thoſe parts, who very raſhly haue preſumed to rebell againſt him their ſouereigne, contrary to their allegeance) right well perceiued that it was his highneſſe intention, that euerypone ſhould haue due iuſtice faithfully adminiſtred vnto him, eſpecially your ſubiects, and that with all fauour, whom he hath alwayes in times paſt right graciouſly intreated, as if they had bene his owne liege ſubiects and native countrey men, whome alſo he purpoſeth hereafter friendly to protect: inſomuch that betweene him and his ſubiects on the one party, and betweene you and yours on the other party, great abundance and perfection of mutuall amity may increaſe. And therefore we offered vnto your foreſaid meſſengers, after they had particularly declared vnto vs ſuch piracies and wrongs, to ſende the kings letters vnto them of whom complaint was made, ſtrictly inioyning them, vnder grieuous penalties, that without delay they reſtore or cauſe to bee reſtored vnto the parties damnified, or vnto their procurators, all ſhips, marchandiſes, wares, and goods, by them taken or violently ſtolne from your ſubiects. And that your ſaid meſſengers may partly attaine their deſire, we haue commaunded certaine ‡ ſhips, marchandiſes, wares, and goods, found in certaine hauens, to be deliuered vnto them. Howbeit, as touching other goods, which are perhaps periſhed or wanting by inſopportune diſſipation or deſtruction, and for the which the ſaid meſſengers of yours demand ſatisfaction to be made vnto them within a certain time by vs limited: may it pleaſe your honor to vnderſtand, that

‡ Namely the ſhip of Edgard Scot at Calais. The ſhip of Tideman Deordwart and Tideman Warwere, at Orwel and Zepiwich.

that in the abſence of our ſayd ſouereigne lord the king, being as yet farre diſtant from vs, wee can in no wiſe limit or ſet downe any ſuch terme of time. Notwithſtanding, at the proſperous returne of our ſouereigne, we are determined to commune with him about this matter. Of whoſe anſwere ſo ſoone as we be certified, we purpoſe to ſignifie his intention vnto you by our letters. Withens alſo (right reuerend and mighty lord) your ſayd meſſengers are contented, for the preſent, to accept of our offer aforeſayde, as indeede by all reaſon they ought thereat to reſt content, eſpecially whereas by their comes they ſhall haue more ſpeedily attaine vnto the effect of their purpoſes (to the ſhorte and wiſhed execution and performance of whichoffer, we will, by Gods helpe, endeuour, to the vtmoſt of our ability) may it be your will and pleaſure, that as in the kingdome of England, your marchants and ſubiects are courteouſly intreated: euen ſo the marchants and liege people of our ſouereigne lord the king and of his kingdomes peaceably frequenting your parts, either in regard of traffique or of any other iuſt occaſion, may there in like manner friendly be vſed, and with your marchants and ſubiects ſuffered to communicate, and to haue accourſe of traffique, inioying the commodities of the ancient league. By this alſo the ſeruent zeale and affection which you beare vnto the royall crowne of England ſhall vndoubtedly appeare: albeit betweene the famous houſes of England and of Pruſſia, the bandes of vnfained loue and friendſhip haue bin ſucceſſiuely confirmed and kept inuiolable in times paſt. And thus (right reuerend and mighty lord) wiſhing vnto you increaſe of honour and proſperity, wee take our leaues. Written at London the 6. of October, in the yeare of our lord 1403. Note well. 1403.

By the chancelor, the treaſurer, and other lords of the honourable counſell of the king of *England* and *France*, being perſonally preſent at *London*.

The letters of king *Henry* the 4. vnto *Conradus de Jungingen* the maſter general of *Pruſſia*, for mutuall conuerſation and intercourſe of traffique to continue betweene the marchants of *England* and of *Pruſſia*, for a certaine terme of time.

HEnry by the grace of God, king of England & France, and lord of Ireland, to the noble and mighty perſonage of ſacred religion, Frater Conradus de Iungingen Maſter generall of the Order of the Dutch knights of S. Marie &c. our moſt deare and welbeloued friend, greeting, and continuall increaſe of our auncient and ſincere amity. By the grieuous complaynts of our liege ſubiects concerning traffique, as it were circularwiſe too & fro both our dominions, we haue often beene aduertiſed that in regard of diuers iniuries and damages, which as well our as your marchants (who by their dealings in marchandiſe were woont peaceably to vſe mutuall conuerſation together, whereupon very many commodities are known to haue proceeded) haue, by occaſion of pirates, rouing vp and downe the ſea, ſometimes heretofore ſuſtayned: both the ſayd marchants of our & of your dominions do abſtaine themſelues frō their wonted mutuall cōuerſation & traffique, as they haue likewiſe carefullp abſtained at ſometimes heretofore, and eſpecially from that time, wherein at the inſtant requeſt of your meſſengers, being of late before our preſence, the free acceſſe of our marchants vnto your territories and dominions, & of your marchants vnto our realmes hath bene forbidden. Withens therefore (our moſt deare friend) ſuch iniuries (if any) as haue bene attempted againſt your ſubiects, were neuer committed by our will and conſent, as we thinke that your ſelfe on the other ſide haue done the like: ſithens alſo, ſo much as in vs lieth, wee are ready to exhibit full iuſtice with fauour vnto any of your people being deſirous to make complaint, ſo that accordingly iuſtice may equally be done vnto our marchants by you & your ſubiects, which marchants haue in like ſort bene iniuried, wiſhing withall our heart, that the ancient friendſhip & loue, which hath continued a long time between our realme and your territories and dominions, may perſeuere in time to come, and that ſweet and acceptable peace, which is to be embraced of al Chriſtians, may accoyding to the good pleaſure of the author of peace, be nouriſhed & maynt ained: we do moſt heartily require the ſayd friendſhip, exhorting you in the Lord that you would on your behalf conſent & ordain (euen as, if you ſhall ſo do, we for our part will conſent likewiſe) that from this preſent vntil the feaſt of Eaſter next inſuing (al moleſtatiō & iniuries which may be offred ceaſing on both parts) our ſubiects by your territories & dominions, & your ſubiects by our realms, may peaceably & ſecurely trauel, & that accoyding to their wonted maner, they may friendly exerce & exercite mutual traffick together: becauſe we are determined to ſend vnto you & your counſel in the mean time ſome of our ambaſſadors, friendly to intreat about the foreſaid preſent iniuries, ſo far forth as they ſhal concerne our ſubiects. At whoſe arriual we ſtand in good hope

The amitie betweene England and Pruſſia.



that by the due adminiſtration of iuſtice on both parts, ſuch order (by Gods aſſiſtance) ſhalbe taken, that mutual peace and tranquillity may be eſtabliſhed betweene vs in times to come. Alſo our deſire is in particular, that our marchants & liege ſubiects may haue more free paſſage granted them vnto the parts of Sconia, for the prouiding of herrings and of other fiſhes there, that they may there remayne, and from thence alſo may more ſecurely returne vnto their owne home: and we beſeech you in conſideration of our owne ſelues, that you would haue our marchants and liege ſubiects eſpecially recommended vnto you, ſafely protecting them (if need ſhall require) vnder the ſhadow of your defence: euen as you would haue vs to deale in the like caſe with your own ſubiects. Moreouer, whatſoeuer you ſhall thinke good to put in practiſe in this behalfe, may it pleaſe you of your friendſhip, by our faythfull ſubiect Iohn Browne the bearer hereof to giue vs to vnderſtand. In the ſonne of the glorious virgine fare ye well, with continuall proſperity and felicity according to your owne hearts deſire. Giuen vnder our priuie ſeale, at our palace of Weſtminſter, the firſt day of June, and in the firſt yere of our reigne.

Poſtſcriptum.

RIght reuerend and our moſt deare friend: albeit our welbeloued Arnold de Daſſele the procurator of your foreſaid meſſengers, being deſirous at this time to make his final returne vnto your parts, by reaſon of the affayres, for which he hath remained in our realme of England, cannot as yet obtaine his wiſhed expedition: notwithſtanding you of your ſincere affection ought not to maruel or any whit to be grieued thereat: becauſe troubles of wars ariſing, which in ſome ſort concerned our ſelues, and eſpecially in regard of the continuall aſſaults of the French men & Britons againſt vs and our kingdome, for the offence of whom, and our owne defence, our liege ſubiects (eſpecially they, of whom your ſubiects damnified haue made their complaints) haue armed themſelues to combate vpon the ſea: we could not grant vnto the foreſayd Arnold ſuch and ſo ſpeedy an expedition, as he earneſtly deſired to haue. Vnto the which Arnold your procurator we haue offered in as ſhort time as may be, to adminiſter complete iuſtice with fauour, to ſ end that for this cauſe he might diſpoſe himſelfe to remaine in our realme of England: & yet not withſtanding wee would do the very ſame euen in the abſence of the ſayd procurator. Giuen as aboue.

To the moſt renowmed prince and mighty Lord, *Henrie* king of *England* &c. our gracious Lord.

OVr humble recommendations, with our moſt inſtant and continuall prayers for you being graciouſly by your Maieſtie taken in good part &c. Moſt ſoueraigne king, mighty prince, gratious lord, and vnto vs moſt vnfaynedly beloued, we receiued of late your gracious letters by your Maieſties liege ſubiect Iohn Brown, the contents wherof ſeemed to be theſe following: firſt that of long time heretofore, there haue bene betweene the marchants of your realm & of our lands, not only quiet & peaceable acceſſe one vnto another, but alſo mutual participation, & common traffique of their wares, being right cõmodious & auaileable for them both: howbeit, that now the foreſaid profitable conuerſation, by reaſon of certain notorious robberies, committed vpon the ſea by pyrates againſt both parts, & the wonted acceſſe alſo of your ſubiects vnto our dominions, were altogether forbidden. Moreouer, you call to remembrance the ancient amity & friendſhip betweene both our lands, with the inualuable commodity of ſweet amiable peace, which are by al faithful Chriſtians, to the vtmoſt of their endeuour to be imbraced. Whereupon you of your exceeding clemency, do offer your Maieſties full conſent, that the foreſaid prohibition being releaſed vntil the feaſt of Eaſter next enſuing, the ſaid marchants of your dominions may in our territories, and our marchants likewiſe may in your realms (al moleſtations ceaſing) exercile their wonted traffique: eſpecially ſithens in the mean ſeaſon your royall wiſdome hath determined to direct vnto vs your honie: ambaſſadors in friendly ſort to treat and parle with vs as touching the pretended iniuries, ſo far forth as they may concerne your ſubiects. Adding moreouer in particular that when your people ſhall repayre vnto the parts of Sconia to fiſh for herrings, hauing conſideration & regard vnto your maieſtie, we would haue them eſpecially recommended vnto our protection &c. Moſt ſoueraigne lord & king, & gracious prince, wee doe with vnfained and hearty affection embrace the oracles of your maieſties moſt courteous & acceptable offer: wherein you haue vſed moſt diligent & effectuall perſwaſions, that cõplement of iuſtice ſhould be done vnto the parties iniuried, & that peace & friendſhip ſhould take place, making no doubt of your own royall perſon, nor of our ſelues or of any appertayning vnto vs, but that our inclinations and deſires in this regarde are all one and the ſame: neither would we lightly tranſgreſſe the limits of your perſwaſions without ſome iuſt, weighty, & reaſo-

reaſonable cauſe, for aſmuch as the matters perſwaded are in very deede moſt happy preſeruatiues of a common weale, peace of nature it ſelfe. Moreouer whereas your highnes hath further requeſted vs, that the prohibition of your ſubiects accelle vnto our dominions might, vntill the feaſt of Eaſter next enſuing, be releaſed: we anſwere (vnder correction of your maieſtie, more deliberate counſell) that it is farre more expedient for both parts to haue the ſayd prohibition continued then releaſed, vntil ſuch time as ſatiſfaction be performed on both ſides vnto the parties endamaged, not in words only, but actually & really in deeds, or by ſome courſe of law or friendly compoſition. For there is no equall nor indifferent kinde of conſort or trade betweene the impouerished party and him that is inriched, betweene the partie which hath obtayned iuſtice and him that hath obtayned none betweene the offender and the party offended: becauſe they are not mooued with like affections. For the remembrance of iniuries eaſily ſtirreth vp inconſiderate motions of anger. Alſo, ſuch a kinde of temperature or permixtion, as it were, by way of contrariety breedeth more bitternes then ſweetnes, more hate then loue: whereupon more grieuous complaints aſwel vnto your highnes as vnto our ſelues, might be occaſioned. The lord knoweth, that euen now we are too much wearied and diſquieted with the importunate and inſtant complaints of our ſubiects, inſomuch that wee cannot at this preſent by any conuenient meanes releaſe or diſſolue the ſayd prohibition, before wee be ſufficiently informed by your maieſties ambaſſadors, of the ſatiſfaction of our endamaged ſubiects. Furthermore, whereas your maieſties requeſt, concerning your ſubiects that ſhal come vnto the parts of Sconia, is that we would defend them vnder our protection: be it known vnto your highnes, that for diuers conſiderations vs reaſonably mouing, being prouoked by the queene of Denmarke and her people, being alſo vrged thereunto full ſore againſt our wils, for the repelling and auoiding of iniuries, we haue ſent forth our armie againſt them. Howbeit for a certaine time a truce is concluded on both parts, ſo that our people are actually returned home. Farre be it from vs alſo, that our ſubiects being occupied in warres, ſhould in any ſort willingly moleſt or reproch any ſtrangers, of what landes or nations ſoeuer, not being our profeſſed enemies. For this ſhould be to oppreſſe the innocent in ſtead of the guilty, to condemne the iuſt for the vniuſt: then which nothing can be more cruel, nor a reuenge of greater impietie. In very deede (moſt gracious prince and lord) we are moued with right hearty ſympathy and compaſſion for any inconuenience which might happen in your regiment: wiſhing from the bottome of our hearts, that all affayres may right proſperouſly and happily ſucceede, about the royall perſon and regiment of your moſt excellent Maieſtie, and that continually. The like whereof wee hope from you: moſt humbly commending our ſelues, and our whole Order vnto your highnes. Giuen at our caſtle of Marienburgh, the 16. day the moneth of July, in the yere of our Lord 1404.

Margaret queen of Denmarke.

An agreement made betweene king *Henry* the fourth and *Conradus de Iungingen* Maſter generall of the land of *Pruſſia*.

THis Indenture made betweene Sir William Eſturmy knight, Iohn Kington clerke, and William Brampton citizen of London the ambaſſadors, commiſſioners, & meſſengers of the moſt mighty prince and lord, our ſouereigne lord Henrie by the grace of God king of England and France, and lorde of Ireland, for the repayring, reformation, and amends of whatſoeuer damages, grieuances, exceſſes, violences, and iniuries in any ſort iniuſtly attempted, done, or offered, by our ſayd ſouereigne lord the king and his liege people and ſubiects, vnto the great and mighty lord Conradus de Iungingen Maſter general of the order of the Dutch knights of S. Maries hoſpitall of Ieruſalem, of his ſubiects: and for the requiring, demanding, and receiuing of ſuch like reparations, reformations & amends, by the foreſayd lord the Maſter generall, for the behalfe of himſelfe or any of his ſubiects whatſoeuer, from & in the name of our ſouereign lord the king & his ſubiects, vnto the ſayd Maſter general, into his land of Pruſsia, by our ſouereigne lord the king, & appointed as ambaſſadors on the one party: And betweene the ſame: Lords and religious perſonages Conradus de Lichtenſtein great commander, Warnherus de Tettingen chiefe hoſpitalary & commander in Elbing, & Arnold de Hacken treaſurer, the procurators & commiſſioners of the great & mighty lord the Maſter general, being in like & equal ſort and in all reſpects, as the ambaſſadours of England are, authorized on the contrary ſide by the authoritie and power of the ſayd Maſter general on the other part, witneſſeth: That diuers treaties & conferences being holden betweene the ſaid ambaſſadors, meſſengers, & procurators or commiſſioners of & concerning the reparations, reformations & amends of certaine damages, grieuances, exceſſes, violences & iniuries offered and attempted, aſwel by the Pruſſians againſt the Engliſh

as by the English against the Prussians, and of other acts vniustly committed on both parts: in conclusion, after the said treatise, the foresaid ambassadours, procurators and commissioners by vertue of the authority committed vnto them appointed, and with one consent agreed vnto the articles vnder written.

Inprimis, that for the consideration of mutuall loue and wonted friendship, and of peace and tranquillity hereafter to be continued and maintained, and also that the articles vnderwritten may more prosperously be brought vnto a wished effect, between our said soueraign lord the king & his liege people & subiects, & the subiects, people, & inhabitants of the territories and dominions of the foresaid lord the Master generall, it is agreed and concluded, that all liege marchants of England whatsoeuer, shall haue free licence and libertie to arriue with their shippes, goods and marchandises whatsoeuer, at any Porte of the land of Prussia, and also the said goods and marchandises farther vnto any place of the said land of Prussia to transport, and there with any person or persons freely to contract and bargaine, euen as heretofore, and from auncient times it hath bene accustomed. Which liberty in all respects is granted vnto the Prussians in England.

Item it is farther agreed betweene the said ambassadours, procurators, and commissioners, 1403. that whereas of late, namely in the yeare of our lord 1403, the said Master general by his discreet subiects Iohn Godek of Dantzik, and Henry Monek of Elbing, his ambassadors & messengers, for this purpose hath caused certain articles, (namely 20. in number) containing in them matters of damages, molestations, violences, and iniuries committed and offered against the said Master generall & his subiects, by our said soueraigne lord the king his subiects & liege people, to be exhibited, giuen vp and deliuered vnto our lord the king aforesaid in his kingdome of England: it is concluded and agreed about the said 20. articles, by the aforesaid ambassadors, commissioners, and procurators, as in the acts & pleas had and made before the said ambassadors, commissioners and procurators, and in the records made and written of and about the examination of such articles, it is more at large contayned (vnto the which the said ambassadors, commissioners, and messengers doe here in this place referre themselues) of the which articles also some are receiued by the commissioners aforesaid, and others are prorogued vnto a certaine time vnder written, euen as in the foresaid registers it is more fully contayned and put downe in writing.

As touching certaine other articles also exhibited a newe vnto the said English ambassadors, in the land of Prussia being 16 in number (whereof one is admitted, & the rest are prorogued vntil a terme vnderwritten) the same course is to be taken and obserued, which was before appointed and agreed vpon, about the articles deliuered and exhibited vnto our foresayd souraigne lorde the king, as is aforesaid.

Moreouer, as touching the articles exhibited by the English ambassadours in the name and behalfe of their said soueraigne lord the king of England, vnto the procuratours and commissioners of the foresaid lord the Master generall (of the which some are declared already, and the declaration of the rest is prorogued vntill a certayne terme vndernamed, euen as in the registers made of and vpon the examination of the said articles, it is more manifestly prouided) the same course is to be taken, which must be obserued about the articles of the said lord the Master generall, exhibited, as well vnto the foresaid soueraigne prince in England, as vnto his ambassadors in the land of Prussia, euen as about the said articles it is before concluded.

The complaints of the Liuonians

And whereas on the behalfe of the citizens and marchants of the cities of Rij and Dorp, and of other townes in the land of Liuonia, many and great complaints haue bene by way of articles exhibited and deliuered vnto the said English ambassadours in the land of Prussia, which for diuers causes, could not as then be ended: therefore it is concluded and agreed vpon betweene the ambassadours, and the commissioners aforesaid, that the saide citizens and marchants may in the towne of Dordract in Holland, vpon the first day of the moneth of May next ensuing (at the which time and place, the continuation and prorogation of all other articles not fully declared in the partes of Prussia, shall be put in vre) by themselues or their lawfull procurators, make their appearance, for the obtayning of a conuenient, iust, and reasonable reformation of all iniuries attempted against them, then, or at some other times within one whole yere next following, and not afterward, being effectually set downe and limited, at the place aforesaid, by the consent of the ambassadours and commissioners of either parte, all lawfull impediments ceasing.

Prouided alwayes, that the value and price of all wares, goods, and marchandises, whereof the said citizens and marchants of Liuonia, in their articles receiued by the sayde English ambassadours, as is aforesayd, doe make mention, shall be iustly esteemed, prized, and approoued, not by any of England, or of Prussia, or of Liuonia, but by some other indifferent marchants of good credite, valuing them at the true rate of marchants, which such like marchandise would haue

haue amounted vnto, if at the time when they were taken, they had bene to be ſolde in the town of Bruges in Flanders.

Forasmuch alſo, as diuers and ſundry Pruſſians (who exhibited manifolde Articles of complaints, being receiued by the ſaid Engliſh Ambaſſadours, at their abode in Pruſsia) made not their perſonall appearance, before the ſaide Engliſh Ambaſſadours, in the lande of Pruſsia aforeſaide: The prorogation aboue-mentioned was made vnto the firſt day of the moneth of May: and alſo it was agreed vpon by the ſaide Ambaſſadours, Procurators, and Commiſſioners, that the ſaide parties which had not appeared before ſhall haue libertie graunted them, lawfully to make their appearance, vpon the firſt of May aforeſaide, at the towne of Dordract, either by themſelues or by their Procurators, and alſo to bring with them the letters teſtimonial, and patents, ſealed with the ſeale of the ſaide Lord the Maſter generall, (he hauing firſt of all receiued ſound and ſufficient information from the cities whereof the parties plaintife are citizens, of the damages and grieuances any way vniuſtly inflicted vpon them or any of them by the Engliſh) to the end that they may there by articles conueniently declare and proue, before the Ambaſſadours, Procurators, meſſengers, and Commiſſioners of both partes, the rate and value of their ſaide goods: and that in ſo doing they may obtaine conuenient, iuſt, and reaſonable reſtitution, for all acts vniuſtly attempted againſt them, then, or at ſome other times effectually to bee ſet downe and limited at the foreſaid place by the conſent of the Ambaſſadors and Commiſſioners of both parts, euen as it was aboue promiſed vnto the marchants of Liuonia.

But if they of Pruſsia laſt aboue-mentioned, ſhall not vpon the firſt of May, and at the place appointed, for ſome cauſe, make their appearance, that then it ſhalbe lawfull for them, at any time within one whole yeere next following, to repaire vnto the lord Chancelor of England, at the citie of London, and to inſinuate and declare vnto him their complaints before exhibited vnto the ſaide Engliſh Ambaſſadours in the land of Pruſsia, or which complaints ſhould haue bene deliuered at the foreſaid terme and place, or els, the which were not then and there fully finiſhed and diſpatched: and alſo by articles as is aforeſaide, to declare and proue the true worth and eſtimation of all damages and grieuances any wayes vniuſtly offered by the Engliſh vnto them or any of them: to the ende that they may (as it is aboue mentioned) effectually receiue, and alſo ſpeedily and eaſily obtaine conuenient, iuſt, and reaſonable reformation and ſatisfaction, for all acts vniuſtly attempted againſt them, which are contained in the complaints not as yet fully declared and finiſhed.

Moreouer, it is appointed and agreed vpon betweene the foreſaide Ambaſſadours and Commiſſioners: that the forenamed ſouereign Lord & the ſaid lord the Maſter generall are to ſend and ſet forward their Ambaſſadours, meſſengers, and Commiſſioners, vpon the firſt of May vnto the place appointed, to treate, parle, agree, and conclude about thoſe affaires, which ſhal then and there happen to be treated of and handled among them.

Furthermore, betweene the often mentioned Ambaſſadours, Procurators, and Commiſſioners, it is enacted and concluded: that vnto all and ſingular lawfull ſtatutes, ordinations, and prohibitions framed, made, and ordained, by the ſaide lorde the Maſter generall, in his land of Pruſsia, or by his Proconſuls and Conſuls, and his gouernours of cities, townes, villages, and of other places in the land of Pruſsia, vnto the obſeruation whereof, aſwell the ſubiectes of the ſaid Maſter generall, as forreners and ſtrangers, are tyed and bound: vnto the very ſame ſtatutes, ordinations, and prohibitions, al Engliſh marchants whatſoeuer reſorting vnto the land of Pruſsia, muſt be firmely bounden and ſubiect. Note well.

Alſo it is ordained, that whatſoeuer ſale-clothes are already tranſported, or at any time hereafter to bee tranſported out of England into Pruſsia by the Engliſh marchants, and ſhall there be offered to bee ſolde, whether they be whole cloathes or halfe cloathes, they muſt containe both their endes.

Laſtly, that the matters aboue-mentioned fall not ſhort and voyde of their wiſhed effect; the treaty and conference about all and ſingular damages and grieuances (whereof there is not as yet done, but there muſt be, by the vertue of theſe preſents, performed, a reformation and amendment) muſt be continued and prorogued vntill the firſt of May next enſuing: as by theſe preſents they are continued and prorogued with the continuation of the dayes then immediately following, at the towne of Dordract aforeſaide: at the which time and place, or at other times and places, in the meane ſpace, as occaſion ſhall ſerue, by both parties to be limited and aſſigned, or elſe within one yeere after the ſaid firſt day of the moneth of May next enſuing bee expired: the hurt and damaged parties generally before-mentioned, ſhall haue performed vnto them a conuenient, iuſt, and reaſonable reformation on both partes. Prouided alwayes, if within the terme of the ſaide yeere, ſome conuenient, iuſt, and reaſonable reformation bee not performed vnto the

parties

parties iniuried, and endamaged, which are generally aboue mentioned: that then, within three whole moneths after the foreſaid yere ſhall expired, the Pruſſians ſhall depart out of the realmes and dominions of the ſaide Soueraigne Lorde the king of England, together with their marchandize, and with other goods which they ſhal haue gotten or bought, within the ſpace of the foreſaide three moneths: and that the Engliſh men alſo are likewiſe in all reſpects bounden to auoid and (no lawfull impediment hindering them) to withdraw themſelues and to depart out of the territories and dominions of the ſaide Maſter generall, without all moleſtation, perturbation, and impediment whatſoeuer, none other intimation or admonition being neceſſarie in this regard.

Howbeit leaſt that by the robberies and piracies of ſome inſolent and peruerſe people, matter ſhould be miniſtred vnto the ſaid lord the Maſter generall, of ſwaruing from the faithfull obſeruation of the foreſaide agreements, or (which God forbid) any occaſion bee giuen him of not obſeruing them: it is alſo decreed by the often aboue mentioned Ambaſſadours and meſſengers, that if the goods and marchandize of any of the ſaide lorde Maſter generall his ſubiectes whatſoeuer ſhall be from hencefoorth vniuſtly taken vpon the Sea, by any Engliſh Pirates, and ſhall be caried into the realme of England, and there receiued, that the Gouernours and keepers of portes, and of other places (with whatſoeuer names they be called) at the which portes and places ſuch marchandiſes and goods ſhall chaunce to arriue, being onely informed of the ſaide goods and marchandiſes, by ſole report, or (other proofes wanting) by probable ſuſpition are bounde to arreſt and to keep them in ſafe cuſtodie, fauourably to be reſtored vnto the owners thereof, whenſoeuer they ſhall be lawfully demaunded: which if they ſhall omit or deny to performe, from thencefoorth the ſaide gouernours and keepers are bound to make vnto the parties endamaged, a recompenſe of their loſſes.

And for fault of iuſtice to be executed, by the ſaid gouernours and keepers, our ſoueraign lord the king aboue named, after he ſhall conueniently be requeſted by the parties damnified, is bound within three moneths nert enſuing (all lawfull impediments being excepted) to make correſpondent, iuſt, and reaſonable ſatisfaction, vnto the ſaide parties endamaged. Otherwiſe, that it ſhal be right lawfull for the ſaide lorde the Maſter generall, to arreſt, and after the arreſt to keepe in ſafe cuſtodie the goods of the Engliſh marchants being in the land of Pruſsia, to the condigne ſatisfaction of ſuch iniuries, as haue bene offered vnto his ſubiects, vntill his ſaid ſubiects be iuſtly and reaſonably contented.

Likewiſe alſo in all reſpects, the ſame iuſtice is to be done vnto the Engliſh by the ſaid Lord the Maſter generall and his ſubiects in Pruſſia, euen as it hath bene enacted and decreed in the aboue written clauſe, beginning, Cæterum ne per &c. In Engliſh, Howbeit leaſt that &c. for the ſaid Maſter general, and his ſubiects by the foreſaide ambaſſadors of England, and the commiſſioners of the ſaid lord the Maſter generall, that in like caſes iuſtice ought to be adminiſtred on the behalfe of himſelfe, and of his ſubiects in the realme of England.

And that all and ſingular the couenants aboue written, may in time to come, by the parties whom they concerne, firmly and inuiolably be obſerued; the forenamed ambaſſadors, meſſengers, and commiſſioners, all and euery of them, for the full credite, probation, and teſtimonie of all the premiſſes, haue vnto theſe preſent Indentures, made for the ſame purpoſe, cauſed euerie one of their ſeales with their owne hands to be put. One part of the which indentures remaineth in the cuſtodie of the Engliſh ambaſſadors, and the other part in the hands of the commiſſioners of Pruſſia. Giuen at the caſtle of Marienburgh in Pruſſia, in the yeere of our Lorde 1405. vpon the 8. day of the moneth of October.

An agreement made betweene King *Henrie* the fourth and the common ſocietie of the Marchants of the Hans.

THis Indenture made betweene the honourable Sir William Eſturmy knight, and Iohn Kington clearke, procurators, meſſengers, and commiſſioners ſufficiently deputed and authorized by the moſt mighty Prince, Lord Henry, by the grace of God king of England, & France, and lord of Ireland, for the performation of ꝑ things vnder written, on the one part: & the hon. perſonages M. Henry Vredeland, M. Riman Salum chief notaries, Thedericke Kneſuolt ſecretary, M. Simõ Clouеſten chief notary, and Iohn Zorebotter citizen, being ſufficiently made and ordained procurators and meſſengers, on the behalfe of the cities of Lubec, Bremen, Hamburg, Sund, and Gripeſwold, for the demanding & obtaining ſeuerally, of due reformation, and recompenſe at the hands of our ſaide ſouereigne lord the king, and of his meſſengers and commiſſioners aforeſayde, for

for all iniuries, damages, grieuances, and manſlaughters, any wayes vniuſtly done, and offred
ſeuerally by the liege people and ſubiects of our ſoueraigne lord the king, vnto the common ſo-
cietie of the marchants of the Hans, and vnto any of the Citizens, people and inhabitants of the
the ſaide Procurators, meſſengers, and Commiſſioners, by vertue of the authoritie committed
vnto them, it hath bene and is appointed, concluded, and decreed: that the liege marchants and
ſubiects of our ſaid ſoueraigne lord the king, and the marchants of the common ſocietie of the
Dutch Hans aforeſaide, from hencefoorth for one whole yeere and ſeuen moneths immedi-
ately nert enſuing and following, ſhalbe permitted and licenced friendly, freely, and ſecurely,
to exercile mutual traffike, and like marchants to buy & ſell together, one of, and vnto another,
euen as in times paſt, namely, in the yeere 1400. and before that time alſo, they haue bin accu- 1400.
ſtomed to exercile mutuall traffike and marchandiſe, and to buy and ſell.

Alſo the ſaide William and Iohn agreed and conſented, that they themſelues, or ſome other
perhaps to be appointed in this behalfe by their ſaide lord the king in their ſtead, ſhall vpon the
firſt day of the moneth of May nert to come, with the continuation of the dayes following, at the
towne of Dordract in Holland, or vpon any other terme or termes, then perhaps to bee limited,
competently ſatisfie, and performe conuenient recompence vnto the ſaide common ſocietie, ci-
tizens, people, and inhabitants of the cities aforeſaide, and alſo of other cities, townes, and villa-
ges of the Hans, of and for all iniuries, damages, grieuances, and drownings, or manſlaughters
done and committed, as they alleage, againſt them, deliuered and exhibited in written articles, vn-
to the aboue named William and Iohn, or els hereafter to bee deliuered and exhibited, either by
the ſame procurators or by ſome others, which ſhall perhaps be authorized in their ſtead, or by
the meſſengers procurators and commiſſioners of other cities, townes, and places of the Hans, in
equall and like maner and forme, euen as at the ſaide terme limited, or then perhaps to be proro-
ged, there is appointed by the ſaid William and Iohn, reparation, reformation, and recompence
vnto the inhabitants of Pruſſia, and Liuonia, for the iniuries, damages, and grieuances vniuſtly
done and committed againſt them by the liege people and ſubiects of the ſaide ſoueraigne lord the
king, in the preſence of the mightie lord the Maſter general of Pruſſia, in his land of Pruſſia, as in
certain letters indented, bearing date in the caſtle of Marienburgh in Pruſſia the eight day of the
moneth of October, in the yeere of our lord 1405. and being made and written about the reparati-
on, reformation, and recompence of ſuch like iniuries &c. (the tenour whereof ought here to be vn-
derſtood as if it were inſerted) it is more manifeſtly contained.

It was furthermore promiſed by the ſaid William and Iohn, that they ſhould not inforce nor
compell the citizens, people, or inhabitants of the common ſociety of the Hans, or of the aboue na-
med cities, or of any other cities of the Hans aforeſaid (hauing receiued ſufficient information of
their dwelling and place of abode) to more difficult or diſtrict proofes of their Articles of
complaints alreadie exhibited, and in the foreſaide termes to come, to bee exhibited, then vn-
to the inhabitants of the lands of Pruſſia and Liuonia, according to the forme of the Indentures
aboue mentioned.

Moreouer the ſaide William and Iohn doe promiſe, that ſo ſoone as they ſhall come into the
kingdome of England, and before the preſence of their king, they ſhall prouide, that all and ſin-
gular the priuiledges graunted vnto the marchants of the ſaide Hans by the renowned kings of
England, and confirmed by the ſaid Soueraigne lord the king that now is, muſt, according to al
their contents, be inuiolably obſerued by the ſaid ſoueraigne king and his ſubiects: and alſo, that
from henceforth nothing is vniuſtly to be attempted, vpon any occaſion, pretenſe, or colour, by
the ſaide Soueraigne Prince, and the inhabitants of the realme of England, to the preiudice
of the ſayde priuiledges. They ſhall prouide alſo, that all things heretofore attempted and prac-
tiſed againſt the ſaide priuiledges, ſhall, by reaſonable amendement and iuſt reformation, vtterly
be abolished.

But if after the date of theſe preſents (which God forfend) within the ſpace of the ſaid one yere
and ſeuen moneths preſcribed any damages, iniuries or grieuances, in ſhips, goods, or perſons,
ſhould, either by the Engliſh and the inhabitants of England be vniuſtly inflicted vpon the cities,
and marchants of the cities, townes, and places of the Hans aforeſaid, or by any marchants or o-
thers of the cities or townes of the ſaide Hans, either vnto the Engliſh, or vnto any of the inhabi-
tants of that Realme, vpon any fained pretenſe whatſoeuer, all and ſingular the foreſaid meſſen-
gers, commiſſioners, ambaſſadours, and procuratore haue promiſed, that all ſuch damages, in-
iuries and moleſtations ſo inflicted by them who ſhall offer and commit them, muſt bee reformed
and amended, after the very ſame forme and manner, that in the like caſe reformation, reparati-
on and amends of iniuries, damages, and moleſtations committed by the Engliſh againſt them of

Pruſſia

Pruſſia is to be perfoꝛmed, accoꝛding vnto a certaine clauſe contained in the letters aboue mentioned, which beginneth: Ceterum ne per &c. In Engliſh: Howbeit leaſt that &c. continuing vnto that clauſe: Et vt præſcripta omnia &c. In Engliſh: And that all the couenants aboue written &c.

It was alſo concluded betweene the foꝛeſaide meſſengers, commiſſioners, and pꝛocuratoꝛs, and with one generall conſent agreed vpon, that if from the firſt day of the moneth of May nert to come, within one whole yeere following, ſome conuenient, iuſt, and reaſonable reformation be not perfoꝛmed vnto the parties iniuried and damnified generally aboue mentioned, in regard of their damages, moleſtations, and iniuries: then, within thꝛee moneths after the ſaide yeere bee expired, the marchants of the Hans cities afoꝛeſaid are bound, without any moleſtation, pertuꝛbation, and impediment whatſoeuer (none other intimation oꝛ admonition being neceſſarie in this behalfe) to auoyde (and if no lawfull impediment ſhall hinder them) to abſtaine and depart from the Realmes and dominions of the ſaid Soueraigne king of England, with their marchandize and other goods bought oꝛ gotten within the ſpace of the ſaide thꝛee moneths: and alſo the Engliſh likewiſe in all reſpects ſhall auoide, abſtaine, and depart from the territoꝛies and dominions of the Hans cities afoꝛeſaide.

Alſo it was pꝛomiſed by the ſaide William and Iohn, that at the terme appointed, namely vpon the firſt of May nert following, oꝛ at ſome other terme oꝛ termes then limited oꝛ to bee limited, there muſt be made a due recompenſe, and a pꝛopoꝛtionall ſatisfaction, foꝛ all thoſe perſons of the land of Pruſsia, Liuonia, and of the cities, townes, and other places of the Hans, who haue vniuſtly bene dꝛowned, and ſlaine by the Engliſh: and that accoꝛding to the tenour of a certain ſchedule written concerning a recompenſe to be had in regarde of the ſaide perſons dꝛowned and ſlaine, and pꝛeſented vnto them by Albertus Rode conſul of the citie of Thoren, and by the foꝛenamed pꝛocuratoꝛs and meſſengers of the cities afoꝛeſaid, they muſt faithfully and effectually, to the vttmoſt of their abilitie indeuour, foꝛ the obtaining of the ſaide recompenſe and amends. In witneſſe whereof (theſe letters of Indenture remaining in the poſſeſſion of the ſaide William and Iohn the meſſengers, pꝛocuratoꝛs, & commiſſioners of England afoꝛeſaid, and left in their cuſtodie, by the aboue named pꝛocuratoꝛs and meſſengers Henrie Rimarus, Thedericus, Simon, and Iohn Sotebotter, of their certaine knowledge and aſſurance) and foꝛ the full confiꝛmation and teſtimonie of al the pꝛemiſſes, the foꝛeſaid pꝛocuratoꝛs and meſſengers haue put to their ſeales. Giuen in the towne of Dordract the 15. day of December in the yeere of our Loꝛd 1405.

William Eſturmy knight, and Iohn Kington canon of Lincolne (being in this behalfe ſufficiently authoꝛized and deputed as Ambaſſadours, pꝛocuratoꝛs, meſſengers and commiſſioners, by our ſaid ſoueraigne loꝛd the king, namely in regard of the moleſtations, iniuries and damages vniuſtly done and committed againſt the liege people and ſubiectes of the foꝛeſaide moſt excellent Pꝛince and loꝛd, Loꝛd Henry by the grace of God king of England & France, and Loꝛd of Ireland, by the communalties of the cities of Wiſmer and Roſtok vnderwritten, their common counſel being aſſembled foꝛ the ſame purpoſe, & authoꝛized alſo, and as well cloſely as expreſſly maintained and ratified, by the whole companie of the common ſociety of the marchants of the Dutch Hans) doe, in this pꝛeſent diet at the towne of Hage ſituate in the countrey of Holland, being appointed foꝛ the very ſame occaſion, demaund of you Syꝛ Iohn de Aa knight, and Hermannus Meyer deputies foꝛ the cities of Wiſmer and Roſtok, and ſufficiently oꝛdeined by authoꝛity requiſite in this behalfe, to be the pꝛocuratoꝛs and meſſengers of the ſaid cities, that conuenient, iuſt, and reaſonable ſatisfaction and recompenſe may certainely and effectually be done vnto the iniuried and endamaged parties, who are ſpecified in the articles vnder written.

Newcaſtle. Imprimis, that about the feaſt of Eaſter, in the yeere of our Loꝛd 1394. Henry van Pomeren, Godekin Michael, Clays Sheld, Hans Howſoote, Peter Hawſoote, Clays Boniface, Rainbek, and many others, with them of Wiſmer and of Roſtok, being of the ſocietie of the Hans, tooke, by maine foꝛce, a ſhip of Newcaſtle vpon Tine, called Godezere ſailing vpon the Sea towards Pruſsia, being of the burthen of two hundꝛed tunnes, and belonging vnto Roger de Thorneton, Robert Gabiford, Iohn Paulin, and Thomas de Cheſter: which ſhip, together with the furniture thereof amounteth vnto the value of foure hundꝛed pounds: alſo the woollen cloth, the red wine, the golde, and the ſummes of money contained in the ſaid ſhip amounted vnto the value of 200. marks of Engliſh money: moꝛeouer they vniuſtly ſlew Iohn Patanſon and Iohn Ruſſell in the ſuꝛpꝛiſing of the ſhippe and goods afoꝛeſaide, and there they impꝛiſoned the ſayde parties taken, and, to their vtter vndoing, detayned them in pꝛiſon foꝛ the ſpace of thꝛee whole yeeres.

An Engliſh ſhip of 200. tunnes.

Hull. Item, that in the yeere of our Loꝛde 1394. certaine perſons of Wiſmer and Roſtok, with others of the Hans their confederates robbed one Richard Horuſe of Hull of diuers goods and

and marchandizes in a ſhip called the Shipper Berline of Pruſſia, being then valued at 160. nobles.

Item, that in the yeere of our Lorde 1395. Hans van Wethemonkule, Clays Scheld, Godekin Mighel, and one called Strotbeker, by force of armes, and by the aſſiſtance of the men of Wiſmer and Roſtok, and others of the Hans, did vpon the Sea neere vnto Norway, wickedly and vniuſtly take from Iohn Tutteburie, fiue pieces of ware, foure hundred of werke, and halfe a laſt of oſmundes, and other goods, to the value of foure hundred ſeuentie ſixe nobles. Hull.

Item, in the yeere of our Lorde 1396. one Iohn van Derlowe, Hans van Gelder, and other their complices of the Hans villainouſly and vniuſtly tooke a ſhippe of William Terry of Hul called the Cogge, with thirtie woollen broad clothes, and a thouſand narrow clothes, to the value of 200. pounds. Hull.

Item, in the yeere of our Lorde 1398. one Iohn van Derlowe, Wilmer, Hans van Gelder, Clays Scheld, Euerade Pilgrimſon, and diuers others of the Hans, did vpon the Sea neere vnto Norway villainouſly and vniuſtly take a ſhippe of Iohn Wiſedome of Hull called the Trinitie, with diuers goods and marchandizes, namely oyle, ware, and werke, to the value of 300. pounds. Hull.

Item, in the yeere of our Lorde 1399. one Clays Scheld, and others aboue written of Wiſmer and Roſtok, with certaine others of the Hans, their confederates, wickedly and vniuſtly took from one William Pound marchant of Hull, two cakes of ware, to the value of 18. pounds, out of the ſhip called the Hawkin Derlin of Dantzik. Hull.

Item, in the yeere of our Lorde 1394. one Goddekin Mighel, Clays Scheld, Storbiker, and diuers others of Wiſmer and Roſtok, and of the Hans, wickedly and vniuſtly tooke out of a ſhip of Elbing (the maſter whereof was called Henry Puys) of the goods and marchandizes of Henrie Wyman, Iohn Topcliffe, and Henry Lakenſwither of Yorke, namely in werke, ware, oſmunds, and bowſtaues, to the value of 1060. nobles. Yorke.

Item, in the yeere of our Lorde 1394. certaine malefactors of Wiſmer and Roſtok, with others of the Hans, their confederats, wickedly and vniuſtly took out of a ſhip of Holland (the maſter whereof was called Hinkenſman) 140. woollen clothes (the price of one of the which clothes was eight nobles) from Thomas Theſter of Yorke, and a cheſt, with armour, ſiluer and golde of the foreſaid Thomas, to the value of 9. pounds. Yorke.

Item, in the yere of our Lorde 1393. certaine malefactors of Wiſmer and Roſtok, and others their complices of the Hans, wickedly and vniuſtly tooke from one Richard Abel of London woollen cloth, greene cloth, meale and fiſhes, to the value of 133. li. 6. s. London.

Item, in the yeere of our Lorde 1405. about the feaſt of S. Michael, one Nicholas Femeer of Wiſmer marchant of the Hans, with the aſſiſtance of other his complices of the Hans aforeſaide, wickedly and vniuſtly tooke from one Richard Morley citizen of London fiue laſts of herrings, beſides 32. pounds, in the ſea called Northſound. London.

Item, in the yeere of our Lorde 1398. about the moneth of September, one Godekin Wiſle, and Gerard Sleyre of Wiſmer and Roſtok, with others of the Hans, their confederats wickedly and vniuſtly took out of a ſhip of Pruſſia (whereof the maſter was named Rorebek) from Iohn Seburgh marchant of Colcheſter two packs of woollen cloth, to the value of an 100. markes: from Stephan Fliſpe, and Iohn Plumer marchants of the ſame town two packs of woollen cloth, to the value of 60. pounds: from Robert Wight marchant of the ſame towne, two packes of woollen cloth to the value of an 100. marks: from William Munde marchant of the ſame town, two fardels of woollen cloth, worth 40. li. & from Iohn Dawe, and Thomas Cornwaile marchants of the ſame towne, three packs of woollen cloth, worth 200. marks. Moreoue they tooke and impriſoned certaine Engliſh men, which were in the ſaid ſhip, namely William Fulborne ſeruant vnto Iohn Diere, Thomas Merſh ſeruant vnto Robert Wight, which Thomas paid for his ranſome 20. nobles of Engliſh money, William Munde marchant of the towne aforeſaide, which William, by reaſon of the extremity of that impriſonment, loſt the ſight of his eyes, and Thomas Cornwaile, marchant of the foreſaide Towne, which Thomas paide for his raunſome twentie nobles. Colcheſter.

Item, in the yeere of our Lorde 1394. certaine malefactors of Wiſmer and Roſtok, vpon the coaſtes of Denmarke and Norway, beneath Scawe, and at Anold, tooke Thomas Adams and Iohn Walters marchants of Yermouth: and Robert Caumbrigge and Reginald Leman marchants of Norwich, in a certaine ſhippe of Elbing in Pruſſia (whereof one Clays Goldeſmith was maſter) with diuers woollen clothes of the ſaide Thomas, Iohn, Robert, and Reginald, to the value of one thouſande marks Engliſh, and carried the perſons and goods Yermouth. Norwich.

goods aforeſaide, away with them: and the ſaid Thomas, Iohn, Robert, and Reginald they impriſoned at Courtbuttreſſow, and there detained them, vntill they paide an hundred markes for their redemption.

Yermouth. Item in the yeere of our Lorde 1401. ſome of the inhabitants of Wiſmer and of Roſtok wickedly tooke at Longſound in Norway, a certaine ſhippe of Weſt-Stowe in Zeland (the Maſter whereof was one Gerard Dediſſen) laden with diuerſe goods and marchandiſes of Iohn Hughſon of Yermouth, namely with the hides of oxen and of ſheepe, with butter, maſts, ſparres, boordes, queſtingſtones and wilde werke, to the value of an hundred marks, and do as yet detaine the ſaid things in their poſſeſſion, ſome of the Hans being their aſſiſtants in the premiſſes.

Longſound in Norway.

Yermouth. Item, in the yeere of our Lorde 1402. certaine of the Hans, of Roſtok, and of Wiſmer, tooke vpon the coaſt of England, neere vnto Plimmouth a certaine barge called the Michael of Yarmouth (whereof Hugh ap Fen was the owner, and Robert Rigweys the maſter) laden with bay ſalt, to the quantitie of 130. wapes, and with a thouſand canuaſſe clothes of Britaine, and doe as yet detaine the ſaide goods in their poſſeſſion, the ſaid Hugh being endamaged, by the loſſe of his ſhip, and of his goods aforeſaid 800. nobles and the foreſaid Maſter and the mariners looſing, in regard of their wages, canuas, and armour, 200. nobles.

Yermouth. Selaw in Norway. Item, in the yeere of our Lord 1405. certaine malefactors of Wiſmer wickedly and vniuſtly tooke, in a certaine port of Norway called Selaw, a ſhip of Yarmouth (the owner whereof was William Oxney and the maſter Thomas Smith) laden with ſalt, cloth, and ſalmon, to the value of 40. pound, and doe as yet detaine the ſaid ſhip and goods in their poſſeſſion, ſome of the Hans their confederates ayding and aſſiſting them at the ſame time.

Cley. Item, in the yeere of our Lord 1395. one Godekin Mighel, Clays Scheld, Stertebeker, and other their accomplices of the Hans tooke vpon the ſea a certain ſhip of one Iohn Dulwer of Cley, called the Friday (whereof Laurence Tuk of Cley was maſter) and conueighed the ſaid ſhip vnto Mauſtrond in Norway, and the ſaide Maſter and mariners they robbed of diuers commodities, namely of artillery, furniture, and ſalt fiſhes being in the ſame ſhip, to the value of 500. nobles.

Cley. Item, in the yeere of our Lord 1395. Godekin Mighel, Clays Scheld, Stertebeker, and other their accomplices of the Hans, vnlawfully tooke vpon the ſea a certaine ſhip of one William Bets of Cley called the Margaret (wherein Robert Robines was maſter) and conueyed the ſhip it ſelf vnto Mawſtrond in Norway, and there robbed the maſter and his partners of diuers commodities, namely of artillerie, furniture, and ſalt fiſhes, to the value of 400. nobles, and one of the ſaid maſters mates they maliciouſly drowned.

Cley. Item, in the yere of our Lord 1395. about the feaſt of the natiuitie of S. Iohn Baptiſt, the foreſaid Godekin and Stertebeker, with others their accomplices of the Hans, vnlawfully took vpon the ſea a certain ſhip of Nicholas Steyhard and Iohn Letis of Cley called the Nicholas, (whereof Iohn Preſt was maſter) and conueyed the ſaid ſhip vnto Mawſtrond, and there robbed the ſaid maſter and his companie of diuers commodities, namely of furniture and ſalt fiſhes, being in the ſaid ſhip, to the value of 320. nobles.

Cley. Item, in the yeere of our Lord 1395. about the feaſt aforeſaid, the ſaid Godekins and Stertebeker, & their companions of the Hans vniuſtly took vpon the ſea a certaine ſhip of Thomas Peirs of Cley called the Iſabel (whereof William Noie was maſter) and conueyed it vnto Mawſtrond, and there robbed the ſaid maſter and his company of diuers commodities, as namely of furniture, and ſalt fiſhes, being in the ſaid ſhip, to the value of 406. nobles.

Cley. Item, in the yeere next aboue mentioned, vpon the Saterday, about the foreſaid feaſt, the foreſaid Godekins and Stertebeker, and other their accomplices of the Hans vnlawfully took vpō the ſea, a certain ſhip of one Thomas Lyderpole of Cley, called the Helena, wherein Robert Alwey was maſter, & alſo wickedly and vniuſtly drowned in the bottom of the ſea diuers commodities, as namely ſalt fiſhes, together with the ſhip it ſelfe.

Cley. Item, in the yeere of our Lord 1398. about the feaſt of S. Michael the archangel, the foreſaid Godekin & Stertebeker, with other their cōfederats of the Hans, took at Langſound in Norway a certain craper of one Thomas Motte of Cley, called the Peter, (wherein Thomas Smith was maſter) & the foreſaid craper they wickedly and vniuſtly caried away, being worth 280. nobles.

Wiueton. Item, in the yeere of our Lord 1395. about the feaſt of the natiuitie of S. Iohn Baptiſt, the foreſaid Godekins and Stertebeker, and others of the Hans vniuſtly tooke a certain ſhip of Simon Durham, called the Dogger-ſhip, and the Peter of Wiueton, laden with ſalt fiſhes (whereof Iohn Auſten was maſter) vpon the coaſt of Denmarke. And they caried away the ſaide Dogger, with the furniture thereof, and the foreſaid ſalt fiſhes, to the value of 170. pound. Moreouer, the maſter, and 25. mariners in the ſame ſhip they maliciouſly ſlewe, and a certaine ladde of the ſaide

Dogger

Dogger they caried with them vnto Wilmer.

Item, in the foreſaid yeere, and about the feaſt aforeſaid, the forenamed Godekins and Sterte- Wiueton.
bekers, with other their complices, vniuſtly tooke vpon the ſea a certaine ſhip of Thomas Lyder-
pole, and Iohn Coote of Wiueton: and the maſter and mariners which were in the ſaide ſhippe,
they villanouſly ſlue, among whom they put to death one Simon Andrew, the godſonne, nephew,
and ſeruant of the foreſaid Simon Durham. Which ſhip, with the goods and furniture that were
therein was worth 410. nobles.

Item, in the very ſame yeere, about the feaſt aforeſaid, the forenamed Godekins and Stertebe- Wiueton.
ker & other their complices wickedly ſpoiled a certaine ſhip of the foreſaid Simon Durham called
the Dogger, wherein Geruaſe Cac was maſter, lying at an anker, while the companie were oc-
cupied about fiſhing, and likewiſe vniuſtly tooke away with them the ſalt fiſhes, and furniture of
the ſaid ſhip. Moreouer, the maſter and his company that were in the ſaid Dogger they beate and
wounded, ſo that they vtterly loſt their fiſhing for that yeere, the maſter and his ſaid companie be-
ing endamaged thereby, to the ſumme of 200. nobles.

Item, in the yere of our Lord 1396. the foreſaid Godekins and Stertebeker, and other their Wiueton.
complices vniuſtly tooke vpon the ſea a certain crayer, called the Buſſ of Zeland, which one Iohn
Ligate marchant, and ſeruant vnto the forenamed Simon Durham had laden in Pruſſia, on the
behalfe of the ſaid Simon, to ſaile for England, and ſpoiled the ſaid crayer, and alſo tooke and caried
away with them the goods and marchandiſes of the ſaid Simon, being in the foreſaid ſhip, to the
value of 66. pounds.

Item, in the yeere of our Lord 1397. certaine malefactors of Wiſmer and Roſtok, with cer- Wiueton.
taine others of the Hans, tooke a crayer of one Peter Cole of Zeland, called the Buſſhip, which A-
lan Barret the ſeruant and factor of the foreſaid Simon Durham had laden with maſtes, ſparres,
and other marchandize, for the behalfe of the ſaid Simon, and vniuſtly tooke from thence the goods
of the ſaid Simon, to the value of 24. pounds, and caried the ſame away.

Item, in the yeere of our Lord 1394. certaine malefactors of Wiſmer and others of the Hans Lenne.
vniuſtly tooke vpon the ſea, and caried away with them a packe of woollen cloth of the foreſaid Si-
mon, worth 42. pounds, out of a certain crayer of one Thomas Fowler of Lenne being laden and
bound for Dantzik in Pruſſia.

Item, pitifully complaining the marchants of Lenne doe auouch, verifie, & affirme, that about Lenne.
the feaſt of S. George the martyr, in the yeere of our Lord 1394. ſundry malefactors and robbers
of Wiſmer & Roſtok, and others of the Hans, with a great multitude of ſhips, arriued at the towne
of Norbern in Norway, and tooke the ſaid town by ſtrong aſſault, and alſo wickedly and vniuſtly
took al the marchants of Lenne there reſiding with their goods & cattels, and burnt their houſes
and manſions in the ſame place, and put their perſons vnto great ranſoms: euen as by the letters
of ſafeconduct deliuered vnto the ſaid marchants it may more euidently appeare, to the great da-
mage and impoueriſhment of the marchants of Lenne: namely, Imprimis they burnt there 21. 21. houſes of
houſes belonging vnto the ſaid marchants, to the value of 440. nobles. Item they tooke from Ed- Engliſh mar-
mund Belyetere, Thomas Hunt, Iohn Brandon, and from other marchants of Lenne, to the va- chants burnt
lue of 815. pounds. at Norbern in
Norway.

Concerning this ſurpriſe *Albertus Krantzius* in the ſixt book of his hiſtory of *Norway*, and the 8. Chapter writeth in maner following.

IN the meane while Norway enioyed peace vnder the gouernment of a woman: vntil Albertus
king of Suecia, who had now ſeuen yeeres continued in captiuity vnder Queen Margaret, was
perceiued, (who, whileſt their king was holden captiue, in the righe of the forenamed cities, for the
behalfe of their lord the king being prince of Mekleburg by birth, vndertooke and waged warre
at the time of his captiuitie) banding their forces together, they reſolued, at their own coſts & char-
ges, but in the right of the ſaid cities, to ſaile into the 3. kingdoms, and to take ſuch ſpoiles as they
could lay hold on. Theſe common ſouldiers therfore, ſeeing an end of their tyrannical and violent The Vitaliens.
dealing to approch, ſailed into Norway, vnto the towne of Norbern, being a mart town for al the
marchants of Germanie: who tranſporting fiſhes from thence, doe bring thither marchandiſes of
all kinds, eſpecially corne, vnto the ſcarcitie wherof, vnleſſe it be brought out of other countreys,
that kingdome (as we haue ſaid) is very much ſubiect. Departing out of their ſhips and going on
ſhore, they ſet vpon the towne, and by fire and ſword they eaſily compelled the inhabitants dwel-
ling in weake wodden houſes, to giue place. Thus theſe Vitalians entring and ſurpriſing the
towne conueyed ſuch ſpoiles vnto their ſhips as them pleaſed, and hauing laden their ſhips with
thoſe booties, they returned home frolike vnto the ports of their own cities. Without all reſpect,

they robbed and rifled the goods, as well of the Germanes, as of the Normagians: and like lewde companions, wasting and making hauock of all things, prooued themselues neuer the wealthier. For it is not the guise of such good fellowes to store vp or to preserue ought. The citizens, at the first, seemed to be inriched: howbeit afterward, (no man misdoubting any such calamitie) goods ill gotten were worse spent. Thus farre Krantzius.

Lenne. Item, pitifully complaining, the foresaide marchants auouch, verifie, and affirme, that vpon the 14. day after the feast of S. George, in the yeere of our Lord next aboue written, as 4. ships of Lenne, laden with cloth, wine, and other marchandises, were sailing vpon the maine sea, with all the goods and wares contained in them, for Prussia, sundry malefactors of Wismer and Rostok, with others of the Hans, being in diuers ships, came vpon them, and by force of armes and strong hand tooke the said ships, with the goods and marchandises contained in them: and some of the people which were in the saide foure ships, they slew, some they spoyled, and others they put vnto extreame ransomes. And carying away with them those foure ships with the commodities and marchandise therin, they parted stakes therwith, as them listed, to the great impouerishment & losse of the said marchants of Lenne, namely in cloth of William Silesden, Tho. Watermen, Ioh. Brandon, Ioh. Wesenhā, & other marchants of Lenne, to the value of 3623. li. 5. s. 11. d.

Lenne. Item, pitifully complaining the foresaid marchants doe affirme, that one Henry Lamboltand other his adherents, in the yeere of our Lord 1396. tooke vpon the maine sea betweene Norway and Scaw, one craper laden with osmunds, and with diuers other marchandises, perteining vnto Iohn Brandon of Lenne, to the summe and value of 443. li. 4. s. 2. d. Moreouer, they tooke from Iohn Lakingay 4. lasts and an halfe of osmunds, to the value of 220. lib. 10 ~.

Lenne. Item, the foresaid marchants complaine, that certain malefactors of Wilmer, with other their complices of the Hans, in the yeere of our Lord 1396. tooke from Thomas Ploket of Lenne, out of a certaine ship sailing vpon the maine sea towards Sconeland (whereof Iames Snycop was master) cloth and other marchandise, to the summe and value of 13. lib. 13. s. 4. d.

Lenne. Item, the aboue-named marchants complaine saying, that certaine malefactors of Wismer, with others of the Hans society, in the yere of our Lord 1397. wickedly and vniustly took out of a certaine ship of Dantzik (whereof Laurence van Rusle was master) from Ralph Bedingam of Lenne, one fardel of cloth worth 52. li. 7. s. 6. d. Also, for the ransome of his seruant, 8. li. 6. s. 8. d. Item they tooke from Thomas Earle diuers goods, to the value of 24. pounds.

Lenne. Item, the foresaid marchants complaine, that certaine malefactors of Wismer & Rostok, with others of the Hans, in the yeere of our Lord 1399. wickedly & vniustly tooke one craper pertayning vnto Iohn Lakingiich of Lenne, laden with diuers goods and marchandise pertaining vnto sundry marchants of Lenne, namely from the forenamed Iohn one fardel of cloth, and one chest full of harneis, and other things, to the value of 90. lib. Item, they took out of the foresaid ship from Roger Hood, one fardel of cloth, and one chest with diuers goods, to the value of 58. lib. Item, from Iohn Pikeron, one fardell of cloth, and one chest with diuers goods, to the value of 440. lib. Item, from Andrew Purser one fardell of cloth, and one chest with diuers commodities therein, to the value of ten pounds.

Lenne. Item, the aboue-named marchants complaine saying, that certaine malefactors of Wismer & Rostok, and others of the Hans, namely, Godekin Mighel, Henrie van Hall de Stertebeker, with other of their confederates, in the yeere of our Lord 1399. wickedly and vniustly took from Iohn Priour of Lenne, out of the ship of Michael van Burgh, namely 160. nests of maslers, worth 100. lib. 13. s. 4. d. Item, 30. furres rigges of Kaleber worth 13. s. 4. d. a piece, the summe totall amounting to 20. li. Item, 20. furres wombys of Kalebre worth 6 s. Item, one girdle of siluer, and one dagger adorned with siluer worth 30. s. Item, two coates, and one long iacket, and other goods, to the value of 30. s. Item, he paide for his ransome 4. lib. 13. s. 4. d.

Note the secret treasons of the Hans. Unto all and singular the articles aboue-written, the ambassadors of England aforesaid do further adde, that the doers and authors of the damages, iniuries, and robberies set down in the articles aboue written, (of whom some are named in particular, and others in general) perfourmed and committed all those outrages, being hired thereunto at the expenses and charges of the common societies of the cities aforesaid. And that the inhabitants of euery household in the foresaide cities (euery man according to his ability) wittingly & purposely set foorth one, two or more men, for the very same expedition, wherein all and singular the foresaid trespasses were committed.

The foresaid English ambassadors doe exhibite the articles aboue-written vnto the procurators of the cities of Wismer and Rostok aforesaid: leaue and libertie being alwayes reserued vnto the said ambassadors, to enlarge, or to diminish, or to expound all, or euery, or any of the said Articles whatsoeuer, so often as it shall seeme expedient vnto them.

These

These be the grieuances and offences, whereat the marchants of the *Hans* of *Almaine*, comming vnto, and reſiding in the Realme of England, doe finde themſelues aggrieued, contrarie to the Articles and priuileges of the Charter graunted vnto them by the worthy Progenitors of the king of England that now is, and alſo by the ſaide ſoueraigne Lord the King, ratified, and confirmed.

IN primis, whereas the foreſaide marchants haue a priuiledge graunted vnto them by Charter, that they may, in cities, boroughs, and in other townes and villages throughout the whole realme of England, exercise traffique in groſſe, as wel with the naturall inhabitants of the kingdome, as with ſtrangers, and priuate perſons: of late, thoſe that are free denizens in the cities, boroughs, and villages within the foreſaid kingdome, do hinder and reſtrain all others that be ſtrangers, forreners, and aliens, that they neither can, nor dare buy and ſell with the marchants of the Hans aforeſaid, to their great hinderance and loſſe.

Item, the foreſaid marchants by vertue of their charter were wont to haue and to hold Innes and manſions, for the repoſing of themſelues and of their goods, whereſoeuer they pleaſed in any cities, boroughs, or villages, throughout the whole kingdome: howbeit of late the foreſaide marchants are not ſuffered to take vp their manſions, contrary to the tenour of their charter.

Item, the foreſaid marchants are priuileged not to vndergoe any other burthens or impoſitions, but onely to pay certaine cuſtoms, as it doeth by their charter manifeſtly appeare. Notwithſtanding at the ſame time when Simon de Moreden was maior of London, the foreſaid marchants were conſtrained, in the ward of Doue-gate at London, to pay fifteenths, tallages, and other ſubſidies contrary to the liberties of their charter. Whereupon the ſaide marchants proſecuted the matter before the Councel of our ſoueraign lord the king, inſomuch that they were releaſed from paying afterward any ſuch tallages, fifteenths, and ſubſidies. Which marchants, a while after, of their owne accord and free will, gaue vnto the gild-hall of London an hundreth markes ſterling, conditionally, that they of the citie aforeſaide ſhould not at any time after exact or demand of the ſaid marchants, or of their ſucceſſors, any tallages, fifteenths, or ſubſidies, contrary to the tenor of their charter, as by records in the foreſaid gild-hall, it doth more plainly appeare. Howbeit of late the officers of our lord the king, in the foreſaid ward of Doue-gate, conſtrained the marchants aforeſaid to pay tallages, fifteenths, & other ſubſidies. And becauſe the ſaide marchants murmured and refuſed to pay any ſuch contributions, alleaging their priuiledges, the foreſaid officers arreſted the goods of thoſe ſaid marchants (which are as yet detained vpon the arreſt) notwithſtanding that they were releaſed before the councel of our ſoueraigne lord the king, & alſo that they gaue vnto the ſaid gild-hall one hundreth marks to be releaſed, as it is aforeſaid. And alſo the foreſaid marchants were conſtrained to pay 12. d. in the pound, and of late 6. d. and other ſubſidies, more then their ancient cuſtomes, to the great damage of thoſe marchants.

The ancient cuſtomes of woolls.

Item, the foreſaid marchants are priuileged as touching cuſtoms of wols by thē bought within the realm of England, ỳ they are not bound to pay, ouer & beſides their ancient cuſtoms, but onely xl. d. more then the homeborn marchants of England were wont to pay. But now ỳ foreſaid marchants are compelled to pay for euery ſack of wool (beſides ỳ ancient cuſtom & the 40. d. aforeſaid) a certain impoſitiō called Pence for the towne of Cales, namely for euery ſack of wool 19. d. more then the marchants of England doe pay, to their great loſſe, & againſt the liberty of their charter.

Pence for the towne of Cales.

Item, the foreſaid marchants are priuileged by their charter, that concerning the quantity of their marchandize brought into the realme of England (in regard whereof they are bound to pay 3. d. for the worth of euery pound of ſiluer) credit is to be giuen vnto them for the letters of their maſters and of their companies, if they were able to ſhew them. And if ſo be they had no letters in this behalfe to ſhew, that then credite ſhould bee giuen vnto themſelues, and that their othe, or the othe of their attorney ſhould be taken, without any other proof, as touching the value of their marchandize ſo brought in, & that thereupon they ſhould be bound to pay cuſtoms, namely the cuſtomes of 3. d. iuſtly for that cauſe to be paid. But nowe the cuſtomers of our ſoueraigne lorde the king put their goods to an higher rate then they ought or were woont to be: and heereupon they compell them to pay cuſtome for their goods, at their pleaſure, ſcanning about their fraight and expenſes particularly diſburſed in regard of the ſaid goods and marchandize, to the great hinderance of the ſaid marchants, and againſt the tenor of their charter.

Item, the foreſaid marchants by way of pitifull complaint do alleage, that whereas the worthy progenitors of our Lord the king that now is, by vertue of the ſaide great charter, graunted liberty vnto them to pay the cuſtomes of certain clothes, namely of ſkarlet, and cloth died in grayne,

The great charter of marchants.

and of other clothes of aſſiſe, which were by them to be caried out of the realme of England, euen as by their foreſaid Charter it doeth more plainly appeare: and whereas our ſoueraigne lord the king that now is (ratifying and confirming the ſaide charter, and being willing that they ſhoulde haue more eſpeciall fauour ſhewed vnto them) granted vnto them by their Charter, that the ſaid marchants ſhould be exempted and freed from all cuſtome and impoſition of ſmall clothes, as in pieces and in narrow clothes which were not of aſſiſe, and in ſuch other clothes of like qualitie: yet of late the Cuſtomers of our Lorde the King that nowe is, not allowing their ſaide ſpeciall Charter ſo graunted vnto the marchants aforeſaid, do compel them to pay for ſtraight clothes and for pieces of clothes which are not of aſſiſe, (together with other demands particularly & ſeuerally made) as great cuſtome as if the clothes were full out of aſſiſe. Moreouer alſo of late, the cuſtomers of the ſmal or pety cuſtome & of the ſubſidie doe demand of them cuſtome for kerſey-clothes equal vnto the cuſtome of thoſe clothes, that be of ful aſſiſe, whereas the foreſaid marchants were not wont to pay for thoſe kerſeys by vertue of their Charter, but onely according to the worth of eche pound of ſiluer, as namely for other goods which are of golde weight: to the great hinderance of the foreſaid parties, and againſt the manifeſt graunt of our ſoueraigne Lord the king, as it appeareth in the ſaid ſpeciall Charter.

A ſpeciall Charter.

The cuſtomers of the pety cuſtome.

Item, the ſaid marchants alleage, that they are priuiledged by their Charter, if they pay cuſtome and ſubſidy for their goods in the behalfe of our lord the king, at any port of England where thoſe goods haue arriued, and afterward would tranſport the ſaide goods or any part of them vnto any other port within the realme aforeſaid: that then they ſhould be quite releaſed from paying of any other cuſtome for the ſame goods, if they bring a warrant that they haue paide the ſaide cuſtome, as is aforeſaide. Of late it fortuned, that a certaine man of their ſocietie named Nicholas Croſſchaire, being a marchant of the lande of Pruſſia, immediatly after the concord was concluded betwene the Engliſh and the Pruſſians, brought vnto the towne of Sandwich a ſhippe laden with bow-ſtaues and other marchandize, and there well and truely paide the cuſtome of our lord the king, for all his wares: and ſelling there part of the ſame goods, he afterward tranſported parcel thereof in a ſmall barke vnto London, there to be ſolde, and caried a warrant alſo with him, that he had at Sandwich paid the cuſtome due vnto our lord the king: & yet (the ſaid warrant notwithſtanding) the cuſtomers of the pety cuſtome & ſubſidy of London came & demanded cuſtome of him at another time contrary to reaſon, & againſt the tenor of their charter: and the ſaid Nicholas offred pledges vnto them, yea, euen ready money downe into their hands, vntil the queſtion were diſcuſſed and determined, whether he ſhould pay new cuſtome or no: but this they would not doe. Then the ſaid Nicholas brought a briefe from our lord the king, to get himſelfe diſcharged from paying the ſaid cuſtome: and for all that, the foreſaid cuſtomers would not as yet haue regard vnto him, but kept the ſaid goods within ſhipboord, vpō the riuer of Thames, for the ſpace of 15. dayes, vntil he had paid another cuſtom, to the great loſſe of the ſaid Nicholas, for that which he ſold firſt at Sandwich to be deliuered at London for ſeuen nobles, he could not afterward haue for it aboue foure nobles, and yet ſo was it ſolde, by reaſon of the harme which his wares had taken by lying ſo long vpon the water, contrary to the tenor of their Charter.

1405

Item, the ſaid marchants do alleage, that another of their company called Peter Hertſon bought at Briſtow certain clothes, & laded the ſame in a ſhip, to be tranſported for Pruſſia, for the which he truely paide at Briſtow, the cuſtoms & ſubſidies due vnto our ſoueraign lord the king: which ſhip with the foreſaid goods arriuing at London: the cuſtomers of the pety-cuſtome and of the ſubſidie there would not permit the ſaid ſhip with the goods to paſſe vnto the parts aforeſaid, vntil the ſaid Peter had paid another cuſtome for the ſame goods (the warrant, which he brought with him notwithſtanding) to his great hinderance, and contrary to the tenour of their Charter.

Item, pitifully complaining the foreſaid marchants alleage, that wheras euery marchant, bringing wares into the realm, was wont to haue a ſchedule wherein his name was written, for a ſpecification & certificat of the quantity of his goods in the ſaid ſchedule to be found at the arriual of the ſhip, without paying therfore ought at all, of late the cuſtomers of the pety cuſtome do compel the to pay for eche mans name written a peny, at ỹ arriual of their goods out of euery ſhip wherin the ſaid goods are found, what commodities & marchandize ſoeuer they be: when... not withſtanding, if there be a cheſt or any other ſmal matter, there ſhould not therfore be any cuſtome due vnto our lord the king, nor any receiued vnto his Maieſties vſe. In like maner do the cuſtomers of the ſubſidy deale. Wheras alſo the foreſaid marchants were not wont to pay for a cocket for the conueyance & tranſportation of their goods out of the realme (albeit many names were written therein) more then 4.d. of late the cuſtomers of the pety cuſtom do compel them to pay for euery name contained in the ſame cocket, 4.d. and in like ſort do the cuſtomers of the ſaide ſubſidy deale. Which contribution in a yere extendeth it ſelf vnto a great ſumme, to the vnknown preiudice of our lord the

The cuſtomers of the ſubſidie.

the king, more then any man could ſuppoſe (for the cuſtomers enioy their fees and commodities from his Maieſtie that they may doe him faithfull ſeruice) and likewiſe to the great damage of the ſaid marchants.

Item, pitifully complaining the ſaid marchants do alleage that they are conſtrained to pay for ſubſidy, ſometime 12.d. and ſometime 6.d. in the pound, contrary to the tenor of their charter: and yet notwithſtanding when their marchandize commeth to the wharf, the cuſtomers prolong & delay the time 3. or 4. weeks before they will take cuſtome for their goods, in the which ſpace other marchants ſel their goods, the cuſtomers not regarding whether the goods aforeſaid take wet or no: to the great damage alwel of our lord the king, as of the ſaid marchants: becauſe, if they had quicke diſpatch, they might pay cuſtome vnto his Maieſtie oftner then they doe.

Item, the ſaid marchants doe farther alleage, that the cuſtomers of the petie cuſtome, and of the ſubſidie in the port of London haue appointed among themſelues certaine men to ſcale vp the goods of the ſaide marchants, ſo ſoon as they are arriued at the port of ſaferie, vntil the ſaid goods be cuſtomed. By meanes of the which ſealing, the foreſaide parties doe compell the marchants aboue-named, (vpon an vſe and cuſtome whereof themſelues haue bene the authors) to pay a certaine ſumme of money, to the great hinderance of the ſayde marchants, and contrarie to iuſtice and to their charter. Moreouer, the ſaide cuſtomers haue ordained betweene themſelues, that the ſaide marchants ſhall put or make vp no cloth into fardels, to tranſport out of the realme, vnleſſe certaine men appointed by them for the ſame purpoſe bee there preſent, to ſee what manner of clothes they bee, vnder paine of the forfeiture of the ſaide goods. Alſo of late, when the ſayde marchants would haue made vp ſuch fardels, the foreſayde parties aſſigned to be ouerſeers laying and procraſtinating from day to day, ſo long as themſelues liſted, to the great loſſe and vndoing of the foreſaide marchants, and contrarie to their liberties: becauſe the foreſaide cuſtomers are bound by their office to doe this, without any contribution therefore to bee paide vnto them by the ſaide marchants: for that they doe enioy from our ſoueraigne Lorde the King their fees and commodities, to the ende that they may ſerue him and euery marchant iuſtly and faithfully, without any contribution by them to be impoſed anewe vpon the ſayde marchants, of cuſtome.

Item, the ſaid marchants doe alleage, that the cuſtomers & bailifs of the town of Southhampton do compel them to pay for euery laſt of herrings, pitch, & ſope aſhes brought thither by the 2.s. more then the kings cuſtome: and for euery hundreth of bowſtaues & boords called Richen[illegible], 4.d. & for al other marchandize brought by the foreſaid marchants vnto the ſame towne: which contributions they neuer paid at any time heeretofore, being greatly to their hinderance, and contrary to the tenour of their Charter.

Item, the foreſaid marchants do alleage, that one of their company, called Albert Redewiſh of Pruſſia, bringing diuers goods & marchandizes vnto Newcaſtle vpon Tine, & there paying the vſual cuſtom of 3.d. in the pound for al his wares, the bailifs of the ſaide towne, againſt all reaſon, exacted 7. pound ſterling at his hands more then the cuſtome: whereupon the foreſaide marchant got a briefe from the kings maieſty, for the recouery of the ſaid 7.li. according to equity & reaſon: howbeit, that at the comming of the ſaid briefe the foreſaid bailifes would do nothing on his behalfe, but would haue ſlaine their foreſaid aſſociate, contrary to their charter and priuiledges.

William Eſturmy knight, & John Kington canon of Lincolne, being by ỹ moſt mighey prince & lord, L. Henry by Gods grace K. of England & France & lord of Ireland, ſufficiently deputed and appointed to parle, treate, & agree wᵗ the common ſociety of ỹ marchants of the Hans of Dutchland or Almain, concerning & about the redreſſing & reformation of vniuſt attẽpts happening between our ſaid ſoueraign L. the king his liege people & ſubiects on the one part, & betweene the cõmon ſociety aforeſaid, the cities, townes, & particular perſons therof on the other part: do (for the behalf of our ſaid ſouraign L. the king, with a mind & intention to haue al & ſingular ỹ things vnderwritten to come to the knowledge of the ſaid common ſociety) intimate, declare, & make known vnto you (bono. firs) Henr. Weſthoff citizen & deputy of the city of Lubec, Henry Fredelaw, Ioh. van Berkſten clerk, ſir Iohn de Aa knight deputie of the citie of Hamburgh, M. Simõ Clawes citizen of Colen, Mainard Buxtehude citizen, & deputy of the city of Lubec, Henry Fredelaw, Ioh. van Berk of Wiſmar, being, as the procurators, meſſengers, & commiſſioners of the foreſaid cities, aſſembled together at the town of Hage in Holland, with ỹ forenamed Will. & Iohn in regard of the foreſaid redres & reformation: that, euen as our ſaid ſoueraign L. the king his meaning is not to diſturb or hinder ſuch priuiledges as haue bin heretofore granted & vouchſafed vnto the cõmon ſociety of the marchãts aforeſaid, by the renoumed kings of England, & the worthy progenitors of our L. the K. that now is, & by himſelf alſo vnder a certain form confirmed: euen ſo he is determined (without ỹ

preiudice of forren lawes) vpon iuſt, mature and ſober deliberation, by his royall authoritie to withſtand ſuch priuiledges, as by reaſon of the abuſe thereof, haue bene infinitely preiudiciall vnto himſelfe and his ſubiects.

Inprimis the ſaid ambaſſadours doe affirme as afore, that whereas all and euery the Marchants of the ſaid company, as often as they would, were, both in the Realme of England, and in other territories & dominions ſubiect vnto our ſoueraigne lord the king, admitted and ſuffered (according to the tenor of the forenamed priuiledges granted vnto them) freely, friendly and ſecurely to traffique and conuerſe with any of his Maieſties liege people and ſubiects whatſoeuer, or with other people of whatſoeuer nation liuing in the realme of England, or in the dominions aforeſaid: the ſaid common ſociety of marchants by their publike & deliberate common counſel did appoint & ordain, þ no ſociety in any cities, townes, or places, neither yet any particular man of any ſuch ſociety (there being no lawfull or reaſonable cauſe why) ſhoulde in any wiſe admit any marchants of the realm of England reſorting vnto their cities or other places for marchandiſe, to enioy intercourſe of traffike: but that the ſaide Engliſh marchants ſhould bee altogether excluded from all traffike and mutuall conuerſation among them, by denouncing and inflicting grieuous penalties of money as well vpon cities as other places, and vpon particular marchants alſo of the foreſaid ſocietie practiſing the contrary.

Item, that immediatly after, the foreſaid parties enacting and ordaining publiſhed their ſayde ſtatute and ordinance, in all kingdoomes, prouinces, partes, cities, and townes, wherin any marchants of the ſaid ſocietie were conuerſant.

Item, that after that publication, the ſtatute and ordinance aforeſaid by euery of the marchants of the forenamed ſociety were inuiolably obſerued.

Item, that the ſaid ſtatute and ordinance hath bene ſo rigorouſly put in execution, that whereas immediatly after certaine Engliſh marchants with their ſhips, mariners, and marchandize being in a certaine part of one of the principall cities of the foreſaide ſocietie, vtterly deſtitute of meate, drinke, and money, publikely offred to ſell their woollen clothes of England, onely to prouide themſelues of neceſſary victuals: yet the marchants of the ſaide citie, ſtoutely perſiſting in their ſtatute and ordinance aforeſaid, ſtraightly prohibited the buying of ſuch clothes, vnchriſtianly denying meate and drinke vnto the ſaid Engliſh marchants.

Item, the foreſaid ſociety decreed and ordained, that no marchant of the ſaide company ſhould in any place or countrey whatſoeuer, buy any woollen clothes of the realme or dominion of England (albeit offered by others and not by Engliſh men) or, hauing bought any, ſhould, after the terme prefixed, ſell them, impoſing grieuous pecuniary mulcts, beſides the forfeiture of the clothes ſo bought or ſold, vpon them that would attempt the contrary.

Item, that after the ſaid ſtatute and ordinance, the foreſaide ſocietie decreed, that all marchants of the ſaid companie, hauing among their wares and marchandiſe any woollen clothes made in England, ſhould either ſell the ſaide clothes, or within a ſhort ſpace then limited ſhould, vnder penaltie of forfeiting the ſaid clothes, vtterly renounce the vſe and commoditie thereof: Notwithſtanding a grieuous penaltie of money being impoſed vpon the violaters of the ſame ſtatute.

The Hans ſocietie determined the ouerthrow of Engliſh marchãts.

Item, that the ſtatutes and ordinances aforeſaid might with more ſpeed and celeritie be putin execution, the ſaid authors and publiſhers thereof imagining, according to their deſire, that by this meanes an vtter extirpation and ouerthrow of Engliſh marchants might, yea & of neceſſity muſt enſue: vpon their ſerious & long premeditated deliberation, ſtraitely commanded & inioyned, vnder pain of loſing the benefit of all priuileges, whereſoeuer, or by the princes of what lands, or the Magiſtrates of what Cities or townes ſoeuer vouchſafed vnto the ſaid common ſocietie, that not only the aldermen of that ſociety in al places throughout the realme of England, but alſo al other marchants of the ſaid company, after the maner of marchants conuerſing in the ſaide Realme, ſhould, without exception of perſons, vtterly abſtein from all intercourſe of traffike with the marchants of the realme aforeſaid: yea, and that they ſhoulde depart out of the ſaid kingdome within a very ſhort ſpace limited. For the diſpatching of al which premiſſes without delay, it was accordingly to their commandement effectually prouided.

Statutes againſt þ Engliſh marchants in Norway and in Swedland.

Item, that the ſociety aforeſaid hath approued diuers very vnreaſonable ſtatutes & ordinances, made & publiſhed by the marchants of the ſame ſociety reſiding in the kingdoms of Norway and Swedland, to the great preiudice of the kingdome of England, and the marchants thereof: and as yet both couertly and expreſly do approue the ſame, vniuſtly putting them in daily execution.

Item, whereas in the priuileges & indulgences granted by þ renoumed princes ſometimes kings of Englãd, þ worthy progenitors of our ſouereign lord the king þ now is, vnto the ſocietey aforeſaid, it is prouided, þ the ſaid marchants ſhal not auow any man which is not of their company, nor ſhal not colour his goods and marchandize vnder their company: whereas alſo in the confirmation of the

the ſayd priuiledges made by our ſouereigne lord that nowe is, it is manifeſtly prouided, that the marchants of the Hans towns, vnder the colour of their priuiledges in England, ſhall not vpon paine of the perpetuall fruſtration and reuocation of the foreſayd priuiledges, receiue any ſtranger of any other towne in their liberties, by whom the kings cuſtome may in any ſort be withholden or diminiſhed: & yet the contrary vnto all theſe prouiſoes hath bin euery yere, for theſe 20. yeres or thereabout notoriouſly practiſed and committed, as well openly by the generall counſell, and toleration of the foreſayd ſociety, as alſo ſecretly by the aduiſe and permiſſion of diuers particular cities of the foreſayd Hans company to the great diminution of his maieſties cuſtome, the eſtimation whereof the ſayd ambaſſadors are not able at this preſent fully to declare. But that all occaſions of the laſt aboue mentioned diminution may bee preuented for the time to come, the ſayd ambaſſadors doe demand to haue from the foreſayd ſocietie a declaration in writing, what and how many & what maner of territories, cities, townes, villages or companies they be, for which the ſayd ſociety which be the Hans townes, challengeth and pretendeth, that they ought to enioy the priuiledges granted vnto their marchants, as is aboue mentioned.

Moreouer, it is required by the foreſaid ambaſſadors, if the ſocietie aforeſayd hath not decreed nor ordayned the things aboue written, that the names of the cities and places decreeing and ordaining ſuch ſtatutes & ordinances, may by the ſayd common ſociety either now or at ſome other times and places conuenient for the ſame purpoſe, be expreſſed and ſet downe in writing.

A letter of *Henry* the fourth king of *England* &c. vnto *Frater Conradus de Iungingen* the maſter generall of *Pruſſia*.

HEnrie &c. to the moſt noble and mighty perſonage of ſacred religion Fr: Conradus de Iungingen Maſter general of the order of the Dutch knights of S. Marie, our moſt deare friend, greeting, and continual perfection of amity.

When as your meſſengers and ambaſſadors were of late perſonally preſent in Holland, and there expected the arriual of our ambaſſadors vntill the firſt day of the moneth of Nouember laſt expired, that there might bee by way of friendly conference a remedie prouided in regard of certaine iniuries pretended to be offered, by both our ſubiects one againſt another, for the publique commoditie of both parts, we were determined to haue ſent vnto Dordract, at the foreſaid daye, our welbeloued and faithfull knight William Sturmy, and our welbeloued clerke Iohn Kington, vpon our ambaſſage-affayres: hauing as yet in our deſires, for a peaceable ending of the matter, (which, our foreſayd ambaſſadors, by reaſon of the ſhortnes of time, or the finding out of ſome other remedie and happy concluſion of all and ſingular the foreſaid attempts concerning the principall buſines, could by no meanes at that inſtant attaine vnto) that vpon ſome other more conuenient day (to the end your ambaſſadors might not returne home altogether fruſtrate of their expectation) there might be, after the wonted friendly maner, a conference & agreement with your foreſayd ambaſſadors, euen as by other letters of ours directed vnto your ſayd ambaſſadors the ſecond day of the moneth of Nouember aforeſayd wee haue deliuered our mind vnto them. But it fortuned not long before the departure of your ambaſſadors into their owne country, that no ſufficient ſhipping could be found wherein our ſayd ambaſſadors might into their owne country, that no ſufficient ſhipping or Middleburgh, neither was it thought that they ſhould get any paſſage at all, till the ſhips at Middleborough were returned into our kingdome, by the force whereof they might be the more ſtrongly wafted ouer. And ſo by reaſon of the departure of your ambaſſadours, all matters remaine in ſuſpenſe till ſuch time as the ſayd ambaſſadors ſhall againe meete with ours to addreſſection vnto the buſines as yet imperfect. Wherefore (our friend vnfainedly beloued) deſiring from the bottome of our heart that the integritie of loue, which hath from auncient times taken place betweene our & your ſubiects, may in time to come alſo be kept inuiolable, we haue thought good once again to ſend one of our foreſaid ambaſſadors, namely William Eſturmy knight to Dordract, giuing him charge thither to make haſte, and there to ſtay, till ſome of your meſſengers, at your commandement doe in time conuenient repayre vnto that place, there (by Gods aſſiſtance) to bring the matter vnto an happy concluſion. May it pleaſe you therefore of your vnfayned friendſhip, without all inconuenience of delay, to returne, not vnto vs, but vnto our foreſayd knight an anſwere in writing, what your will and determination is. Neither let it ſeeme ſtrange vnto you, that we haue not at this preſent ſent our foreſayd Iohn Kington clerke together with the ſayd William: for the cauſe of his abode with vs is, that he may in the meane ſeaſon employ his care and diligence about thoſe matters which muſt be preparatiues for the finall concluſion of the foreſayd buſines. Honorable ſir, and moſt deare friend, we doe moſt heartily wiſh increaſe of proſperity and ioy vnto your perſon. Giuen in our palace of Weſtminſter the 14. day of Feb. in the yeare of our Lord 1407.

1407.

To

To the right noble and valiant knight Sir *VVilliam Sturmy* ſent at this preſent by the moſt ſouereigne King of *England* &c. as his ambaſſadour vnto *Dordrecht*, his moſt ſincere friend.

HOnorable ſir, our moſt entier friend, wee receiued the royall letters of the moſt mighty prince and lord, our lord the king of England and France and lord of Ireland, ſent vnto vs vnder the date of the 14. day of Februarp (which we receiued at our caſtle of Marienburgh the 11. of April) containing, amongſt other matters, that his Maieſties purpoſe was once againe to ſende one of his ambaſſadors, namelp your ſelfe our verp ſincere friend vnto Dordrecht, giuing you in charge that you would make haſte thither & there ſtap, vntill ſome of our ſubiects might at our commandement, in conuenient time repaire vnto the ſame place, there (by Gods aſſiſtance) to bring our matters vnto a happy concluſion. And then he requeſted that wee ſhould without delap write our determination vnto you, as the concluſion of the ſaid letter importeth. Howbeit (our moſt deare friend) the treaties & conferences about the redreſſe or reformation of vniuſt attempts committed by the ſubiects of our ſayd lord the king & our ſubiects, one againſt another, are both on our behalfe, and on the behalfe of the common ſocietie of the Hans marchants, hitherto had, made, and continued common. And ſo our commiſſioners vpon our full and abſolute commandement, ſhal, for the managing of theſe and of other affaires of the foreſaid ſocietie, many waies vrgent and difficult, vpon the feaſt of our Lords Aſcenſion next to come, meet with the ſaid ſocietie at Lubec, there to giue notice what they haue determined to conclude in this preſent buſines & in others for their owne behalfe. For we will giue our ambaſſadours which are there to appeare, ſtreightly in charge that according to the kings requeſt aforeſayde they doe without delap procure an anſwere to be written vnto your honour concerning the determination of the foreſayd ſocietie. Giuen at the place and vpon the day aboue named, in the yeare of our Lord 1407.

Fr. Wernherus de Tettingen, commander in *Elbing*, general vice-maſter and lieutenant in the roome of the Maſter generall of the Dutch knights of the Order of S. *Marie* &c. of late deceaſed.

The letters of *Henry* the 4. king of *England* &c. vnto *Vlricus de Iungingen* Maſter generall of *Pruſſia*, 1408. wherein he doth ratifie and accept the laſt agreement made at *Hage* in *Holland*.

HEnry &c. vnto the honourable and religious perſonage Fr. Vlricus de Iungingen Maſter generall of the Dutch knights of S. Marie &c. our moſt deare friend, greeting and daily increaſe of our accuſtomed amity and friendſhip. We doe by theſe preſents giue your houour to vnderſtand, that our faithfull & welbeloued William Eſturmy knight, and Maſter Iohn Kington clerke, our ambaſſadors and meſſengers ſent of late on our behalfe, vnto the preſence of your predeceſſour for the redreſſing of certaine grieuances and damages being contrary to iuſtice offered againſt vs and our liege ſubiects by the people & ſubiects of your predeceſſors, & againſt them alſo by our ſubiects as it is aforeſayd, in friendly maner to be procured, of late returning out of the parts of Alemain made relation vnto vs and to our counſell, that hauing conferred with your foreſayd predeceſſour about the foreſayd affayres, the particulars following were at length concluded: namely firſt of all, that at a certaine day and place they ſhould meete in Holland with his ambaſſadors and meſſengers, to hold a friendly conference between them about the redreſſing and reformation of the grieuances and damages aforeſayd: and that they ſhould by the equall weight of diligent examination ponder, & in the balance of iuſtice diſcuſſ. & define al & ſingular the foreſaid grieuances & damages inflicted on both parts. Howbeit at length after ſundry prorogations then made & continued on this behalfe, our ambaſſadors & meſſengers aforeſaid vpon the 28. of Auguſt laſt paſt, aſſembling themſelues for our part at the towne of Hage in Holland, the hon. & diſcreet perſonages Arnold Heket burgomaſter of the towne of Dantzik, & Iohn Crolowe, for the behalf of your ſubiects of Pruſſia, and Tidman de Meule, & Iohn Epenſcheid for the behalfe of Liuonia, being aſſembled as meſſengers and commiſſioners about the redreſſe and reformation aforeſayd, did then and there demaund in certaine articles, of our ambaſſadours and meſſengers abouenamed 25034. nobles & halfe a noble, for the grieuances & damages offered (as it was thē ſaid) to your ſubiects of Pruſſia, and 24082. nobles, 12. ß. 8. d. in recompenſe of the damages offered vnto thoſe your

A meeting at Hage the 28. of Auguſt 1407.

your ſubiects of Liuonia. And when the ſubſtance of thoſe articles about the grieuances & loſſes afozeſayd was by the ſayd ambaſſadours and meſſengers thzough ly examined and diſcuſſed, by their generall conſent it was finally agreed, that your ſubiects, in conſideration of all and ſingular the fozeſayd grieuances and damages offered vnto them by our people, ſhould within three yeares after the feaſt of Eaſter next enſuing, at three equall payments receiue from vs, namely they of Pruſsia, 8957. nobles, and they of Liuonia 22496. nobles, fiue pence, halfe peny, farthing, and no moze, ſo that we our ſelues thought good to condeſcend thereunto. Nowbeit, foraſmuch as certaine other articles of your ſubiects of Pruſsia, and alſo certaine articles in the behalfe of our ſubiects containing grieuous complaints in them, being pzopounded before the ambaſſadozs & meſſengers afozeſaid, foz the attaining of reformation in regard of the damages & grieuances offered on both parts, could not as thē, foz the great obſcurity of diuers of the ſayd articles, and alſo foz want of ſufficiēt pzoofe at the laſt meeting appointed and held by the fozeſayd ambaſſadozs at the towne of Hage in Holland, ſufficiently to be examined, diſcuſſed, and defined, it was agreed vpon by the ambaſſadozs and meſſengers of both partes, that from the 15. day of October then laſt expired vnto the feaſt of Eaſter now next enſuing, and from thence foozth within one whole yere immediatly following, the plaintifes of both parts ſhould thzoughly declare before our chancelour of England foz the time being, the fozeſayd obſcurities cōcerning the ſubſtance of their articles, and that they ſhould, foz the obtaining of execution, and complement of iuſtice at our ſayd chancelours hands, peremptozily miniſter neceſſary pzobations, vnder paine of perpetuall excluſion from the petition of thoſe things which are contayned in the articles aboue mentioned.

Pzouided alwayes, that if at the laſt it ſhall be by lawfull pzooſes made manifeſt concerning the ſummes aboue written oz any part oz parcell thereof, that due ſatiſfaction hath beene made to him oz them vnto whom it was due, oz that thoſe goods of and foz the which complaint hath bene made on the behalfe of your ſubiects haue pertained oz doe appertaine vnto others, oz any other iuſt, true, and reaſonable cauſe may lawfully bee alleaged, why the payment of all the fozeſayd ſummes oz any of them ought not to be perfozmed: that then ſo much only is to be cut off oz deducted from the ſayd ſummes as ſhall be found to be already payd oz to pertaine vnto others, oz elſe vpon ſome true, iuſt, and reaſonable cauſe (as is afozeſayd) not to be due. We therefoze conſidering that the ſayd friendly conference, and the finall agreement enſuing thereupon are agreeable vnto reaſon and equitie, doe, foz our part ratifie and willingly accept the very ſame conference and agreement. And foraſmuch as it hath bene alwayes our deſire, and is as yet our intention, that the league of amity and the integritie of loue, which hath of olde time bene obſerued betweene our and your ſubiects, may in times to come perpetually remaine inuiolable, and that your and our people may hereafter, not onely foz the good of our common weale but alſo foz the commodity and peace of both parts, accozding to their woonted maner, aſſemble themſelues and enioy the faithfull and mutuall converſation one of another: we will cauſe in our citie of London, with the ſumme of 8957. nobles ſatiſfaction to bee made vnto the Pruſſians, and with the ſumme of 22496. nobles, fiue pence, halfe peny, farthing, recompenſe to be perfozmed vnto the Liuonians, in regard of the damages and iniuries (which in very deede pzoceeded not of our conſent) by our ſubiects offered vnto them, as it is afozeſayd, and within three yeares after the feaſt of Eaſter next enſuing the ſayd ſummes of money to bee payed at three payments, and by three equall portions. Conditionally that vnto our ſubiects which be endamaged cozreſpondent ſatiſfaction be like wiſe on your part within the terme of the fozeſayd three yeeres perfozmed, with paying the ſummes of 766. nobles and of 4535. nobles, demaunded on our behalfe, and alſo with the payment of ſuch ſummes as within one yeere immediately enſuing the feaſt of Eaſter afozeſayd, ſhalbe found by our people may hereafter, not onely foz the good of our common weale but alſo foz the commodity ſufficient declarations and pzoofes to be made on the behalfe of our ſubiects (as is afozeſayd) to be due. Euen as we in like maner will make ſatiſfaction vnto your ſubiects within our citie afozeſayd. Now as touching the requeſt of your ambaſſadozs and of the Liuonians, whereby we were required to pzocure ſome holeſome remedy foz the ſoules of certaine dzowned perſons, as conſcience and religion ſeemeth to chalenge (in regard of whom we are moued with compaſſion, and do ſtand, that after we ſhall be by your letters aduertized of the number, ſtate, and condition of the ſayd parties dzowned, we will cauſe ſuffrages of pzayers and diuers other holeſome remedies pzofitable foz the ſoules of the deceaſed and acceptable to God and men, religiouſly to be ozdained and pzouided: vpon condition, that foz the ſoules of our dzowned countrey men there be the like remedie pzouided by you. The almighty grant vnto your ſelfe and vnto your whole Dzder, that you may pzoſperouſly triumph ouer the enemies of Chziſt his croſſe. Giuen vnder our pziuie ſeale at our palace of Weſtminſter the 26. of March, in the yere of our Lozd 1408. and in the ninth yere of our reigne.

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The letters of *Fr: Ulricus* Maſter of *Pruſſia* directed vnto the king of England, *ſignifying that he is contented with* the agreements concluded by his meſſengers at *Hage*.

To the moſt renowmed prince and mighty lord L. *Henrie* king of *England* and *France*, and lord of *Ireland*, our moſt gracious lord.

VNto your highnes pleaſure at all aſſaies humbly recommending my voluntarie ſeruice &c. Moſt renowmed king, mighty prince, and gracious lord, we receiued of late with great reuerence as it becommeth vs, by our welbeloued Arnold de Daſſel the bearer of of theſe preſents, your Maieſties letters of late directed vnto vs, making mention amongſt other matters of certaine appointments firſt made and concluded between the noble and worthy perſonages William Eſturmy knight, Iohn Kington clerke, and William Brampton citizen of London your ambaſſadours and meſſengers on the one parte, and our honorable and religious brethren, namely Conradus Lichtenſten great cõmander, Warnherus de Tettingen chiefe hoſpitalary & commander in Elbing, and Arnold de Hacken treaſurer, being the procuratours and commiſſioners of Fra. Conradus de Iungingen our laſt predeceſſour of famous memory on the other parte, concerning the redreſſing, reformation, and amendement of vniuſt attempts committed on both ſides, at our caſtle of Marienburgh, and alſo very lately at the towne of Hage in Holland, namely the twenty eight of the moneth Auguſt in the yeare immediately paſt, betweene your foreſayde ambaſſadours William Eſturmy knight, and Iohn Kingtõ clerke, for your part, and our truſty and welbeloued commiſſioners and procurators, namely Arnold Hecht burgomaſter of our citie of Dantzik, and Iohn Crolow citizen of the ſame citie, for our parte. And for our more perfect knowlege in this behalfe, our ſayd commiſſioners made relation vnto vs and vnto our whole counſell, that aſſociating vnto themſelues our meſſengers of Liuonia, namely, Tidman Myeul, and Iohn Epenſhеid, together with your foreſaid ambaſſadours and meſſengers, they there finally appointed and concluded, of and about the aboue mentioned ſummes of money due on both partes, of the which mention is made in your letters aforeſayd, With this ſpeciall prouiſo, that in like manner ſatiſfaction be made in all points, both vnto other of our damnified ſubiects of Pruſſia, namely ſuch whoſe goods or the true value thereof haue bene finally adiudged by the iudges or profeſſors of our lawes, and vnto ſuch who hauing brought their articles of complaints vnto the audience of the moſt dread and mighty prince and lorde, our lord Rupertus king of the Romans alwayes moſt ſoueraigne, were in concluſion to haue the eſtimations of their goods to be adiudged by the ſentence of the ſayd lord, with the aduiſe of two of his counſellers, and alſo vnto other of our ſubiects who haue brought in ſufficient proofe of damages vniuſtly inflicted vpon them by your ſubiects, ouer and beſides the premiſſes. So that in like maner ſatiſfaction be made vnto the common ſocietie of the Hans marchants: and by the arbitrament ſet downe in the conferences had at Marienburgh, of the which it was aboue prouided and enacted on their behalfe, namely if they will reſt contented with our ſubiects in the courſes and meanes then concluded. If not, we intend not at all to adhere vnto them in this behalfe. Afterward our meſſengers aforeſayd, both they of Pruſſia and of Liuonia demanded conuenient, iuſt, and ſpeedy ſatiſfaction, with the payment of all and ſingular the ſummes aboue mentioned, due vnto both parts (ſo farre forth as equity and reaſon would yeeld vnto, for the recompenſe of the parties iniuried and endamaged on both ſides) to be made within one whole yere accompting from the feaſt of Eaſter now laſt expired vnto the very ſame feaſt next to come in the yere immediatly following, & that in three ſeuerall termes of payment, by three portions of the ſaid ſummes equally to be diuided, at the towne of Bruges in Flanders as being a place indifferent for all parties, in maner and forme as it was before at Marienburgh required and ſtoode vpon: namely that reformation, reparation, and amendement of all vniuſt attempts committed on both parts ought to bee performed within one yere. Howbeit contrariwiſe your ambaſſadors aforeſayd decreed that the ſayd ſatiſfaction ſhould be performed vnto the parties iniuried of both parts within three yeeres, beginning to accompt from the feaſt of Eaſter laſt paſt. And when your ambaſſadours were not contented with the maner of ſatiſfaction ſet downe by our men, nor our commiſſioners were willing in any ſort to conſent vnto that courſe which was thought conuenient by your ambaſſadors, the honorable meſſengers of the ſea-townes of the Hans being there at this time preſent, made a motion that the foreſayd ſatiſfaction might be performed within two yeers and an halfe, accompting from the feaſt of Eaſter laſt paſt, often before mentioned: yet vnder

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a certaine proteſtation, namely if both parties ſhould agree vnto that forme of ſatisfaction, and if they ſhould thinke good finally and concluſiuely to yeeld their conſent vnto it. Which kind of ſatisfaction alſo conceiued by the meſſengers, your ſayd ambaſſadours without giuing notice therof vnto your royall Maieſtie, refuſed finally to approue; being rather deſirous to make a true & faithfull repoꝛt of the ſaydforme of ſatisfaction laſt aboue mentioned vnto your kingly highneſſe, and that in ſuch ſoꝛte, that (as they hoped) effectuall ſatisfaction and payment of all and ſinguler the ſummes due and to bee due on both partes ſhould moꝛe conueniently and ſpeedily bee perfoꝛmed. Whereupon we might be put in good hope, that moꝛe ſpeedy and conuenient appointments of termes, foꝛ the ſayd ſatisfaction friendly on both parts to be perfoꝛmed in, would haue proceeded from your bountifull and gracious clemencie. And in very deede (moſt mighty prince) albeit it was neuer the meaning of our foꝛeſayd predeceſſoꝛ, ſo faꝛ foꝛth as theſe affayꝛes concerned him, to pꝛoꝛract and delay the execution of the ſayd buſines ſo many and ſuch long diſtances of time, and that foꝛ diuers reſpects, both becauſe reſtitution vnto the parties robbed conſiſted herein, and alſo becauſe the ſayd reſtitutions and ſatiſfactions are to be made vnto pooꝛe people, widowes, oꝛphanes, and other miſerable creatures, diuerſly and miſerably ſlaine and oppꝛeſſed: notwithſtanding we being moued with hearty & feruent zeale and ſpeciall affection vnto your royall crowne of England, and hauing due regard and conſideration of your moſt excellent Maieſtie, vpon the aduiſe of our honourable bꝛethꝛen our counſellers, doe thankfully receiue, & by the tenour of theſe preſents totally ratifie and approue ſuch ſatiſfactions of the foꝛeſayd ſummes howſoeuer due vnto our ſubiects both Pꝛuſſians and Liuonians, in friendly ſoꝛte to be perfoꝛmed at ſuch times and ſeaſons limited and preſcꝛibed by your highnes as are expreſſed in your maieſties letters, and alſo of other ſummes which within one peare immediately enſuing after the feaſt of Eaſter laſt paſt, by ſufficient pꝛooфes to be made on their part beфoꝛe your chancelour at your citie of London ſhall be found due vnto them. Conditionally that without inconuenience of delay and impediment they be perfoꝛmed as they ought to be, accoꝛding to the pꝛemiſſes. In like maner alſo we our ſelues within the termes of payment aboue mentioned will pꝛocure ſatiſfaction to be without fayle perfoꝛmed vnto your ſubiects endamaged, with the ſumme of 766. nobles, being in regard of their loſſes, of the which they haue giuen vp ſufficient informations, due vnto them: and with other like ſummes alſo which are by ſufficient pꝛooфes, within the peare afoꝛeſayd, and in maner and foꝛme pꝛeſcribed to be exhibited beфoꝛe our treaſurer at our citie of Dantzik. The almighty vouchſafe proſperouſly and long time to pꝛeſerue your maieſties royal perſon. Giuen at our caſtle of Marienburgh the 27. of September, in the peare of our Loꝛd 1408.

Septem. 27. 1408.

Fr. Vlricus de Iungingen maſter generall of the order of the Dutch knights of S. *Maries* hoſpital of *Ieruſalem*.

The letters of king *Henry* the 4. ſent vnto *Fr. Vlricus* maſter general of *Pruſſia*, wherein he doth abſolutely approue the foreſaid conference holden at *Hage*, and treateth about a perpetual league and amitie to be concluded betweene *England* and *Pruſſia*.

HEnry by the grace of God king of England and France and loꝛd of Ireland, vnto the noble & mighty perſonage of ſacred religion Vlricus de Iungingen maſter generall of the oꝛder of the Dutch knights of S. Maries hoſpitall of Ieruſalem, our entirely beloued friend, greeting and increaſe of vnfained friendſhip. After diuers conferences had in ſundry places beyond the ſeas, betweene the ambaſſadours and meſſengers of your late predeceſſoꝛ and of your ſelfe alſo, on the one parte, and betweene our eſpeciall ambaſſadors and meſſengers on the other parte, concerning reformations, reparations, & reſtitutions in certaine maner & foꝛme to be perfoꝛmed vntoour ſubieces of both parts, in regard of manifold iniuries practiſed againſt them both, and after that, in the laſt conference holden by the ambaſſadours of vs both at the towne of Hage in Holland, there was a motion made concerning a certaine foꝛme of ſatiſfaction, by way of finall concluſion in that behalfe: but not being as then by our ambaſſadours condeſcended vnto, becauſe they durſt not proceede vnto the ſame concluſion without our priuitie, relation thereof at length being by them made beфoꝛe vs and our counſel: we returned vnto your honour an anſwere in writing by our letters vnder our priuie ſeale, of our full purpoſe and intention (vnto the which letters we doe at this preſent referre our ſelues, as if they were here againe expreſſy written) what we thought good to haue done in this behalfe: ſo that wee alſo might by your friendly letters be certainly informed of your will and expreſſe conſent, being likewiſe conformable vnto your foꝛeſayd intention. Nowe whereas ſince that time we haue of late receiued the certaintie

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of the matter by your letters written vnto vs from your caſtle of Marienburgh, bearing date the 27. of September laſt paſt, containing in effect amongſt other matters, that you being mooued with a feruent zeale and ſpeciall affection (as you write) vnto the royall crowne of our realme, and hauing due regard and conſideration of our royall maieſtie, vpon the aduiſe of your honourable brethren your counſellers, doe with a thankfull mind accept, and by the tenour of the ſaid letters of yours totally approue the concord of a certaine ſatisfaction to be performed with the payment of certaine ſummes of money howſoeuer due vnto your ſubiects as well of Pruſſia as of Liuonia, expreſſed in our former letters, within the termes preſixed by our conſent and limited in our ſaid letters, and alſo of other ſummes which within one whole yeare immediatly following the feaſt of Eaſter laſt paſt, by ſufficient proofes on their part to bee made before our chauncelour at our citie of London, ſhall be found due vnto them: conditionally, that without inconuenience of delay and impediments, the premiſſes be performed as they ought to be. And that your ſelfe alſo will without fayle, vpon the termes appointed for the ſaid payments, procure ſatisfaction to be made accordingly vnto our endamaged ſubiects with the ſummes due vnto them by reaſon of their loſſes, whereof they haue ſufficient information. Wherefore in regard of thoſe your friendly letters, and your courteous anſwere returned by them vnto vs, as is aforeſaid, wee doe yeelde vnto you right vnfained thanks. But becauſe it will vndoubtedly be moſt acceptable and pleaſing both vnto vs and vnto our people, and vnto you and your ſubiects, that the zeale and feruencie of loue which hath from auncient times growen and increaſed betweene our progenitours for them and their ſubiects, and your predeceſſors and their ſubiects, and which by the inſolencie of certayne lewde perſons, without any conſent of the principall lords, hath often bene violated betweene vs and you and mutually betweene the ſubiects of vs both, may be put in perpetuall vre and obtaine full ſtrength in time to come, ſithens hereupon (by Gods aſſiſtance) it is to be hoped, that vnſpeakeable commodity and quiet will redound vnto both parts: may it ſeeme good vnto your diſcretion, as it ſeemeth expedient vnto vs, that ſome meſſengers of yours ſufficiently authorized to parle, agree, and conclude with our deputy, about the mutuall contraction of a perpetuall league and confirmation of friendſhip, may with all conuenient ſpeede be ſent vnto our preſence. At whoſe arriuall, not onely in this buſines ſo profitable and behoouefull, but alſo in certaine other affaires concerning the former treaties and concluſions, they may, yea and of neceſſitie muſt greatly auayle. Wherefore (our entirely beloued friend) euen as vpon confidence of the premiſſes we haue thought good to grant vnto the marchants and ſubiects of our realme full authority to reſort vnto your dominions, ſo we doe in like maner graunt vnto your marchants and ſubiects free licence and liberty with their marchandiſes and goods ſecurely to come into our realmes and dominions, there to ſtay, and at their pleaſures thence to returne home. Moreouer, if Arnold Daſſel, who laſt of all preſented your foreſayd letters vnto vs, ſhall thinke good in the meane ſeaſon to make his abode here in our dominions (as in very deede it is expedient) he may both by ſerious conſideration and deliberate conſulting with our commiſſioners more conueniently and proſperouſly finde out wayes and meanes, for the more ſpeedy expedition of all the premiſſes. Fare ye well in Chriſt. Giuen vnder our priuie ſeale at our palace of Weſtminſter, the ſeuenth of March, in the yere of our lord 1408, according to the computation of the Church of England, and in the tenth yere of our reigne.

A motion for a perpetuall league.

A new concord concluded between king *Henry* the 4. and *Vlricus de Iungingen* Maſter generall of *Pruſſia*, in the yeare of our Lord 1409.

BY this indenture or letters indented be it euidently knowen (for the perpetual memory of the matter) vnto all faithfull Chriſtians, that the noble & honourable perſonages Richard Merlowe Maior and citizen of London, Maſter Iohn Kington clerke, and William Askham citizen and Alderman of the ſame citie, the commiſſioners of the moſt ſoueraigne prince and lord, L. Henrie by the grace of God king of England and France, and lord of Ireland, and Tidericus de Longenthorpe knight, Lefardus de Hereford burgomaſter of Elbing, and Iohn Crolowe citizen of the citie of Dantzik, the procurators, commiſſioners, deputies and meſſengers of the right noble and religious perſonage Fr. Vlricus de Iungingen Maſter generall of the order of the Dutch knights of S. Maries hoſpital of Ieruſalem, hauing in the names of the ſayd king and Maſter by vertue of the power on both parts committed vnto them, ſufficient authority, haue appointed and with one conſent agreed vpon all and ſingular the things vnderwritten.

In primis

Inprimis for the conſeruation of mutuall loue and wonted amitie, and for the tranquilitie of 1
ſweete amiable peace, it is decreed and ordained, that all and ſingular the liege people & ſubiects
of the Realme of England and the Marchants of the territories & dominions of the ſaid Realme
and all other perſons of what ſtate or condition ſoeuer, ſhall and may ſafely and ſecurely, as well
by land as by water enter into the parts of Pruſſia, and there mutually conuerſe, and freely after
the maner of Marchants exercise traffique aſwell with the Pruſſians as with others of what na-
tion or qualitie ſoeuer, there alſo make their abode, and thence vnto their owne homes and dwel-
ling places returne, and depart vnto any place whither and ſo often as they ſhall thinke good, as
well by land as by water, with their goods, marchandize, and wares whatſoeuer; faithfully pay-
ing in the meane time all righes & cuſtomes due in regard of their ſaid wares and marchandize.
Reſerued alwaies vnto the ſaid Maſter and his ſucceſſours all right and remedie ordained, gran-
ted, and vouchſafed in certaine obligations by our Lord the king, whereof mention ſhall be made
in the articles following.

Item it is ordained, that all and ſingular the ſubiects of the ſaid Maſter generall and of his 2
order, of what ſtate and condition ſoeuer, ſhall and may, as well by water as by land enter into
the kingdome of England and into the territories and dominions thereof, and there mutually
converſe, and freely after the maner of Marchants exercise traffique as well with all Engliſh
people as with others of what nation or qualitie ſoeuer, and there alſo make their abode, and
thence returne vnto their owne habitations and dwelling places, and to depart whither they will
and as oft as they ſhall thinke good, as well by land as by water, with their goods, marchandize
and wares whatſoeuer: truely paying in the meane time all righes and cuſtomes due in regard of
their ſaid wares and Marchandize. Reſerued alwayes vnto the ſaid ſoueraigne king, his heires
and ſucceſſours, all rights and remedies ordained and graunted vnto them in certaine obligati-
ons, by the commiſſioners and procurators of the ſaid Maſter generall aboue-named, and in
the name of the ſaid Maſter generall.

Item it is with one conſent agreed vpon, promiſed, and graunted that for all and ſingular da- 3
mages, grieuances, and robberies howſoeuer done and committed before the date of theſe pre-
ſents againſt the foreſaid ſoueraigne Prince and his ſubiects whatſoeuer, and all others which at
the time of the grieuances, damages, and robberies aforeſaid, were, or at this preſent are the ſaid
ſoueraigne king his ſubiects; there are due to be payed vnto the ſaid king or his ſucceſſours by
the ſaid Maſter generall or his ſucceſſours, in full ſatiſfaction and recompence of the damages,
grieuances, and robberies aboue-written, certaine ſummes of Engliſh money: euen as in the
letters obligatorie made by the ſaid Maſter generall his procurators, and meſſengers aboue-
named in this behalfe, and ſealed with their ſeales, and deliuered vnto the forenamed procurators
and commiſſioners of our ſaid Lord the king it is expreſſed more at large.

Item it is couenanted, graunted, and promiſed, that no ſubiect of the ſaid Maſter generall or 4
of his ſucceſſours, by reaſon or occaſion of the damages, grieuances, and robberies aforeſaid, ſhall,
by the ſaid ſoueraigne king or his ſucceſſours, or by their authoritie or commandement, or by any
other perſon whatſoeuer who in regard of the foreſaid loſſes, grieuances and robberies hath bene
moleſted and damnified, or at the procurement or inſtant ſuite of any, be attached, arreſted, im-
priſoned, or detained; nor that the goods of the ſaid Maſter generall, or of his ſucceſſors, or of any
of them, ſhalbe laid hold on, arreſted, or detained.

Item it is couenanted and ordained, that if any of the liege people and ſubiects of the ſayde 5
Maſter generall or of his ſucceſſors ſhall, contrary to the forme of the concord and graunt nere
aboue-written, chance to be moleſted or endamaged: that then the foreſaid ſoueraigne Lord the
King and his ſucceſſors the kings of England are bound to make full ſatiſfaction for all ſuch loſſes
as the ſubiects of the ſaid Maſter generall or of his ſucceſſours or any of them ſhall for that cauſe
haue vniuſtly ſuſtained, vnto the parties endamaged. Which thing, if the foreſaid ſoueraigne
Prince, or his ſucceſſours in the Realme of England, being conueniently requeſted by the let-
ters of the ſaid Maſter generall or of his ſucceſſours, ſhall refuſe to doe, that then after the terme
of fiue monethes immediatly following the ſaid deniall or refuſall, it ſhalbe right lawfull for the
Maſter generall that now is and for any of his ſucceſſors in time to come (hauing firſt made con-
uenient proofe that the foreſaid requeſt was by him or them exhibited) to arreſt ſo many goods of
the foreſaid king his ſubiects found in the land of Pruſſia, as may ſuffice for the reaſonable ſatiſ-
faction and recompenſe of any perſon or perſons whatſoeuer vniuſtly moleſted in this behalfe;
and alſo to detaine the ſaid goods vnder arreſtes, vntill condigne ſatisfaction and amends be made
vnto the party or parties moleſted.

Item by the commiſſioners and procuratours often aboue-named it is couenanted, promiſed, 6
and graunted, that for all and ſingular the damages, moleſtations, and robberies by the foreſayde

ſoueraigne king his liege people & ſubiects howſoeuer before the date of theſe preſentes committed and offred againſt the ſaid Maſter general or againſt any of his ſubiects whether Pruſſians or Liuonians, and againſt all others who at the time of the damages, grieuances & robberies aforeſaid were, or at this preſent are the ſubiects of the Maſter generall aforeſaid (except notwithſtanding certaine damages & grieuances hereafter to be mentioned, whereof alſo ſome prouiſoes ſhalbe had in the articles following, which damages were before þ date of theſe preſents by þ ſaid ſoueraigne king his liege people and ſubiects inflicted vpon certaine ſubiects of the foreſaid general Maſter, eſpecially them of Pruſſia which hereafter ſhalbe named) there are certaine ſummes of money due to be payed vnto the ſaid Maſter generall or vnto his ſucceſſors by the ſaid ſoueraigne Prince or his ſucceſſours for the full ſatiſfaction of the foreſaid damages, moleſtations and robberies inflicted vpon the Pruſſians and Liuonians, and the others aboue mentioned, euen as in the letters obligatorie of the ſaid ſoueraigne Lord the king made in this behalfe, being giuen and deliuered
7 vnto the ſaid Maſter generall his procuratours and meſſengers, it is declared more at large.

Item, it is couenanted, graunted and promiſed, that none of the liege people or ſubiects of the foreſaid ſoueraigne prince or of his heires ſhall, by reaſon or occaſion of the damages, grieuances, and robberies aforeſaid, by the ſayd Maſter generall or his ſucceſſours or by their authoritie and commandement, or by any other who in reſpect of the ſaid damages, grieuances and robberies aboue mentioned, hath beene moleſted or damnified, or by any of their procurements or inſtant ſuites, ſhalbe attached, arreſted, impriſoned or detained; nor that any goods of the ſubiects of the ſaid ſoueraigne king or his heires or any of them, ſhall bee attached, arreſted, or detained. Reſerued alwayes vnto the forenamed Maſter generall and his ſubiects all right and remedie any way requiſite or competent vnto them by meanes of the obligations aforeſaid.

8 Item it is couenanted and agreed that if any of the liege people or ſubiectes of the ſayde ſoueraigne prince or of his heires and ſucceſſours ſhall (contrary to the forme of concord and graunt next aboue-written) chaunce to bee moleſted or endamaged; that then the ſaide Maſter generall and his ſucceſſours, for all loſſes and hinderances which the liege people and ſubiects the foreſayde ſoueraigne prince or of his heires or ſucceſſours, ſhall by that meanes haue vniuſtly ſuſtained, are bound to make full ſatiſfaction vnto the partie endamaged. Which if the Maſter generall aforeſaid or his ſucceſſours being conueniently requeſted by the letters of the ſayde ſoueraigne prince or of his heires, ſhall refuſe to doe; that then, after the ſpace of ſixe moneths next enſuing the time of the foreſayde requeſt, it may bee right lawfull for the forenamed ſoueraigne prince that nowe is, or that then for that time ſhall be (conuenient proofe being firſt brought, that the foreſayd requeſt had conueniently beene exhibited) to arreſt ſo many goods of the ſayde Maſter generall his ſubiects founde in the Realme of England, as may ſuffice for the reaſonable ſatiſfaction and amends of any perſon or perſons vniuſtly moleſted in this behalfe; and alſo to detaine the ſayde goods vnder ſafe cuſtodie, vntill condigne ſatiſfaction and amends be made vnto the partie or parties aggrieued.

9 Item it is couenanted, that beſides the ſummes due vnto the ſayde Maſter generall and his ſucceſſours in the behalfe of his ſubiects both of Pruſſia and of Liuonia (whereof mention is made in the former Articles) there are due to bee payed vnto the ſayde Maſter generall and his ſucceſſours, for ſundry other damages, grieuances, and robberies againſt himſelfe and diuers other of his ſubiects of Pruſsia, namely Matthewe Ludekenſſon, Arnold Aſchen, Henri Culeman, Iohn Vnkeltop, Iohn Halewater, Egghard Scoffe of Dantzik, and Nicolas Wolmerſtene of Elbing, done and committed by the ſayde ſoueraigne king his liege people and ſubiects vnder-written, euen before the date of theſe preſents, for the full ſatiſfaction of the ſayde damages, grieuances and robberies, certaine ſummes of nobles hereafter following. Namely Inprimis by Tuburie, and Terry of Hull, 82. nobles, which are due vnto þ foreſaid Matthew Ludekinſon. Item by Nicholas Scot of Caleis the ſome of Tuebury, and Hilg of Hull, 256. nobles, which are due vnto the foreſayd Arnold de Aſchen. Item by the inhabitants of Scardeburgh, Blakeney, and Crowmer (who had one Iohn Iolly of Blakeney for their captaine) 156. nobles, which are due vnto Henrie Culeman aforeſayd. Item by the inhabitants of Bayon (Whoſe Capteine was one Pideuille) 125. nobles which are due vnto the ſaid Iohn Vnkeltop. Item by the inhabitants of Plymmouth and Dermouth (whoſe Captaines were Henry Pay, and William Gadeling) 600. nobles which are due vnto the foreſayde Iohn Halewater, in reſpect of his goods by them violently taken away. Item 334. nobles to be payed by the ſelfe ſame parties, being due vnto the ſayde Iohn Halewater by reaſon that they detained his ſhip from him three moneths and more, which ſhip was of the burthen of three hundreth tonnes of wine, and had in it all the foreſayde time fiue and fourtie ſeruants maintained at the expenſes of the ſayde Iohn Halewater. Item that Sir William

A ſhip of the burthen of 300. Tonnes.

William de Echingham knight, who was Vice-admirall for the ſea, muſt bee ſummoned to alleage a reaſonable cauſe (for that the ſayd Sir William with his ſeruants expelled the ſaid Iohn Halewater out of his ſhip for the ſpace of fifteene dayes together, and tooke of the goods and victuals of the ſaid Iohn to the ſumme of 114. nobles) why he ought not to pay the ſaid ſumme of 114. nobles vnto Iohn Halewater aforeſaid: which if hee ſhall not bee willing nor able to alleage before the firſt of Aprill next enſuing, that then by the kings authoritie hee muſt be compelled to pay vnto the foreſaid Iohn the ſaid 114 nobles. Item by the inhabitants of Caleis (whoſe captaines were Michael Scot, Biſhop, and William Horneby) 1900. nobles, which are due vnto the foreſayde Eggard Scoff, becauſe the ſaide ſoueraigne king hath giuen them in charge by the ſaid Michael Scot and the reſt concerning the payment of the ſumme aforeſaid. Item by Iohn Bilis neere vnto Crowmer, 68. nobles, which are due vnto Nicholas Wolmerſten of Elbing. Which ſummes of nobles muſt by the kings authoritie bee leuied at the hands of his ſubiects aboue-mentioned, betweene the time that nowe is and the feaſt of the Purification of the bleſſed virgine which ſhall fall in the yeere of our Lord 1411. effectually to bee deliuered and payed vnto the ſayd Maſter generall of his lawfull procurator, or vnto his ſucceſſours or their lawfull procuratours, at the Citie of London, vpon the feaſt aforeſaid.

Item it is couenanted that beſides the ſummes ſpecified in the foreſayde letters obligatorie made in the behalfe of the ſaid ſoueraigne prince, there are due to be paied vnto one Iohn Marion of Werſingham lately deceaſed being in his life-time the liege ſubiect of the foreſaid ſoueraigne prince 200. nobles of Engliſh money in regard of certaine iniuries and robberies done and committed before the date of theſe preſents againſt the foreſayde Iohn, by one Eghard Scoff ſubiect vnto the ſaid Maſter generall, for the full ſatisfaction of the ſaide damages and robberies to bee made vnto the ſaid deceaſed Iohn, his wife, children, heires or executors by the ſaid Egghard, his heires, or by the adminiſtrators of his goods at the time and place aboue-mentioned.

Item it is couenanted, confirmed, and promiſed, that for all the iniuries and robberies done and committed againſt one Iohn Dordewant of Elbing, being in his life time ſubiect vnto the ſayd Maſter generall, by the liege people and ſubiects of the ſaid ſoueraigne king the inhabitants of Scardeburgh before the date of theſe preſents; for the full recompenſe of all ſuch iniuries and robberies, there muſt bee payed vnto one Iohn Gruk of Dantzik eight hundred nobles of Engliſh money, vpon the feaſt of Eaſter next following in the Citie of London by them of Scardeburgh being guiltie and culpable in this behalfe; who are by definitiue ſentence condemned vnto the ſaid Iohn in the ſumme of 800. nobles by reaſon of the iniuries and robberies aforeſaid. Except the lawfull expenſes in the behalfe layed out: they are alſo taxed in due time for the iſſue. And therefore the foreſayde condemned parties (whoſe names are in the ſentence againſt them pronounced in this behalfe, more expreſſly contained) muſt in the meane ſeaſon by the kings authoritie be compelled and conſtrained really and actually to obey the foreſaid ſentence, namely by deliuering and paying vnto Iohn Gruk the ſumme of 800. nobles at the time and place aboue mentioned, with reaſonable expences, wherein alſo the ſaid parties ſtand condemned, their lawfull taxation being reſerued.

Item it is couenanted and granted that the heires of Lord Henrie de Percy the yonger after they ſhall come vnto lawfull age, and ſhall haue attained vnto the poſſeſſions and goods of their inheritance, muſt be compelled by the kings authoritie (iuſtice going before) to make ſatisfaction vnto the great procurator of Marienburgh with the ſumme of 838. nobles in lieu of certaine corne and graine which the foreſaid Lord Henrie, in the yeere 1403, bought and receiued of the ſaid great procuratour, for the vſe of the caſtle of Zutberwik. In teſtimonie and confirmation of all the which premiſſes, the ſaid Tedericus, Leſardus, and Iohn Crolow, of their certaine knowledges haue put their ſeales vnto theſe preſent letters indented, in the preſence of the aboue-named Richard Merlow, Iohn Kington, and William Askam, commiſſioners for the behalfe of England. Giuen at the Citie of London in England the fourth day of December, in the yeere of our Lord 1409.

1404. **Carta Henrici quarti Anno quinto regni ſui conceſſa mercatoribus Angliæ in partibus Pruſſiæ, Daciæ, Norwegiæ, Swethiæ, & Germaniæ, de gubernatore inter ipſos ibidem conſtituendo.**

HEnricus Dei gratia Rex Angliæ & Franciæ & Dominus Hiberniæ omnibus, ad quos præſentes literæ peruenerint, ſalutem. Sciatis quod cum, vt accepimus, ob defectum boni & ſani regiminis & gubernationis, diuerſa damna, diſſenſiones, grauamina, & angustiæ inter mercatores Regni noſtri Angliæ in partibus Pruciæ, Daciæ, Norwegiæ, Hanſæ, & Swethiæ commorantes ſæpius ante hæc tempora mota fuiſſent & perpetrata, ac maiora exinde, quod abſit, futuris temporibus veriſimiliter euenire formidantur, niſi pro meliori gubernatione inter eoſdem mercatores mutuò habenda manus noſtras adiutrices apponamus: Nos damna & periculis in hac parte imminentibus præcauere, & eoſdem Mercatores & alios de dicto regno noſtro ad partes prædictas venturos iuſte & fideliter regi & pertractari intime deſiderantes, volumus & tenore præſentium concedimus eiſdem mercatoribus, quod ipſi quoties & quando eis placuerit in quodam loco competenti & honeſto, vbi ſibi placuerit, ſe congregare & vnire, & certas perſonas ſufficientes & idoneas in gubernatores ſuos in eiſdem partibus inter ſe ad eorum libitum eligere & obtinere valeant libere & impune: Dantes vlterius & concedentes huiuſmodi gubernatoribus per prædictos Mercatores ſic eligendis, quantum in nobis eſt, poteſtatem & authoritatem ſpeciales, omnes & ſingulos mercatores Anglicos ad partes prædictas de cætero venientes & declinantes per ſe vel ſufficientes loca ſua tenentes regendi & gubernandi, ac eis & eorum cuilibet in ſuis cauſis & querelis quibuſcunque inter eos in partibus prædictis motis vel mouendis plenam & celerem iuſticiam faciendi & quaſcunque quæſtiones, contentiones, diſcordias, & debatas inter ipſos mercatores Anglicos partium prædictarum motas ſeu mouendas reformandi, reformationemque petendi, rediguendi ſedandi, & pacificandi, & quaſcunque tranſgreſſiones, damna, meſpriſiones, exceſſus, violencias, & iniurias mercatoribus partium prædictarum per prædictos mercatores Anglicos factas ſeu faciendas redigendi, reparandi, teſtaurandi, & emendandi, conſimileſque reſtitutiones, reparationes, teſtaurationes & emendationes de ipſis mercatoribus partium prædictarum ſeu deputatis ſuis requirendi, petendi, & recipiendi: Ac de communi aſſenſu mercatorum Anglicorum prædictorum ſtatuta, ordinationes, & conſuetudines, prout pro meliori gubernatione ſtatus eorundem mercatorum Anglicorum in hac parte videbitur expedire, faciendi & ſtabiliendi, & omnes & ſingulos mercatores Anglicos præfatis gubernatoribus ſic eligendis vel eorum loca tenentibus ſeu eorum alicui, aut alicui ſtatutorum, ordinationum, & conſuetudinum prædictarum contrarios, rebelles, vel inobedientes iuxta quantitatem delicti ſui in hac parte rationabiliter puniendi. Volentes inſuper omnia iuſta & rationabilia ſtatuta, ordinationes & conſuetudines per dictos gubernatores ſic eligendos in forma prædicta faciendi
Nota. & ſtabilienda, nec non omnes iuſtas & rationabiles ordinationes per ſuper gubernatores prædictorum mercatorum Anglicorum de communi aſſenſu eorundem mercatorum pro huiuſmodi gubernatione ſua in partibus prædictis iuxta priuilegia & authoritates ſibi per magiſtrum Pruciæ ſeu alios dominos partium prædictarum conceſſa, facta & ſtabilitas, ſeu per prædictos gubernatores nunc vt præmittitur eligendos iuxta priuilegia prædicta, ſeu alia priuilegia eiſdem mercatoribus Anglicis per prædictos magiſtrum & dominos in poſterum concedenda, facienda & ſtabilienda, rata, firma & accepta haberi, & pro ratis, firmis, & acceptis ibidem firmiter & inuiolabiliter obſeruari. Damus autem vniuerſis & ſingulis mercatoribus Anglicis prædictis tenore præſentium firmiter in mandatis, quod eiſdem gubernatoribus ſic eligendis & eorum loca tenentibus in præmiſſis omnibus & ſingulis ac alijs gubernationem & regimen in hac parte qualitercunque concernentibus intendentes ſint, conſulentes, obedientes & auxiliantes, prout decet. Data in palatio noſtro Weſtmonaſterij ſub magni ſigilli noſtri teſtimonio ſexto die Iunij Anno regni noſtri quinto.

A Charter

A Charter of King *Henry* the fourth graunted in the fift yeere of his reigne to the English Marchants resident in the parties of Prussia, Denmarke, Norway, Sweden and Germanie for the chusing of Gouernours among themselues.

HEnry by the grace of God king of England and of France, and Lord of Ireland: to all to whom these presents letters shall came, seweth greeting. Know ye, that whereas, accor-ding as we are informed, through want of good and discreete rule and gouernement, sundry da-mages, strifes, oppressions, and wrongs oftentimes heretofore haue been moued and committed among the Marchants of our kingdome of England remaining in the parties of Prussia, Den-marke, Norway, the Hans steede, and Sweden, and greater hereafter, which God forbid, are feared to be like to fall out, vnlesse we put to our helping hands for the procuring of better go-uernement to be maintained among the said Marchants: wee heartily desiring to prevent the perrils and dangers which are like to fall out in this case, and that the sayde Marchants and others which shall traualle out of our said Realme into the parties aforesaid may iustly and fau-fully be ruled and intreated, we will and graunt by the tenour of these presentes to the said Mar-chants, that they may freely and without danger assemble and meete together as often and when-soeuer they please in some conuenient and honest place where they shall thinke good, and that they may choose among themselues certaine sufficient and fit persons for their gouernours in those parts at their good liking. And furthermore we giue and graunt to the said Gouernours which are in such sort to be chosen by the aforesaid Marchants, as much as in vs lieth, speciall power and authoritie to rule and gouerne all and singular the English Marchants which hereafter shall come or repayre to the parts aforesaid by themselues or their sufficient Deputies, and to mini-ster vnto them and euery of them in their causes and quarels whatsoeuer, which are sprung vp or shall hereafter fall out among them in the parts aforesaid full and speedie iustice, and to re-forme all maner of questions, contentious discords, and debates moued or to be moued betweene the English Marchants remayning in those parts, and to seeke reformation, to redresse, appease, and compound the same. And further to redresse, reforce, repayre and satisfie all transgressions, damages, misprisions, outrages, violences, and iniuries done or to be done by the aforesaid English Marchants against the Marchants of those parts: And to require, demaund and receiue the like restitutions, reparations, satisfactions and amends of the Marchants of those parts or of their deputies. And by the common consent of the aforesaid English Marchants to make and establish statutes, ordinances, and customes, as shall seeme expedient in that behalfe for the better go-uernement of the state of the said English Marchants: and to punish with reason according to the quantitie of their fault in that behalfe all and singular the English Marchants which shall withstand, resist or disobey the aforesaid gouernours so to be chosen or their deputies, or any of them; or any of the aforesaid statutes, ordinances, or customes. Moreouer we doe ratifie, con-firme, and approoue, and as ratified, confirmed, and approoued, wee command firmely and inuio-lably there to be obserued all iust, and reasonable statutes, ordinances, and customes which shalbe made and established by the said gouernors, so to be chosen, in forme aforesaid, and also all iust and reasonable ordinances made or established by the late gouernours of the aforesaid English Mar-chants with the common consent of the sayd Marchants for this their gouernement in the parts aforesayd, according to the priuileges and authorities now granted vnto them by the Master of Prussia, or other Lords of the parties aforesayd, or which shall be made and established by the afore-sayd gouernours now as is mentioned to be chosen according to the aforesaid priuileges hereto-fore graunted, or other priuileges hereafter to bee granted to the sayde English Marchants by the aforesayde Master and lords of the Countrey. And furthermore by the tenor of these pre-sents wee straitely commaund all and singular the aforesaid English Marchants, that they attend, aduise, obey and assist, as it becommeth them, the sayde gouernours so to bee chosen, and their deputies in all and singular the premisses, and other things, which any way may concerne in this behalfe their rule and gouernement. Giuen in our Palace at Westminster vnder the testimonie of our great Seale the first day of June in the fift yeere of our reigne.

A note touching the mighty ships of *King Henry* the fift, men-tioned hereafter in the treatie of keeping the Sea, taken out of a Chronicle in the Trinitie Church of Winchester.

Eodem Anno quo victoria potitus est videlicet Anno Domini 1415. & regni sui Anno tertio, post bellum de Agencourt, conduxit a Francis venerunt cum multis Nauibus reemperaturi Harfletum. Sed Rex Anglia misit fratrem suum Iohannem Ducem Bedfordiæ & Au-

degania, qui pugnauit cum eis & vicit, & Naues cepit, & quaſdam ſubmerſit: ceteri fugerunt cum Hiſpanis nauibus qui venerant cum eis Anno gratiæ 1416. Sequenti vero Anno redierunt potentiores, & iterum deuicti perpetuam pacem cum Rege compoſuerunt, & propter eorum naues fecit Rex fieri naues quales non erant in mundo. De his ſic conductis a Francis ita metricè ſcribitur.

Naues mariuæ Henrici quinti.

Regum belligero trito celeberrimus aruo
Gallos, Hiſpanos, Ianos, deuicit, & Vrget,
Vaſtat; turbantur cætera regna metu.
Nauali bello his deuicti quoque Iani.

A branch of a Statute made in the eight yeere of *Henry* the *ſixt, for the trade to Norwey, Swueland, Denmarke, and Fynmarke.*

ITem becauſe that the kings moſt deare Uncle, the king of Denmarke, Norway & Sweueland, as the ſame our ſoueraigne Lord the king of his intimation hath vnderſtood, conſidering the manifold & great loſſes, perils, hurts and damage which haue late happened aſwell to him and his, as to other forains and ſtrangers, and alſo friends and ſpeciall ſubiects of our ſaid ſoueraigne Lord the king of his Realme of England, by þ going in, entring & paſſage of ſuch forain & ſtrange perſons into his realme of Norwey & other dominions, ſtreits, territories, iuriſdictions & places ſubdued and ſubiect to him, ſpecially into his Iles of Fynmarke, and elſwhere, aſwell in their perſons as their things and goods: for eſchuing of ſuch loſſes, perils, hurts & damages, and that ſuch like (which God forbid) ſhould not hereafter happen: our ſaid ſoueraigne Lord the king hath ordeined and ſtatuted, that all and ſingular ſtrangers, aſwell Engliſhmen and others willing to apply by Ship and come into his Realme of Norwey and other dominions, ſtreits, territories, iuriſdictions, Iles & places aforeſaid with their ſhips, to the intent to get or haue fiſh or any other Marchandiſes, or goods, ſhall apply and come to his Towne of Northberne, where the ſaid king of Denmarke hath ſpecially ordained and ſtabliſhed his ſtaple for the concourſes of ſtrangers and ſpecially of Engliſhmen, to the exerciſe of ſuch Marchandiſes: granting to the ſaid Engliſhmen that they ſhall there inioy in and by all things the ſame fauour, priuileges and prerogatiues which they of the Hans doo enioy. Therefore our ſaid ſoueraigne Lord the king willing the loue, affinitie and amities to be firmely obſerued, which betwixt his ſaid Uncle and his noble progenitors of good memory, their Realmes, lands, dominions, ſtreites, territories, iuriſdictions and their ſaid places, and the ſame our ſoueraigne Lord the king & his noble progenitours of famous memory, his great men, ſubiects, Realmes, lands & dominions hath bene of old times hitherto continued, nor nothing by our ſaid ſoueraigne Lord the king or his people to be attempted or done in hereby ſuch amities by reaſon of any diſſenſions, enemities or diſcords might be broken: by the aduiſe of the Lords ſpirituall & temporall & of the cõmons of his ſaid Realme of England, aſſembled in this preſent Parliament, hath ordained, prohibiting that none of his liege people nor ſubiects of his Realme of England by audacitie of their follie preſume to enter the Realmes, lands, dominions, ſtreits, territories, iuriſdictions & places of the ſaid king of Denmarke againſt þ ordinance, prohibition & interdictiõ of þ ſame his Uncle aboue remembred, & in contempt of the ſame, vpõ paine of forfeiture of all their moueable goods & impriſonment of their perſons at the kings will.

Another branch of a ſtatute made in the tenth yeere of the *reigne of Henry the ſixt concerning the ſtate of the Engliſh Marchants in the* dominions of the king of Denmarke.

ITem becauſe that our ſoueraigne Lord the king at the grieuous complaint to him made in this Parliament by the commons of his realme of England being in this Parliament is informed, that many of his faithfull liege people be greatly impoueriſhed, vndone, & in point to be deſtroyed by the king of Denmarke & his lieges, which be of the amitie of the king our ſoueraigne Lord, becauſe that they do daily take of his ſaid faithful ſubiects their goods, ſo that they haue taken of marchants of Yorke and Kingſton vpon Hul goods & marchandiſes to the valour of v.M.li. within a yeere, and of other lieges & marchants of þ Realme of England goods & cattals to the valour of xx.M.li. wherof they haue no remedie of the ſaid king of Denmarke, nor of none other, foraſmuch as none of them cõmeth within the Realme of England, nor nothing haue in the ſame Realme of England, & that þ goods be taken out of the ſame Realme: The king willing to prouide remedy for his ſaid liege people, hath ordeined & eſtabliſhed, that if þ goods of any of þ ſaid his lieges be or ſhalbe taken by the ſaid king of Denmarke or any of his ſaid lieges, the keeper of the priuie ſeale for þ time being, ſhall haue power to make to þ partie grieued letters of requeſt vnder the priue ſeale, thout any other purſuite to be made to any for reſtitution to be had of þ goods ſo taken & to be taken.

The Noble was coined by Edward the third Anno regni 18.

Quatuor conſiderentur in moneta nuper Angliæ, quæ dicitur Nobile: ſcilicet Rex, Nauis, gladius, & Mare: Quo deſignatur poteſtas ac Anglicorum ſuper Mare. In quorum opprobrium his diebus Britones minores & Flandrenſes & alij dicunt Anglicis: Tollite de veſtro Nobile nouem & imponite octem. Intendentes, quod ſicut quondam i tempore Edwardi tertij Anglici erant domini Maris, modo his diebus ſunt recordes, victi, & ad bellandum & Mare obſeruandum vtiles cues.

taken. And if reſtitution be not made by ſuch letters, the king our ſoueraigne lord by the aduiſe of his counſel ſhal prouide to the partie grieued his conuenable remedy, according as þ caſe requireth.

Here beginneth the Prologue of the proceſſe of the Libel of *Engliſh policie, exhorting all England to keepe the ſea, and namely the narrowe ſea*: ſhewing what profite commeth thereof, and alſo what worſhip and ſaluation to *England*, and to all Engliſh-men.

Incipit liber de cuſtodia Maris præfertim arctí inter Douoram & Caliſiam.

THe true proceſſe of Engliſh policie
Of vtterward to keepe this regne in
Of our England, that no man may denye,
Ner ſay of ſooth but it is one of the beſt,
Is this, that who ſeeth South, North, Eaſt and Weſt,
Cheriſh Marchandiſe, keepe the admiraltie;
That we bee Maiſters of the narrowe ſee.

Sigiſmond died 1438. He was here 1416.

For Sigiſmond the great Emperour,
Which yet reigneth, when he was in this land
With king Henry the fift, Prince of honour,
Here much glory, as him thought, he found,
A mighteie land which had take in hand
To werre in France, and make mortalitie,
And euer well kept rounds about the ſee.

Videns imperator Sigiſmundus duas villas inter cæteras Angliæ ſcilicet Caliſiam & Douoram, ponens ſuos digitos ſuper duos ſuos oculos, ait regi: Frater, cuſtodire iſtas duas villas ſicut duos veſtros oculos,

And to the king thus hee ſayd: My brother,
(When hee perceiued two Townes Caleis and Douer)
Of all your Townes to chuſe of one and other,
To keepe the ſea and ſoone to come ouer
To werre outwards and your regne to recouer:
Keepe theſe two Townes ſure, and your Paillie
As your tweyne eyne: ſo keepe the narrowe ſee.

For if this ſea bee kept in time of werre,
Who can heere paſſe without danger and woe?
Who may eſcape, who may miſchiefe differre?
What Marchandie may forby bee agoe?
For needs hem muſt take trewes euery foe:
Flanders and Spaine, and other, truſt to mee,
Or elles hinzed all for this Narrow ſee.

The Noble was coined by Edward the third Anno regni 18. Quatuor conſiderantur in monetis nunc Anglicis, quæ dicitur Nobile: ſcilicet Rex, Nauis, gladius, & Mare: Quæ deſignant poteſtatem Anglicorum ſuper Mare. In quorum opprobrium his diebus Britones minores & Flandrenſes & alij dicunt Anglicis: Tollite de veſtro Nobile neuem & imponite ouem. Incendentes, quod ſicut quondam à tempore Edwardi tertij Anglici erant domini Maris, modo his diebus ſunt vermes, vili, & ad bellandum & Mare obſeruandum veint oues.

Thereforе I call mee by a little writing
To ſhewe at eye this concluſion,
For conſcience and for mine acquiting
Againſt God and ageyne abuſion,
And cowardiſe, and to our enemies confuſion.
For foure things our Noble ſhewеth to me,
King, Ship, and Sword, and power of the ſee.

Where ben our ſhips, where ben our ſwerds become?
Our enemies ben for the ſhip ſet a cheepe.
Alas our rule haſteth, it is benome.
Who dare well ſay that lordſhip ſhould take keepe?
I will aſſay, though mine heart ginne to weepe,
To doe this werke, if wee will euer thee,
For very ſhame to keepe about the ſee.

Shall any Prince, what ſo be his name,
Which hath Nobles moch leche ours,
Bee Lord of ſee: and Flemings to our blame,
Stop vs, take vs, and ſo make fade the flowers
Of Engliſh ſtate, and diſteyne our honours?
For cowardiſe alas it ſhould ſo bee.
Thereforе I ginne to write nowe of the ſee.

Of the commodities of *Spaine* and of *Flanders*. *The firſt Chapter.*

Figges, Raiſins, Wine Ballard, Dates, Licoyes, Oyle, Graynes, White Paſtel Sope, Ware, Iron, Madmolle, Gotefell, Ridfell, Saffron, Quickeſſiuer.

KNowe well all men that proffits in certaine
Commodities called comming out of Spaine
And Marchandize, who ſo will weete what it is,
Bene Figs, Raiſins, wine Ballard, and Dates,
And Licoyes, Oiuill oyle, and graine,
White Paſtill Sope, and Ware is not vayne.
Yron, Wooll, Madmolle, Gotefell, Ridfell alſo:
For Poynt-makers full needefull bene they tweyne:
Saffron, Quickeſſiuer, which owne Spaine Marchandy,
Is into Flanders ſhipped full craftily,
Unto Bruges ward to her ſtaple fayre:
The Hauen of Scluſe hir Hauen for her repayre
Wich is cleped Swyn tho ſhippes giding:
Where many veſſels and fayre are abiding.
But theſe Marchantes with their ſhippes great,
And ſuch chaffare as they bye and get
By the weyes muſt nede take on hand
By the coaſts to paſſe of our England,
Betwixt Douer and Caleis, this is no doubt.
Who can well els ſuch matter bring about?

And when theſe ſayd Marchants diſcharged bee
Of Marchandie in Flanders nere the ſee,
Then they bee charged againe with Marchandy,
That to Flanders bougeth full richly.
Fine cloth of Ypre that named is better than ours,
Cloth of Curtrike, fine cloth of all colours,
Much Fuſtian, and alſo Linen cloth.
But Flemings, if yee bee not wroth,
The great ſubſtance of your cloth at the full
Yee wot ye make it of our Engliſh woll.

Flemiſh cloth made of Engliſh Wooll.

Then may it not ſinke in mannis brayne,
But that it muſt this Marchandy of Spaine
Both out and in by our coaſtes paſſe:
Hee that ſayd nay in witte was like an aſſe.
Wee ſhould haue peace with the grounds meyne
Thus if this ſee were kept, I dare well ſayne.
For Spaine and Flanders is as eche other brother,
And nether may well liue without other:
They may not liuen to maintaine their degrees,
Without our Engliſh commodities:

The neceſſarie communication of Spaine and Flanders.

Wolle and Tynne: for the woolle of England
Suſteineth the Commons Flemings I vnderſtand.
Then if England would her wolle reſtraine
From Flanders, this followeth in certaine,
Flanders of neve muſt with vs haue peace,
Or els ſhee is deſtroyed without lees.
Alſo if Flanders thus deſtroyed bee:
Some Marchandy of Spaine will neuer yhee:
For deſtroyed it is, and as in cheeſe
The wolle of Spaine it commeth not to preeſe,
But if it be coſſed and menged well
Amongſt the Engliſh wolle the greter delle.
For Spaniſh wooll in Flaunders drayed is,
And euer hath bee, that men haue minde of this:

And

Wine, Oley, Ware, Graine, Figs, Reiſens, Hony, Coſbe-weyne, Dates, Salt, Yrdes.

Note well.

And yet Wooll is one of the chiefe Marchandy
That longeth to Spaine: who so will espie,
It is of little value, trust vnto mee,
With English wooll but if it menged bee.
Thus if the sea be kept, than herken hether,
If these two lands comen not together:
So that the Fleete of Flanders passe nought
That in the narrowe see it be not brought
Into the Rochelle to fetch the famose wine,
Ner into Bytonuse Bay for salt so fine,
What is then Spaine? What is Flanders also?
As who sayd, nought, the thrift is agon.
For the little land of Flanders is
But a staple to other lands ywis:
And all that groweth in Flanders graine and seede
May not a Moneth finde hem meate and brede.
What hath then Flanders, bee Flemings liefe or loth,
But a little Madder and Flemish Cloth:
By Drapering of our wooll in substance
Liuen her commons, this is her gouernance,
Without wich they may not liue at ease.
Thus must hem serue, or with vs must haue peace.

Of the commodities of Portugal.

The second Chapter.

THe Marchandy also of Portugal
By diuers lands turne into sale.
Portugalers with vs haue trouth in hand:
Whose Marchandy commeth much into England.
They ben our friends, with their commodities,
And wee English passen into their countrees.
Wine, Oley, Ware, Graine, Figs, Reysins, Hony, Cozdewayne, Dates, Salt, Hides.
Her land hath wine, Oley, Ware, and Graine,
Figges, Reysins, Hony and Cozdowayne:
Dates, and Sale, Hides, and such Marchandy:
And if they would to Flanders passe for by,
They should not bee suffred ones ner twyes,
For suppozting of our cruell enemies,
That is to say Flemings with her gyle:
Note well. For changeable they are in little while.
Then I conclude by reasons many moe,
If we suffred neither friend noz foe,
What so enemies, and so suppozting
Passe for by vs in time of werring,
Seth our friends will not ben in cause
Of our hindzing, if reson leue this clause:
Then nede from Flanders peace bee to vs sought,
And other lands should seeke peace, dout nought:
For Flanders is Staple, as men tell mee,
To all nations of Christianitie.

The commodities of pety Britaine, with her Rouers on the sea.

The third Chapter.

FUrthermoze to write I am faine
Somewhat speaking of the little Britayne.
Commoditie thereof there, is and was,

Salt,

Salt, and wine, creſt cloth and canuas.
And the land of Flaunders ſickerly
Is the ſtaple of their Marchandy.
Wich Marchandie may not paſſe away
But by the coaſt of England, this is no nay.
And of this Britaine, who ſo trueth louis,
The Britons great Rouers and Theeues. Are the greateſt roners and the greateſt theeuis,
That haue bene in the ſea many one yeere:
That our Marchants haue bought full dere.
For they haue tooke notable goods of ours,
On this ſide ſee, theſe falſe pelours
Called of Saincte Malo, and ellis where:
Wich to their Duke none obeyſance will bere:
Wich ſuch colours wee haue bee hindred ſore.
And fayned peace is called no werre herefore.
Thus they haue bene in diuers coaſts many
Of our England, more then rehearſe can I:
In Norfolke coaſtes, and other places about,
And robbed and brent and ſlaine by many a rowte:
And they haue alſo ranſomed Towne by Towne:
That into the regnes of boſt haue run her ſowne:
Wich hath bin ruth vnto this Realme and ſhame:
They that the ſea ſhould keepe are much to blame.
For Britayne is of eaſie reputation;
And Saincte Malo turneth hem to reprobation.

A ſtorie of Edward the third his ordinance *for Britayne.*

Hiſtoria oſtendens quam ordinationem Rex Edwardus tertius fecit contra depræatores marinos Britanniæ minoris, ad debellandum eos & ſubiugandum Britannos minores.

HEre bring I in a ſtorie to mee lent,
That a good Squire in time of Parliament
Tooke vnto mee well written in a ſcrowe:
That I haue commons both with high and lowe,
Of which all men accorden into one,
That it was done not many yeeres agone.
But when noble King Edward the thrid
Reigned in grace, right thus it betyd.
For hee had a maner geloſie
To his Marchants and loued them hartily.
He held the weyes to rule well the ſee,
Whereby Marchants might haue proſperitee.
That for Harflew Houndflew did he maken;
And great werre that time were vndertaken,
betwixt the King and the Duke of Britayne:
At laſt to fall to peace both were they fayne:
Vpon the wich made with conuencion
Our Marchants made hem readie bowne
Toward Britayne to loade their Marchandie,
Wening hem friends they went forth boldly:
But ſoone anon our Marchants were peake,
And wee ſpedde neuer the better for truce ſake.
They loſt her good, her naup and ſpending:
But their complaint came vnto the king.
Then wert he wroth, and to the Duke he ſent,
And complained that ſuch harme was hent;
By conuention and peace made ſo refuſed:
Wich Duke ſent againe, and him excuſed,
Rehearſing that the mount of Saincte Michael,

Statutum Regis Edwardi tertij pro Lombardis.

Anno Domini 1436. Hen. 6. 14.

And

And Sainct Malo would neuer a dell
Be subiect vnto his gouernance,
Nor be vnder his obeysance:
And so they did withouten him that deede.
But when the king anon had taken heede:
Hee in his herte set a iudgement,
Without calling of any Parliament,
Or greate tarry to take long aduise
To torrifie anon he did deuise
Of English Townes three, that is to say,
Dertmouth, Plymouth, the third it is Fowey:
And gaue hem helpe and notable puisance
With instifence set them in gouernance
Upon pety Bretayne for to werre.
Those good sea men would no more differre,
But bete hem home and made they might not rowte,
Tooke prisoners, and made them for to lowte.
And efte the Duke, an ensample t isle,
Wrote to the king as he first did deuise,
Him excusing: But our men wood
With great power passed ouer the floode
And werred foorth into the Dukes lande,
And had ny destroyed free and bond.
But than the Duke knewe that the townes three
Should haue lost all his native Countrie,
He vndertooke by suretie true not false,
For mount Michael and Saincte Malo als,
And other parties of the litle Brytaine,
Which to obey, as sayd was, were not fayne.
The Duke hymselfe for all did vndertake:
With all his herte a full peace did hee make:
So that in all the life time of the king,
Marchants had peace withouten werring:

Statutum Regis Edwardi tertij pro Lombardis.

He made a statute for Lombards in this land,
That they should in noe wise take on hande
Here to inhabite, here to chardge and dischardge
But foztie dayes, no more time had they large.
This good king by witte of such appzeisse
Kept his Marchants and the sea from mischiefe,

Of the commodities of *Scotland* and draping *of her wolles in* Flanders. *The fourth Chapiter.*

MOreouer of Scotland the commodities
Are Felles, Hides, and of Woll the Fleese.
And all these must passe by vs alway
Into Flanders by England, sooth to say.
And all her woolle was drayed for to sell
In the Townes of Poperinge and of Bell;
Which my Lord of Glocester with ire
For her falshed set vpon a fire.
And yet they of Bell and Poperinge
Could neuer drape her woolle for any thing,
But if they had English woll withall.
Our goodly woll which is so generall
Needefull to them in Spaine and Scotland als,
And other coastes, this sentence is not false:
Yee worthy Marchants I doe it vpon you,

Anno Domini 1436. Hen. 6. 14.

I haue

I haue this learned ye mot well where and howe:
Ye wotte the Staple of that Marchandie,
Of this Scotland is Flaunders ſekerly.
And the Scots bene charged knowen at the eye,
Out of Flanders with little Mercerie,
And great plentie of Habervalhers Ware,
And halfe her ſhippes with cart wheeles bare,
And with Barrowes are laden as in ſubſtance:
Thus moſt rude ware are in her cheueſance.
So they may not forbeare this Flemiſh land,
Therefore if wee would manly take in hand,
To keepe this Sea from Flanders and from Spaine,
And from Scotland, like as from perty Britaine,
Wee ſhould right ſoone haue peace for all her boſts,
For they muſt needes paſſe by our Engliſh coſts.

Of the commodities of *Pruce*, and *High Dutch men*, and *Eaſterlings*. The fifth Chapitle.

NOwe goe forth to the commodities,
That commeth from Pruce in two maner degrees.
For two maner people haue ſuch vſe,
That is to ſay, High Duch men of Pruſe,
And Eſterlings, which might not be forborne,
Out of Flanders, but it were verely lorne.
For they bring in the ſubſtance of the Beere,
That they drinken feele too good chepe, not nere.
Yee haue heard that two Flemings together
Will vndertake or they goe any whither,
Or they rile once to drinke a Ferkin full,
Of good Beerekin: ſo lore they hall and pull.
Vnder the board they pillen as they ſit:
This commeth of couenant of a worthie wit.
Without Caleis in their Butter they cakked
When they fled home, and when they leyſure lacked
To holde their ſiege, they went like as a Doe:
Well was that Fleming that might truſſe, and goe.
For feare they turned backe and hyed faſt,
My Lord of Gloceſter made hem ſo agaſt
With his comming, and ſought hem in her land,
And hrent and ſlowe as he had take on hand:
So that our enemies durſt not bide, nor ſtere,
They fled to mewe, they durſt no more appeare,
Rebuked ſore for euer ſo ſhamefully,
Vnto her vtter euerlaſting villanie.

Nowe Beere and Bakon bene fro Pruſe brought
Into Flanders, as loued and farre ſought;
Osmond, Copper, Bow-ſtaues, Steele, and Mere,
Peltre ware and grey Pitch, Terre, Board, and fere:
And Colleyne threed, Fuſtian and Canuas,
Card, Bukeram: of olde time thus it was.
But the Flemings among theſe things dere,
In common louen beſt Bakon and Beere.
Alſo Pruſe men maken her aduenture
Of Plate of ſilner of wedges good and ſure
In great plentie which they bring and bye,
Out of the lands of Beamie and Hungarie:
Which is increaſe full great lure their lands,
And they bene laden, I vnderſtand,

Pitch, Tarre, Board, Flure, Colleyn threed, Fuſtian, Canuas, Cardes, Bokeram, Siluer-plate, Wedges of Siluer and Steell.

With

With wollen cloth all maner of colours
By dyers crafted full diuers, that ben ours.
And they aduenture full greatly vnto the Bay,
For sale that is needefull withouten nay.
Thus if they would not our friends bee,
We might lightly stoppe hem in the see:
They should not passe our streemes withouten leue,
It would not be, but if we should hem greue.

Of the commodities of the Genuoys and her great Caracks. *Chap. 6.*

THe Genuois comen in sundry wises
Into this land with diuers marchandises
In great Caracks, arrayed withouten lacke
With cloth of gold, silke, and pepper blacke
For, Woad. They bring with them, and of ſcrood great plentee,
Woll Dyle, Woad ashen, by vessel in the see,
Cotton, Rochalum, and good gold of Genne.
And then be charged with wolle againe I wenne,
And wollen cloth of ours of colours all.
And they aduenture, as ofte it doth befall,
Into Flanders with such things as they bye,
That is their chefe staple sekerly:
And if they would be our full enemies,
They should not passe our streemes with marchandise.

The comodities and nicetees of the Venetians and Florentines, with their Gallees. *Chap. 7.*

THe great Galees of Venice and Florence
Be well laden with things of complacence,
All spicery and of grossers ware:
With sweete wines all maner of chaffare,
Apes, and Japes, and marmusets tayled,
Nifles and trifles that little haue auayled:
And things with which they fetely blere our eye:
With things not induring that worthe.
For much of this chaffare that is waſtable
Might be forborne for dere and deceiuable.
And that I wene as for infirmities
In our England are such commodities
Withouten helpe of any other lond
Which by witte and practise both pfound:
That all humors might be voyded sure,
Which that we gleder with our English cure:
That we should haue no neede of Scamonie,
Turbit, enforbe, correct Diagredie,
Rubarbe, Sene, and yet they ben to needefull,
But I know things al so speedefull,
That growen here, as those things sayd.
Let of this matter no man be dismayde;
But that a man may voyde infirmitie
Without degrees fet fro beyond the sea.
And yef they should except be any thing
It were but sugre, trust to my saying:
He that trusteth not to my saying and sentence,
Let him better search experience.
In this matter I will not further preasse,
Who so not beleeueth, let him leaue and ceasse.

Thus theſe galeys for this licking ware,
And eating ware, bare hence our beſt chaffare:
Cloth, woll, and tinne, which as I ſayd before,
Out of this lond worſt might be forbore,
For ech other land of neceſſitie
Haue great neede to buy ſome of them three:
And we receiue of hem into this coſte
Ware and chaffare that lightly wilbe loſte.
And would Jeſus, that our Lordis wold
Conſider this well both yong and old:
Namely old that haue experience,
That might the yong exhorte to prudence;
What harme, what hurt, and what hinderance
Is done to vs, vnto our great grieuance,
Of ſuch lands, and of ſuch nations:
As experte men know by probations,
By writings as diſcouered our counſailes,
And falſe colour alwaies the countertailes
Of our enimies: that doth vs hindering
Unto our goods, our Reime, and to the king:
As wiſe men haue ſhewed well at eye;
And all this is couloured by marchandye.

An example of deceite.

Alſo they bere the gold out of this land,
And ſucke the thrift away out of our hand:
As the Waſpe ſouketh honie fro the bee,
So miniſheth our commoditee.
Now wol ye here how they in Cotteſwold
Were wont to borrow or they ſhold be ſold
Her woll good as for yere and yere.
Of cloth and tinne they did in like manere:
And in her galies ſhip this marchandie:
Then ſoone at Venice of them men woll it bye.
Then vtterne there the chaffare by the peiſe,
And lightly als there they make her reiſe.
And when the goods beene at Venice ſold,
Then to carie her change they this money haue,
They will it profer, their ſubtiltie to ſaue,
To Engliſh marchants to peue it out by eſchange
To be payed againe they make not ſtrange,
At the receiuing and ſight of a letter,
Here in England, ſeeming for the better,
By foure pence leſſe in the noble round:
That is twelue pence in the golden pound.
And if wee wol haue of payment
A full moneth, than muſt him needes aſſent
To eight pence loſſe, that is ſhillings twaine
In the Engliſh pound; as eft ſoone againe,
For two moneths twelue pence muſt be pay.
In the Engliſh pound what is that to ſay,
But ſhillings three? So that in pound fell
For hurt and harme hard is with hem to dwell.
And when Engliſh marchants haue content
This eſchange in England of aſſent,
That theſe ſayd Venecians haue in woone
And Florentines to bere her gold ſoone
Ouer the ſee into Flanders againe:
And thus they liue in Flanders, ſooth to ſaine,
And in London with ſuch cheuiſance,
That men call vſury, to our loſſe and hinderance.

Another

Another example of deceite.

NOw lesten well how they made vs a baleys
When they borrowed at the town of Caleis
As they were wont, their woll that was hem lent,
For yere and yere they should make payment.
And sometime als two yere and two yeare,
(O) loue. This was kayre ‖ loue: but yet will ye heare,
How they to Bruges would her woll carie,
And for hem take payment withouten tarie,
And sell it fast for ready money in hand.
For fifty pounds of money of losse they wold not wond
In a thousand pound, and liue thereby
Till the day of payment easily,
Come againe in exchange: making
Full like usury, as men make vndertaking.
Than whan this payment of a thousand pound
Was well content, they should haue chaffare sound
If they wold fro the Staple full,
Receiue againe three thousand pound in woll.
In Cottel wold also they ride about,
And all England, and buy withouten doubte
What them list with freedome and franchise,
More then we English may gitten many wise.
But would God that without lenger delayes
These galees were vnfraught in foure dayes,
And in foure dayes charged againe,
And that they might be put to certaine
To goe to sea, as we there with hem doe.
It were expedient that they did right soe,
As we doe there. If the king would it:
Ah what worship wold fall to English wit:
What profite also to our marchandie
Which wold of neede be cherished hertilie:
Note diligitly For I would witte, why now our nauie fayleth,
When manie a foe vs a[illegible]our doore assayleth.
Now in these dayes, that if there come a neede,
A woful complaint of lacke of nauie if need come. What nauie should we haue it is to dreede.
In Denmarke were full noble conquerours
In time past, full worthy warriours:
Which when they had [illegible]eir marchants destroyed,
To pouerty they fell, thus were they noyed:
A flowte of destruction of Denmarke for destruction of their marchants. And so they stand at mischiefe at this day.
This learned I late well writen, this no nay.
Therefore beware, I can no better will,
If grace it will, of other mennis perill.
For if marchants were cherished to her speede,
We were not likely to fayle in any neede.
If they be rich, then in prosperitee
Shalbe our londe, lords, and commontee,
And in worship. Now thinke I on the sonne
The praise of Richard of Whitingdon marchant. Of marchandy Richard of Whitingdon;
That lond sterre, and chiefe chosen floure:
What hath by him our England of honour,
And what profite hath bin of his riches,
And yet lasteth daily in worthines:
That pen and paper may not me suffice
Him to describe: so high he was of price

Aboue marchants, that set him one of the best:
I can no more, but God haue him in rest.

Now the principal matter.

WHat reason is it that we should goe to ost
In their countries, & in this English coste
They should not so: but haue more liberty
Then we our selues now also motte I thee.
I would to gists men should take no heede
That letteth our thing publicke for to speede.
For this we see well euery day at eye,
Gists and fests stopen our policie.
Now see that fooles ben either they or wee:
But euer we haue the worse in this countree.
Therefore let hem vnto ost go here,
Or be we free with hem in like manere
In their countrees: and if it will not bee,
Compell them vnto ost, and yee shall see
Moch auantage, and moch profite arise,
Moch more then I can write in any wise.

Of our charge and discharge at her marts.

COnceiue wel here, that Englishmen at martes
Be discharged, for all her crafts and artes,
In Brabant of her marchandy
In fourteene dayes, and ageine hastily
In the same dayes fourteene acharged ekt.
And if they bide lenger all is bereft,
Anon they should forfeit her goods all,
Or marchandy: it should no better fall.
And we to martis in Brabant charged beene
With English cloth full good and fayre to seene:
We ben againe charged with mercerie,
Haburdasher ware, and with grosserie:
To which marts, that English men call fayres,
Ech nation oft maketh her repayres:
English, and French, Lombards, Jennoyes,
Catalones, thether they take her wayes:
Scots, Spaniards, Irishmen there abide,
With great plenty bringing of sale hides.
And I here say that we in Brabant bye,
Flanders and Zeland more of marchandy
In common vse then done all other nations:
This haue I heard of marchants relations:
And if the English ben not in the marts
They ben feeble, and as nought bene her parts.
For they byemore, and fro purse put out
More marchandie then all the other rowte.
Kept then the see, shippes should not bying ne fetch,
And then the carreys wold not thider stretch:
And so those marts wold full euill thee,
If we manly kept about the see.

Of the commodities of *Brabant* and *Zeland* and *Henauld* and marchandy carried by land to the martes. Cap. 8.

Madre, Woad

YEt marchandy of Brabant and Zeland
The Madre and Woad, that dyers take on hand

To

Garlicke. Onions. Leekes.

To open with, Garlike and Onions,
And ſalt fiſhe als for huſband and commons,
But they of Holland at Caleis byen our ſelles,
And wolles our, that Engliſhmen hem ſelles.
And the chaffare that Engliſhmen doe byen
In the marts, that noe man may denien,
Is not made in Brabant that cuntree:
It commeth from out of Henauld, not by ſee,
But al by land, by carts, and from France,
Bourgoyne, Colem, Cameret in ſubſtance,
Therefore at marts if there be a reſtraint,
Men ſeyne plainely that liſt no fables paynt,
If Engliſhmen be withdrawen away,
Is great rebuke and loſſe to her affray:
As though we ſent into the land of France
Ten thouſand people, men of good puiſſance,
To werre vnto her hindring multifarie,
So ben our Engliſh marchants neceſſarie.
If it be thus allay, and we ſhall witten
Of men experte, by whom I haue this written.
For ſayd is that this carted marchandy
Draweth in value as much verily,

What our marchants byen in that coſte more then all other.

As all the goods that come in ſhippes thider,
Which Engliſhmen bye moſt and bring it hither.
For her marts ben febel, ſhame to ſay,
But Engliſhmen thider dreſſe her way.

A concluſion of this depending of keeping of the ſea.

THan I conclude, if neuer ſo much by land
Were by carres brought vnto their hand,
If well the ſea were kept in gouernance
They ſhould by ſea haue no deliuerance.
Wee ſhould hem ſtop, and we ſhould hem deſtroy,
As priſoners we ſhould hem bring to annoy.
And ſo we ſhould of our cruell enimies
Make our friends for feare of marchandies,
If they were not ſuffered for to paſſe
Into Flanders. But we be fraple as glaſſe
And alſo brittle, not thought neuer abiding;
But when grace ſhineth ſoone are we ſliding;
We will it not receiue in any wiſe:
That maken luſt, enuie, and couetiſe:
Expone me this; and yee ſhall ſooth it find,
Bere it away, and keepe it in your mind.
Then ſhald worſhip vnto our Noble bee
In feate and forme to lord and Maieſtie:
Liche as the ſeale the greateſt of this land
On the one ſide hath, as I vnderſtand,
A prince riding with his ſwerd drawn,
In the other ſide ſitting, ſoth it is in law,
Betokening good rule and puniſhing
In very deede of England by the king.
And it is ſo, God bleſſed mought be bee.
So in likewiſe I would were on the ſee
By the Noble, that ſwerde ſhould haue power,
And the ſhips on the ſea about vs here.
What needeth a garland which is made of Iuie
Shewe a tauerne wineleſſe, alſo thriue I:

If men were wise, the Frenchmen and Fleming
Shuld bere no state in sea by werring.
Of Haukin Lyons. Then Haukin lyons shuld not be so bold
To stoppe wine, and shippes for to hold
Unto our shame. He had be beten thence.
Alas, alas, why did we this offence,
Fully to shend the old English fames;
And the profits of England, and their names:
Why is this power called of couetise;
With false colours cast before our eyes?
That if good men called werriours
Would take in hand for the commons succours,
To purge the sea vnto our great auayle,
And winne hem goods, and haue vp the sayle,
And on our enimies their liues to impart,
So that they might their prises well depart e,
As reson wold, iustice and equitie;
Lombards are cause enough to hurt this land, although there were none other cause. To make this land haue lordship of the sea.
Then shall Lombards and other fained friends
Make her chalenges by colour false offends,
And say their chaffare in the shippes is,
And chalenge al. Looke if this be amisse.
False colouring of goods by Lombards. For thus may al that men haue bought to soye,
Ben soone excused, and saued by false colour.
Beware ye men that bere the great in hand
Alas for bribes & gift of good, feasts & other means, that stoppen our policie. That they destroy the policie of this land,
By gifte and good, and the fine golden clothis,
And like, and other: say ye not this soth is?
This is the very state of our time. But if we had very experience
That they take meede with priuie violence,
Carpets, and things of price and pleasance,
Whereby stopped should be good gouernance:
And if it were as ye say to me,
Than wold I say, alas cupiditte,
That they that haue her liues put in dreede,
Shalbe soone out of winning, all for meed,
And lose her costes, and brought to pouerty,
That they shall neuer haue lust to goe to sea.

An exhortation to make an ordinance against colour of maintainers and excusers of folkes goods.

It is a marueilous thing that so great a sickues and hurt of þ land may haue no remedie of so many as take hêselues wise men of gouernance. FOr this colour that must be sayd aloste
And be declared of the great full ofte,
That our seamen wol by many wise
Spoile our friends in steede of our enimies:
For which colour and Lombards maintenance,
The king it needes to make an ordinance
With his Counsayle that may not fayle, I trowe,
That friends should from enimies be knowe,
Our enimies taken and our friends spared:
The remedy of hem must be declared,
Thus may the sea be kept in no sell,
For if ought be spoken, wot ye well,
We haue the strokes, and enemies haue the winning:
But maynteiners are parteners of the sinning.
We liue in lust and bide in couetise:
This is our rule to maintaine marchandise,
And policie that wee haue on the sea.
And, but God helpe, it will no other bee.

Or

Of the commodities of Ireland, and policie and keeping thereof, and conquering of wild Irish: with *an incident of Wales.* Chap. 9.

I Cast to speake of Ireland but a litle:
Commodities of it I will ertitle,
Hides, and fish, Salmon, Hake, Herringe,
Irish wooll, and linen cloth, Kildinge,
And marterns goode ben her marchandie,
* Of, hunting. Herres, Hides, and other of *Uenerie.
Skinnes of Otter, Squi[illegible] and Irish hare,
Of sheepe, lambe, and Fore, is her chaffare,
Felles of Riddes, and Conies great plentie.
So that if Ireland helpe vs to keepe the sea,
Because the King cleped is Rex Angliæ,
And is Dominus also Hyberniæ,
Old possessed by Progenitours:
The Irish men haue cause like to ours
Our land and hers together to defend,
That no enemie should hurt ne offend,
Ireland ne vs: but as one commontie
Should helpe well to keepe about the sea:
For they haue hauens great, and goodly bayes,
Sure, wyde and deepe, of good assayes,
At Waterford, and costes many one.
And as men sayne in England be there none
Better hauens, ships in to rive,
No more sure for enemies to abide.
Why speake I thus so much of Ireland?
For all so much as I can vnderstand,
It is fertile for things that there doe growe
And multiplien, loke who lust to knowe,
So large, so good, and so commodious,
That to declare is strange and maruailous.
Mynes of siluer and golde in Ireland. For of siluer and golde there is the ooze,
Among the wilde Irish though they be poore.
For they are rude and can thereon no skill:
So that if we had their peace and good will
To myne and fine, and metal for to pure,
In wilde Irish might we finde the cure,
As in London saith a Iuellere,
Which brought from thence golde ooze to vs here,
Whereof was fyned mettal good and clene,
As they touch, no better could be seene,
Nowe here beware and heartily take intent,
As yee will answere at last iudgement,
That for slought and for rachesthede
Yee remember with all your might to hede
To kepe Ireland that it be not lost.
For it is a boteralle and a post,
Under England, and Wales another:
God forbid, but ech were others brother,
Of one ligeance due vnto the king.
But I haue pitie in good faith of this thing
That I shall say with attisement:
I am aferde that Ireland will be shent:
It must awey, it wol bee lost from vs,
But if thou helpe, thou Iesu gracious,
And giue vs grace al slought to leue beside.

For

For much thing in my herte is hide,
Which in another treatiſe I caſte to write
Made al onely for that ſolle and ſite,
Of fertile Ireland, wich might not be forborne,
But if England were nigh as goode as gone.
God forbid that a wild Iriſh wirlinge
Should be choſen for to bee their kinge,
After her conqueſte for our laſt puiſſance,
And hinder vs by other lands alliance.
Wiſe men ſeyn, wich ſelin not, ne douten,
That wild Iriſh ſo much of ground haue gotten
There vpon vs, as likeneſſe may be
Like as England to ſheeris two or three
Of this our land is made comparable:
So wild Iriſh haue wonne on vs vnable
Yet to defend, and of none power,
That our ground is there a litle corner,
To all Ireland in true compariſon.
It needeth no more this matter to expon.
Which if it bee loſt, as Chriſt Jeſu forbed,
Farewel Wales, then England commeth to dred,
This is now to be greatly feared. For alliance of Scotland and of Spaine,
And other mo, as the pety Bretaine,
And ſo hue enemies enuiron round about.
I beſeech God, that ſome prayers deuout
Mutt let the ſaid apparance probable
Thus diſpoſed without feyned fable.
But all onely for perill that I ſee
Thus imminent, it's likely for to bee.
And well I wotte, that from hence to Rome,
And, as men ſay, in all Chriſtendome,
Is no ground like land to Ireland liche,
So large, ſo good, ſo plentrous, ſo riche,
That to this worde Dominus doe long.
Then mee ſemeth that right were and no wrong,
To get the lande: and it were pitous
To vs to leſe this high name Dominus.
And all this word Dominus of name
Should haue th' ground obeyſant wilde and tame,
That name and people togidre might accord
Al the ground ſubiect to the Lord.
And that it is poſſible to bee ſubiect,
Unto the king wel ſhal it bee detect,
In the litle booke that I of ſpake,
I trowe reſon al this wol vndertake.
And I knowe wel howe it ſtande,
Alas fortune beginneth ſo to ſcant,
Or elles grace, that deade is gouernance.
For ſo miniſheth parties of our puiſſance,
In that land that wee leſe euery yere,
More ground and more, as well as yee may here.
This Lorde was the Earle of Ormond that told to me this matter, that he would vnderſtake it, in pain of loſſe of al his lyuelihood. But this profer could not be admitted. Ergo malè. I herd a man ſpeake to mee full late,
Which was a lord of full great eſtate,
Than expenſe of one yere done in France
Werred on men well willed of puiſſance
This ſaid ground of Ireland to conquere.
And yet becauſe England might not forbere
Theſe ſaid expenſes gadred in one yeere,
But in three yeeres or foure gadred vp here,

The trade of Briſtow to Iſland.

The old trade of Scarborough to Iſland and the North.

wight

Might winne Ireland to a ſmall conqueſte,
In one ſole yeere to ſet vs all at reſte.
And how ſoone wolde this be paied ageyne:
Which were it worth yerely, if wee not feyne:
I wol declare, who ſo luſte to looke,
I trowe full plainely in my litle booke.
But couetiſe, and ſingularitie
Of owne profite, enuie, crueltie,
Hath doon vs harme, and doe vs euery day,
And muſters make that ſhame is to ſay:
Our money ſpent al to litle auaile,
And our enimies ſo greatly doone preuaile,
That what harme may fall and ouerthwerte
I may vneth write more for ſore of herte.

An exhortation to the keeping of Wales.

BEware of Wales, Chriſt Jeſu mote vs keepe,
That it make not our childers childe to weepe,
Ne vs alſo, ſo if it goe his way,
By vnwarenes: ſeth that many a day
Men haue bee ſerue of her rebellion,
By great tokens and oſtentation:
Sethe the meanes with a diſcrete auiſe,
And helpe that they rudely not ariſe
For to rebell, that Chriſt it forbede.
Looke wel aboute, for God wote yee haue neede,
Unfainingly, vnfeyning and vnfeynt,
That conſcience for ſlought you not atteynt:
Kepe well that grounde, for harme that may ben vſed,
Or afore God mutte yee ben accuſed.

Of the commodious Stockfiſh of Iſland, and keeping of the Sea, namely the Narrow ſea, with *an incident of the keeping of Caleis.* Chap. 10.

The trade of Billingſgate to Iſland.

OF Iſland to write is litle neede,
Saue of Stock-fiſh: Yet forſooth in deed
Out of Billingſgate, and coſtes many one,
Men haue practiſed by needle and by ſtone
Thider wardes within a litle while,
Within twelue yere, and without perill
Gon and come, as men were wont of old

The old trade of Scarborough to Iſland and the North.

Of Scarborough vnto the coſtes cold.
And nowe ſo fele ſhippes this yeere there ware,
That moch loſſe for vnkreyght they bare:
Iſland might not make hem to bee kraught
Unto the Hawys: thus much harme they caught.
Then here I ende of the commodites
For which neede is well to kepe the ſeas:
Eſte and Weſte, South and North they bee,
And chiefly kepe the ſharpe narrow ſee,
Betweene Douer and Caleis: and as thus
that foes paſſe none without good will of vs:
And they abide our danger in the length,
What for our coſtis and Caleis in our ſtrength.

An exhortation for the ſure keeping of *Caleis*.

AND for the loue of God, and of his bliſſe
Cheriſh yee Caleis better then it is,

See well thereto, and heare the grete complaint
That true men tellen, that woll no lies paint,
And as yee know that writing commeth from thence:
Doe not to England for ſlought ſo great offence,
But that redreſſed it bee for any thing:
Leſte a ſong of ſorrow that wee ſing.
For litle wenith the foole who ſo might cheſe
What harme it were good Caleis for to leſe:
What wo it were for all this Engliſh ground.
The ioy of Sigiſmund the Emperour that Caleis was Engliſh.
Which wel conceiued the Emperour Sigiſmound,
That of all ioyes mave it one of the moſte,
That Caleis was ſubiect vnto Engliſh coſte.
Him thought it was a ſe wel moſt of all,
And ſo the ſame in Latine did it call.
And if yee wol more of Caleis heare and knowe,
I call to write within a litle ſtrowe,
Like as I haue done before by and by
In other parteis of our politie.
Loke how hard it was at the firſt to get;
And by my counſell lightly doe not it let.
For if wee leſe it with ſhame of face
Wilfully, it is for lacke of grace,
Howe was Harflew cried vpon, and Rone,
That they were likely for ſhought to be gone:
Howe was it warned and cried on in England,
I make record with this pen in my hand.
It was warened plainely in Normandie,
And in England, and I thereon did crie.
The world was defrauded, it berpne right ſo.
Harflew was loſt in the yere 1449. in the 27. of Henry the ſixth.
Farewell *Harflew: leewly it was a go.
Nowe ware Caleis, I can ſay no better:
My ſoule diſcharge I by this preſent letter.

After the Chapitles of commodities of diuers lands, ſheweth the concluſion of keeping of the ſea enuiron, *by a ſtorie of King Edgar, and two incidents of* King Edward the third, and King Henrie the fifth. *Chap.* 11.

NOwe ſee we well then that this round ſee
To our Noble by parliamitee
Under the ſhip ſhewed there the ſayle,
And our king with royal apparayle,
With ſwerd drawen bright and extent
For to chaſtiſe enimies violent;
Should be lord of the ſea about,
To keepe enimies from within and without;
To behold through Chriſtianitee
Water and lord enuiron of the ſee:
All liuing men ſuch a prince to dreed,
Of ſuch a a regne to bee aferd in deed.
Thus proue I well that it was thus of old;
Which by a * Chronicle anon ſhalbe told,
Right curious: but I will interprete
It into Engliſh, as I did it gete:
Of king Edgar: O moſt marueilous
Prince liuing, wittie, and cheualerous:
So good that none of his predeceſſours
Was to him liche in prudence and honours.

Dicit Chronica, quod iſte Edgarus cunctis prædeceſſoribus ſuis felicior, nulli ſanctitate inferior, omnibus modum ſuauitate præſtantior fuerit. Luxit ipſe Anglia non minus memorabilis, quàm Cyrus Perſis, Catolus Francis Romulus verò Romanis.

Dicit Chronica, præparauerat naues robuſtiſſimas numero tria millia ſexcentas in quibus redeunte æſtate omnem inſulam ad terrorem extraneorũ, & ad ſuorum exercitationem cum maximo apparatu circumnauigare conſueuerat.

Per

Wer was fortunate and more gracious
Then other before, and more glorious:
He was beneth no man in holines:
Hee paſſed all in vertuous ſweetnes.
Of Engliſh kings was none ſo commendable:
To Engliſh men no leſſe memorable,
Then Cyrus was to Perſe by puiſſance,
And as great Charles was to them of France,
And as to the Romanes was great Romulus,
So was to England this worthy Edgarus.
I may not write more of his worthines
For lacke of time, ne of his holines:
But to my matter I him exemplifie,
Of conditions tweyne and of his policie:
Within his land was one, this is no doubt,
And another in the ſee without;
That in time of Winter and of werre,
When boyſtrous windes put ſee men into feare;
Within his land about by all prouinces
Hee paſſed through, perceiuing his princes,
Lords, and others of the commontee,
Who was oppreſſour, and who to pouertee
Was drawen and brought, and who was clene in life,
And was by miſchiefe and by ſtrife
With ouer leding and extortion:
And good and badde of eche condition
Hee eſpied: and his miniſters als,
Who did trought, and which of hem was fals:
Howe the right and lawes of the land
Were executed, and who durſt take in hand
To diſobey his ſtatutes and decrees,
If they were well kept in all countrees:
Of theſe he made ſubtile inueſtigation
Of his owne eſpie, and other mens relation.
Among other was his great buſines,
Well to ben ware, that great men of riches,
And men of might in citie nor in towne
Should to the poore doe non oppreſſion.
Thus was hee wont in this Winter tide
On ſuch enforcible buſſy to abide.
This was his labour for the publike thing,
Thus was hee occupied: a paſſing holy King.
Dich Chronica, præparauerat nauis robuſtiſſimas numero tria millia ſexcentas: in quibus redeunte æſtate omnem inſulam ad terrorem extraneorũ, & ad ſuorum excitationem cum maximo apparatu circumnauigare conſueuerat.
Nowe to purpoſe, in the Sommer faire
Of luſty ſeaſon, whan clered was the aire,
He had redie ſhippes made before
Great and huge, not fewe but many a ſtore:
Full three thouſand and fire hundred alſo
Stately inough on our ſea to goe.
The Chronicles ſay, theſe ſhippes were full boyſteous:
Such things long to kings victorious.
In Sommer tide would hee haue in woune
And in cuſtome to be ful redie ſoone,
With multitude of men of good array
And inſtruments of werre of beſt allay.
Who could hem well in any wiſe deſcriue?
It were not light for eny man aliue.
Thus he and his would enter ſhippes great
Habiliments hauing and the fleete
Of thee werres, that ioyfull was to ſee

Such

Such a nauie and Lord of Maiestee,
There present in person hem among
To saile and rowe enuiron all along,
So regal liche about the English ille;
To all strangers terrours and perile.
Whose fame went about in all the world stout,
Unto great fere of all that be without,
And exercise to Knights and his meynee
To him longing of his natall cuntree.
For courage of neve must haue exercise,
Thus occupied for eschewin of vice.
This knew the king that policie espied;
Winter and Somer he was thus occupied.
Thus conclude I by authoritee
Of Chronike, that enuiron the see
Should bene our subiects vnto the King,
And hee bee Lord thereof for eny thing:
For great worship and for profite also
To defend his land fro euery foo.
That worthy king I leue, Edgar by name,
And all the Chronike of his worthy fame:
Saue onely this I may not passe away,
A worde of mightie strength till that I say,
That graunted him God such worship here,
For his merites, hee was without pere,
That sometime at his great festiuitee
Kings, and Erles of many a countree,
And princes fele were there present,
And many Lords came thider by assent,
To his worship: but in a certaine day
Hee had shippes to bee redie of aray:
For to visit Saint Iohns Church hee list
Rowing vnto the good holie Baptist,
Hee assigned to Erles, Lords, and knights
Many ships right goodly to sights:
And for himselfe and eight kings moo
Subiect to him hee made kepe one of thoo,
A good shippe, and entrede into it
With eight kings, and downe did they sit;
And eche of them an oze tooke in hand,
At oze hales, as I vnderstand,
And he himselfe at the shippe behinde
As steris man it became of kinde.
Such another rowing I dare well say,
Was not seene of Princes many a day.
Lo than how hee in waters got the price,
In lande, in see, that I may not suffice
To tell, O right, O magnanimitee,
That king Edgar had vpon the see.

Dicit Chronica &c, vt non minus quantam ei etiam in hac vita bonorum operum meritum donauerit: cum aliquando ad maximam eius festiuitatem, reges, comites, multarúmq; prouinciarum protectores conuenissent, &c.

An incident of the Lord of the sea King *Edward* the third.

Of king Edward I passe and his prowes
On lande, on sea yee knowe his worthines:
The siege of Caleis, ye know well all the matter
Round about by land, and by the water,
Howe it lasted not yeeres many agoe,
After the battell of Creeye was yoe:

Caleis was yeelded to ỹ English 1347.

Howe

Howe it was closed cniuron about,
Olde men sawe it, which liuen, this is no doubt.
Old Knights say that the Duke of Burgoyn,
Late rebuked for all his golden coyne;
Of ship on see made no besieging there,
For want of shippes that durst not come for feare.
It was nothing besieged by the see:
Thus call they it no siege for honestee,
Gonnes assailed, but assault was there none,
No siege, but fuge: well was he that might be gone:
This maner carping haue knights serre in age,
Expert throughage of this maner language.
But king Edward made a siege royall,
And wanne the towne: and in especiall
The sea was kept, and thereof he was Lord.
Thus made he Nobles coyned of record;
In whose time was no nauie on the see
That might withstand his maiestie.
Battell of Sclusc yee may rede euery day,
Howe it was done I leue and goe my way:
It was so late done that yee it knowe,
In comparison within a litle throwe:
For which to God giue we honour and glorie;
For Lord of see the king was with victorie:

King Edward had 700 English ships, and 14151 English mariners before Calais.

The battell of Sclusc by sea.

Another incident of keeping of the see, in the time of the marueilous werriour and victorious *Prince, King* Henrie *the fifth, and of his great* shippes.

AND if I should conclude all by the king
Henrie the fift, what was his purposing,
Whan at Hampton he made the great dromons,
Which passed other great ships of all the commons;
The Trinitie, the Grace de Dieu, the holy Ghost,
And other moe, which as nowe bee lost.
What hope ye was the kings great intent
Of thoo ships, and what in minde hee meant
It was not ellis, but that bee cast to bee
Lorde round about enuiron of the see.
And when Harflew had her siege about,
There came caracks horrible great and stoute
In the narrow see willing to abide,
To stoppe vs there with multitude of pride.
By Lord of Bedford came on and had the cure,
Destroyed they were by that discomfiture.
This was after the king Harflew had wonne,
Whan our enemies to siege had begonne;
That all was slaine or take, by true relation,
To his worshippe, and of his English nation.
There was present the kings chamberlaine
At both battailes; which knoweth this for certaine;
He can it tell otherwise then I:
Aske him, and witte; I passe forth hastily.
What had this king of his magnificence,
Of great courage, of wisedome, and prudence?
Promission, forewitte, audacitee,
Of fortitude, iustice, and agilitee,
Discretion, subtile auisednesse,

The great ships of Henry the 5. made at Hampton.

Great caracks of Genus taken by the Duke of Bedford.

1416.

The French hath thus ouerthrowen twice of fiue hundred saile.

Attemperance,

Attemperance, Nobleſſe, and worthineſſe:
Science, proweſſe, deuotion, equitie,
Of moſt eſtate, with his magnanimitie
Liche to Edgar, and the laide Edward,
As much of both liche hem as in regard.
Where was on liue a man more victorious,
And in ſo short time prince ſo marueilous:
By land and ſea, ſo well he him acquitte,
To ſpeake of him I ſtony in my witte.
Thus here I leaue the king with his nobleſſe,
Henry the fift, with whom all my proceſſe
Of this true booke of pure policie
Of ſea keeping, entending victorie
I leaue endly: for about in the ſee
No Prince was of better ſtrenuitee.
And if he had to this time liued here,
He had bene Prince named withouten pere:
His great ships ſhould haue ben put in preeſe,
Unto the ende that he ment of in cheeſe.
For doubt it not but that he would haue bee
Lord and maſter about the round ſee:
And kept it ſure to ſtoppe our enemies hence,
And wonne vs good, and wiſely brought it thence:
That no paſſage ſhould be without danger,
And his licence on ſee to moue and ſterre.

The Trinitie, the Grace de Dieu, the holy Ghoſt.

Of vnitie, ſhewing of our keeping of the ſee: with an endly or finall proceſſe of peace by authoritie. *Chap.* 12.

NOw than for loue of Chriſt, and of his wy,
Bring it England out of trouble and wo:
Take heart and witte, and ſet a gouernance,
Set many wits withouten variance,
To one accord and vnanimitee,
Put to good will for to keepe the ſee,
Firſt for worſhip and profite alſo,
And to rebuke of eche euill willed foe.
Thus ſhall worſhip and riches to vs long,
Than to the Noble ſhall we doe no wrong,
To beare that coyne in figure and in deede,
To our courage, and to our enemies dreede:
For which they muſt dreſſe hem to peace in haſte,
Or elſis their thrift to ſtanden, and to waſte.
As this proceſſe hath proued by and by
All by reaſon and expert policy;
And by ſtories which proued well this parte:
Or elſis I will my life put in ieoparte,
But many lords would ſeche her peace for neede,
The ſee wel kept: it muſt bee doe for dreede.
Thus muſt Flanders for neede haue vnitee
And peace with vs: it will non other bee,
Within short while: and ambaſſadours
Would bene here ſoone to treate for their ſuccours.
This vnitee is to God pleaſance:
And peace after the werres variance.
The ende of battaile is peace likerly,
And power cauſeth peace finally.
Kept than the ſea about in ſpeciall,

Exhortatio generalis in cuſtodiam totius Angliæ, per diligentiam cuſtodiæ circuitus maris circa littora eiuſdem quæ debet eſſe per vnanimitatẽ Conſiliariorum regis, & hominum bonæ voluntatis.

Tres ſunt cauſæ predictæ cuſtodiæ ſcilicet, honor, commodum regni, & oppreſſio inimici.

Which

Which of England is the towne wall.
As though England were likened to a citie,
And the wall enuiron were the see.
Kepe then the sea that is the wall of England
And than is England kept by Goddes hande;
That as for any thing that is without,
England were at ease withouten doubt.
And thus should euery lond one with another
Entercommon, as brother with his brother,
And liue togither werreleste in vnitie,
Without rancour in very charitie,
In rest and peace, to Christes great pleasance,
Without strife, debate and variance.
Which peace men should enserche with busynesse;
And knit it sadvely holding in holinesse.
The Apostle saith, if ye list to see,
Bee yee busie for to keepe vnitee
Of the spirit in the bond of peace.
Which is nedeful to all withouten lese.
The Prophet biddeth vs peace for to enquire
To pursue it, this is holy desire.
Our Lord Jesu saith, Blessed motte they bee
That maken peace; that is tranquillitee.
For peace makers, as Matthew writeth aright,
Should be called the sonnes of God almight.
God giue vs grace, the weyes for to keepe
Of his precepts, and slugly not to sleepe
In shame of sinne: that our verry foo
Might be to vs conuers, and turned so.
For in the Prouerbs is a text to this purpose
Plaine inough without any glose:
When mens weyes please vnto our Lord,
I shall conuert and bring to accord
Hem enemies vnto peace verray,
In vnitie, to liue to Goddis pay,
With vnitie, peace, rest and charitie.
Hee that was here clad in humanitie,
That came from heauen, and fled vp with our nature,
Or hee ascended, he pane to vs cure,
And left with vs peace, ageyne strife and debate,
More giue vs peace, so well irradicate
Here in this world: that after all this feste
Wee may haue peace in the land of beheste,
Jerusalem, which of peace is the sight,
With his brightnes of eternall light,
There glorified in rest with his tuition,
The Deitie to see with full fruition:
Hee second person in diuinenesse is,
Who vs assume, and bring vs to the blis. Amen.

Ephes. 4. Solliciti sitis seruare vnitatem spiritus in vinculo pacis.

Math. 5. Beati pacifici, quoniam filij Dei vocabuntur.

Cum placuerint Domino viæ hominis, eius inimicos ad pacem conuertet.

Vbi beata Ieru. sem dicta pacis visio.

Here endeth the true processe of the Libel of English policie, exhorting all England to keepe *the sea enuiron: shewing what profit and saluation,* with worship commeth thereof to the reigne of England.

GO forth Libelle, and meekely shew thy face;
Appearing euer with humble countenance:
And pray my Lords to take in grace,

In oppoſaile and cheriſhing the aduance.
To hardines if that not variance
Thou haſt ſro trought by full erperience
Authozs and reasons: if ought faile in ſubſtance
Remit to her... hat yake thee this ſcience;
That ſeth it is ſoth in verray layth,
The wiſe lozd of Hungerfords iudgement of this booke. That the wiſe Lord Baron of Hungerford
Hath thee ouerſeene, and verely he ſaith
That thou art true, and thus hee doeth recozd,
Nert the Goſpel: God wotte it was his wozde,
When hee thee redde all ouer in a nights.
Goe ſozth trew booke, and Chriſt defend thy right.

Explicit libellus de Politia conſernatiua maris.

A large Charter granted by K. *Edward* the 4. in the ſecond yere of his reigne, to the marchants of England reſident eſpecially in the Netherland, for their chuſing of a maſter and gouernor among themſelues, which gouernement was firſt appointed vnto one William Obray: with expreſſe mention, what authoritie he ſhould haue.

1462 EDward by the grace of God king of France, & of England, & lozd of Ireland, to all thoſe which ſhal ſee oz heare theſe letters, ſendeth greeting, & good will. Know ye, that whereas we haue vnderſtood, as well by the repozt of our louing and faithfull Counſellozs, as by the common complaint and repozt of all men, that many vexations, griefs, debates, diſcozds, annoyes, diſſentions, & damages, haue heretofoze bene done, moued, committed, and happened, and do daily fal out and happen among the common marchants & mariners, our ſubiects of our realmes of France & England, & our lozdſhips of Ireland and Wales, & of other our dominions, ſeigneuries, and territozies, becauſe that good diſcretion and authozity hath not bin obſerued among our ſaide ſubiects, which abide, frequert, conuerſe, remain, inhabit, & paſſe, aſwel by ſea as by land, into ỳ parts of Brabant, Flanders, Henault, Holland, Zeland, and diuers other countreis & ſeigneuries belonging aſwell to the high and mighty prince, our moſt deere and loung couſin ỳ Duke of Burgoine, of Brabant, earle of Flanders, &c. as being in the obedience & dominion of other lozds, which are in friendſhip, alliance, & good wil with vs: and that it is to be doubted that thzough the ſaide inconueniences and occaſion, many miſcommodities may enſue, & fal out in time to come (which God fozbid) vnles we ſhould pzouide conuenient remedie in this behalfe foz our ſubiects afozeſaid: wherefoze we deſiring moſt effectually and heartily to auoide the miſchiefe of the ſaide inconueniences & to pzouide conuenient remedy foz the ſame, to the end that the ſaid common marchants and mariners and others our ſubiects of our ſaid realms & dominions, which at this pzeſent & hereafter ſhal haunt and frequent ỳ ſaid countreis, may be iuſtly & lawfully ruled, gouerned, and intreated by right & equity in the countreis afozeſaid, and that equity, reaſon, & iuſtice may be miniſtred vnto them and euery of them, accozding as the caſes ſhal require, we being wel aſſured and hauing ful confidence, in the diſcretion, faithfulnes, wiſdome, experience, & good diligence of our moſt deare & welbeloued ſubiect Will. Obray our ſeruant, & in regard of the good, faithfull, and acceptable ſeruices, which he hath done vs in our realm & among our ſubiects in times paſt, & hoping that he will do alſo hereafter, we haue made, ozdained, conſtituted, committed, and eſtabliſhed, and by the tenour of theſe pzeſents, of our ſpecial grace, ful power, & authozity royall, we ozdaine, appoint, commit, and eſtabliſh, (during our pleaſure) to be gouernoz, iudge, warden of iuſtice, and the appurtenances & appendances therof, which we haue oz may haue ouer our ſaid common ſubiects the marchants trauailing hereafter as wel by ſea as by land, and abiding in the ſaid countries of Brabant, Flanders, Henault, Holland, Zeland, and other countreis beyond the ſea, as is afozeſaide, together with the wages, rights, pzofits, and emoluments heretofoze accuſtomed, & as the ſaid Will. Obray at other times hath had and receiued of our ſaid ſubiects, when he had, vſed, and exerciſed the ſaid office of gouernoz, & alſo with other ſuch rights and pzofits, as hereafter ſhal moze plainly be declared. And furthermoze foz our parts we haue giuen him, and by theſe pzeſents do giue him, as much as in vs lieth, during our pleaſure, ful power, authozity, and ſpecial commandement, to gouerne, rule, and cauſe to be gouerned and ruled with good iuſtice by himſelfe, oz by his ſufficiene lieuetenants or deputies, all and euery our fozeſaid ſubiects the common marchants & mariners comming, remaining, frequenting, paſſing, & repairing from henceforth into the ſaid countreis of Brabant, Flan-

ders,

ders, Henault, Holland, Zeland, and other countreyes beyond the sea, as it is said, and to keep and cause to be kept, to exercise and maintein, for vs and in our place, the said office of gouernour, and to doe all such things which a faithfull gouernour ought to do, and to take knowledge and administration of the causes of the said common marchants and mariners, our subiects, and of euery of them, and of their causes and quarels moued, or hereafter to be moued in the countreis aforesaid, or within the limits & bonders therof, and to doe them full & speedy iustice. And to reforme, cause reformation, gouerne, appease, and pacifie all contentions, discords, questions, or debates between those our said subiects moued, or to moued: and to right, redresse, repaire, restore, and amend all transgressions, domages, enterprises, outrages, violences and iniuries committed, or to be committed: and likewise to require, to aske, demand, and receiue, restitutions, reparations, restaurations, and amends of our said subiects the common marchants & mariners, or of their factors in the countreis aforesaid. And that, whensoeuer and as often as it shal please the said gouernor or his deputie, he may in some conuenient and honest place within the said countreis make or cause to be made, set, non, and hold in our name iurisdictions, courts, and assemblies: and in our said name take administration and knowledge of causes, as it is aforesaide, and to hold and keepe pleas, for and in our behalfe, and to make agreement- -diatours, and ympires, to iudge, to make decrees, and to minister iustice, to ordaine, appoint, censure, and constraine our saide subiects to sweare and take all kind of oathes, which order of iustice and custome require and afforde, and to enioy our authoritie, and to vse, execute and accomplish, by way of equitie and iustice, and to doe, or cause to be done all execution and exercise of law and iustice; and to ordain, appoint, & establish sire sergeants or vnder, to doe the executions & arrests of our said court, by the commandement of the said gouernour or of his deputies, or at the request of the partie or other sute, according as the case shall require by their aduise, and to discharge and displace the said sergeants, as shall seeme good vnto him, as often and whensoeuer as it shall please him, and change them, and appoint and set others in their roomes, and to require returne and answere of the court, whensoeuer need shal be, of all causes, quarels, and businesses in regard of the said office belonging vnto vs and to our said subiects the common marchants and mariners at all times, and as often as the case shall permit and require: and generally and specially to doe as much for vs and in our stead, in the cases before mentioned, and which hereafter shalbe declared, as we could doe or cause to be done, could say or require, if we were there present in our owne person. Moreouer wee will, and by the tenour of these presents wee giue and graunt vnto the saide gouernour, and to our saide subiects the common marchants and mariners, that as oft and whensoeuer it pleaseth them, they may meet and assemble in some honest and conuenient place, and by the consent of the saide gouernour to choose and appoint among them at their pleasure, freely and without danger, certaine sufficient and fit persons to the number of twelue or vnder, which we will haue to be named Iusticers, vnto the which Iusticers so elected by the saide gouernour and our saide subiects, as it is said, and to euerie of them, we giue and graunt especiall power and authoritie to sitte and assist in court, with the said gouernour or his lieutenants, for their aide and assistance, and to heare the griefs, complaints, and demands of our said subiects their sutes, pleas, and the state of their causes and quarels whatsoeuer moued or to be moued vnto the ende of their cause, and at the request of the saide gouernour, his lieutenants, or any of them, to say, propound, and plainely to expresse and declare their opinions, according to right and conscience, vpon the causes brought before them and by the parties vttered and declared, and well, lawfully, and faithfully to counsell and aduise the saide gouernour or his lieutenants, to order and censure, iudge and determine, and ende the same iustly and equally, according as the case shall permit and require. And furthermore we will, that all iust and reasonable statutes, lawes, ordinances, decrees, and constitutions made and established, or to be made and established, in the countreys aforesaide, by the consent of the said gouernour, and of the saie Iusticers, shalbe corrected, amended, and made, as they shall see to bee expedient in this behalfe, for the better gouernment of the estate of the common marchants and mariners our saide subiects, and shalbe held as ratified, firme, acceptable and approued; and from henceforth we accept, admit, allow and approue them for ratified and confirmed, there to be firmely and inuiolably obserued, kept and obeyed. And also, of our farther fauour and grace wee will and we grant, that by the consent of our said gouernour, our said subiects the common marchants and mariners may make and set downe in the said countreis, by their common consent, as often as they shall thinke good for their better gouernment and estate, such iust and reasonable lawes, statutes, ordinances, decrees, constitutions, and customes, as they shal thinke expedient in this behalfe: which we command to be kept as ratified, confirmed, allowed, & approued, auailable, and established. Prouided alwaies, that they do not nor seeke any thing preiudicial to this present power and authoritie giuen and graunted by vs to the saide gouernour, in any point or article herein

compriſes, by any meanes or way whatſoeuer: in which caſe if they ſhoulde doe any thing, or ought ſhould happen, we will that it ſhal take no place, force, vigour, ſtrength, nor vertue: neither that it ſhalbe of any effect, but it ſhalbe aboliſhed, diſannulled, and vtterly fruſtrate; and as abolished, diſannulled, and vtterly fruſtrated, from this time forward, were holde and take it, and will hereafter hold and take the ſame. And ſo to doe, and put in execution in our name, we haue and doe giue full and abſolute power, & ſpeciall authority to our ſaid ſeruant William Obray, & to his ſaid lieutenantes. And likewiſe, to the end that þ courſe of marchandiſe may be kept in good eſtate, and that by order of iuſtice a ſtirme and conſtant rule may be ſet downe among thoſe our ſaid ſubiects and marchants, we haue ordained and do ordaine, haue conſented & doe conſent, and by theſe preſents haue giuen & do giue full power & eſpeciall authority to our ſaid ſeruant Will. Obray gouernour aforeſaid, that at all time and times when he ſhal think good, he may ordaine, elect, chuſe, and appoint, in the countreis aforeſaid, ſuch miniſters, officers, and ſeruitours as hereafter ſhalbe named, and ſuch others as he ſhal think neceſſary, and to diſcharge them, and to change them, & ſet others in their roomes, at his good will and pleaſure, vnto ſuch a number as he ſhall thinke good and reaſonable for the time being to be employed: as namely correctors or brokers as many as he ſhal thinke good, to make and to witnes the bargaines which are made or to be made, betweene our ſaid ſubiects and others with whom they ſhal haue to do or to deale in the foreſaid countreis: and alſo as many ainagers to ainer and meaſure all kinds of marchandiſes which they ſhal buy or ſel by the yard: and alſo as many weighers to weigh the marchandiſe which ſhalbe ſold or bought by weight: and alſo ſo many ſolders to ſolde their clothes, and ſo many packers to pack their packs, and to make their fardels, maunds, and baſkets, and other things needefull for the defence & preſeruation of their marchandize. All which miniſters, officers, and ſeruitors, ſo choſen, elected, charged, admitted, and eſtabliſhed by the ſaide gouernour, as is ſaide, may take their wages for their paines & attendances vpon the ſaid marchants, according to the cuſtome of the ſaid countreis, and as they haue bene accuſtomed to take of the ſaid marchants before theſe preſents by vs giuen and graunted. And hereupon we haue giuen and doe giue expreſſe charge and commandement by vs and in our names to all our ſaid ſubiects common marchants and mariners, and to euery of them which ſhall frequent, come, remaine, paſſe, repaire, or inhabite within the countreis afore ſaid, that they ſhall not make contract or bargaine, ſell or buy, nor ſhall not cauſe any contract or bargaine to be made, nor in the ſaid countreis ſell or buy any maner of wares, goods, or marchandiſes, ſecretely nor openly, by way of fraude, barat, or deceite whatſoeuer, with any perſon or perſons of what eſtate, countrey, or condition ſoeuer they be, without he hath ſome of the ſaid brokers at the bargain making, to preſent, report, and to teſtifie the ſaid contracts or bargains before the ſaid gouernor or others, if need require, and ſtrife or contention ſhould grow therof betweene them: nor to packe or cauſe to be packed any goods or marchandiſes belonging vnto them, in packs, bales, or fardels, coffers, cheſts, maunds, dyſkats, or rowles, without hauing ſome depury preſent therat: nor to take or cauſe to be taken or ſet on worke in the ſaid countreis, any other brokers, ainagers, weighers, ſolders, or packers, then the aforeſaid ſo choſen, admitted, eſtabliſhed, as is ordained by the ſaide gouernor, & hereto authoriſed in our name, as it is ſaid, vnder paine of falling into, and incurring of our diſpleaſure, and of forfeiture, and confiſcation of all ſuch goods, wares, and marchandiſes, which ſhalbe found to haue paſſed by other hands or order, then that of thoſe which are before mentioned: the fourth part of which forfeitures and confiſcations ſhall be imployed to the repairing and maintenance of two cheppels founded to the honour of Saint Thomas of Canterburie by our ſaide ſubiects, in the townes of Bruges in Flanders, and of Middleborough in Zeland; the other fourth part to vs, & our vſe; the third fourth part to our ſaid couſin of Burgundie, or the natural Lord of the countrey wherein the ſaide goods ſhall be found; and the fourth fourth part to him or them, which ſhall diſcouer, detect, or finde out the ſaide fraude. And alſo that none of our ſaid ſubiects ſhall vnlade or cauſe to be vnladen, vnder any colour nor otherwiſe, nor vnpacke, in the countreis aforeſaide, no kinde of wares, goods, nor marchandiſes whatſoeuer, which they ſhall bring or cauſe to bee brought into the countreyes aforeſaide, comming out of our countreyes, dominions, or obeyſance, without firſt and beforehand they make the gouernour or his deputies acquainted with their arriuall, and craue leaue, and deliuer, ſhewe, and declare their cockets, that it may duely appeare, that the ſaide goods and marchandiſes haue truly and lawfully payde vnto vs our rights and cuſtomes, and not to vnpacke them but in the preſence of the ſaide gouernour, his lieuetenants or deputies, vpon paine of forfaiture, and confiſcation of the ſaide goods, in maner and forme before declared in the foreſaide article. And if it be found by the viſitation of the ſaide gouernor, his lieutenant, or deputies, that any goods, wares, or marchandiſes whatſoeuer be arriued and diſcharged in the countrey, aforeſaid, belonging to our ſaide ſubiectes, not lawfully cuſtomed and acquited towardes vs of our right and cuſtome, for

which

which they cannot nor are not able to make any due proofe of our letters of coquet, as is mentioned, or if they finde any other fraude: we will, we ordeine, and we grant, that the sayd gouernour, his lieutenants or deputies may seaze vpon the sayd goods on our behalfe, and may confiscate and forfeit the same, distributing the same into foure parts in maner aforesayd. And also wee will, that euery one of the sayd packes, fardels, baskets, maunds, coffers, tunnes, bales, coules, and other furnitures and grace, wherein the sayd marchandises shalbe packed, to be sent out of the said countreis, shall not be laden vpon ships, carts, nor horses, to come into our dominion, without being first sealed with a seale ordayned by vs and giuen by the sayde gouernour, vpon paine to be forfayted, applyed, and confiscated to vs and into our hand, if they be found vnsigned and not sealed with the seale. And for euery piece of marchandise which shall be sealed with the sayd seale, they shall pay to the sayd sealer two pence of grosse money of Flanders, which shall goe to the profite of the sayd gouernour. And forasmuch as according to right and conscience, we ought not to vse the labour, trauels, nor seruice of any man, without waging, paying, and fully contenting him according to reason and equity, especially when we doe appoint any person or persons to doe or cause to be done so great trauels, labours, busines, and executions, as these which are contayned in this present charter, aswell for the benefit and profit of vs and our seruis, as for the holesome, perfect, & good gouernment of our sayd subiects: we by the good aduise and deliberation of the sayd lords of our priuie counsell, haue granted and giuen, and as before, doe grant and giue, of our sayd grace, to the sayd William Obray our sayd seruant and gouernour aboue named, during our pleasure, for part of his wages and fee of the sayd office, one pennie of our money of England of the value of a liuer of grosse money of Flanders, vpon al and singuler the goods, wares and marchandises of our sayd subiects frequenting the sayd countreis, to be leuyed, gathered, receiued, and payed vnto the sayd William Obray or to his deputies, vpon the sayd wares and marchandises belonging vnto our sayd said subiects buying and selling, or which they shall cause to sell, buy, put away, trucke or exchange in the countreys aboue said, aswell of the goods and marchandises which they shall bring or cause to be brought into the sayd countries, as of all other goods which they shall lade and carie, or cause to bee caried and conueyed out of those countreis into our dominion or elsewhere into any other part whatsoeuer. And to cause the same to be gathered, receiued, leauied and payed, we haue giuen, and by these presents doe giue full power and speciall authoritie vnto the sayd William Obray, and to his lieutenants and deputies aforesayd, to leauy, gather, and cause to bee leuied and receiued the sayd money, in forme and maner aboue mentioned, to his profite and vse, during our pleasure: and to enioy and vse the same as his proper goods, without any contradiction, constraining and arresting if neede bee, as well on land, as on the water, our said subiects, their said goods, and euery of them, by way of law and iustice, and to cause them to peeise any pay the said money, vpon the said goods and marchandises, as is aforesayd. If so such is our pleasure, and so will we haue it done without contradiction or impeachment to him and his, during our pleasure. And also we will that the sayd William Obray, ouer and aboue that which is sayd, shall take, gather, and receiue of our sayd subiects from henceforth yearely, during our pleasure, aforth and like wages and profits, as he had and receiued of our sayd subiects, in the yeare 1458, when hee held and exercised the said office of gouernour, without diminishing or rebating any thing thereof, notwithstanding this present augmentation made, increased, and done vnto him, of our grace and fauour: & also that hee shall gather, take, and receiue the same in such forme and manner, as the other money aboue mentioned is to be gathered. And to the ende that the sayd William Obray may haue and take possession, seasin, and entrance of the said office of gouernour in our name he haue and doe place him, by the deliuery of these presents, in possession, seasin, and entrance of the said office, and of the rights, profits, stipends, wages, and moneis aforesayd, to begin to exercise the sayd office of gouernour in our name, the first day of May next ensuing after the date of these presents, for the sayd William Obray to hold and exercise, practise and vse the same, during our pleasure, with the sayd wages, moneys, rights, and profites aboue mentioned, without any contradiction or impeachment. And all and singular our subiects the common marchants and mariners, which shall be contrary, rebellious, and disobedient to the said gouernour so ordayned by vs, to his said lieutenants, to the sayd iusticers so chosen, or to any of them, or to any of the statutes, lawes, decrees, sentences, ordinances, and customes, officers, gifts, and grants aboue sayd, let them grieuously be punished by the sayd gouernour or his lieutenants, in this behalfe, according to the quantity of their offences, and the exigencie of the cases. We doe common, commaund, straitly and expressly enioine by these presents all and euery our faithe subiects, that vnto the sayd gouernour so by vs ordained, to his lieutenants, attorneis, or deputies, and also to the said iusticers, officers, and ministers, in all and euerie the things aforesaid, and others any waie concerning in this behalfe our said ordinances, their gouernmẽt and rule, the circumstances and dependances thereon

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that they giue their attendance, counsayle, comfort, obedience, and aide, diligently without fault or difficulty, surely, safely, fully and peaceably: without doing, inferring, or inflicting, or suffering to be done, inferred, or inflicted to them or any of them in body or goods, any disturbance or impeachment, in any maner whatsoeuer: but rather if any thing bee done vnto them contrary and to the preiudice of these presents, they shall remoue and cause the same to be removed, and that which shall be hindered they shall set at free deliuerance, vpon payne to fall into and to incurre our high displeasure. For such is our pleasure and so will wee haue it, notwithstanding anie letters falsely crept in, obteyned, or to be obteyned contrary hereunto. And you our subiects, the common marchants and mariners, so behaue your selues, that you may receiue commendation of vs for your good obedience, knowing that such as shall be found doing or to haue done the contrary, we will see them so punished without redemption, that they shall bee an example to all rebellious persons. We pray and most instantly require in the ayde of equitie, all others our friends, allies, and well-willers, as well princes and potentates, as their iusticers, officers, lieutenants, deputies, commissaries, and subiects, and euery of them, in regard of equitie: that they would vouchsafe, and that it would please them to giue, doe, and lend comfort, ayde, assistance, and succors if neede require, to our sayd gouernour, his lieutenants, commissaries, deputies, iusticers, & others our officers and ministers aforesayd: and herein wee pray them on our behalfe, and in our owne name. And it may please them herein to doe so much, that we may haue occasion to thanke them, and to accompt our selues beholding for the same: and as they would that we should do for them in the like matter, or in a greater: which we will willingly doe, if we be required thereunto by them. In witnesse whereof we haue caused these our letters to bee made patents. Witnes our selues at Westminster, the sixteenth of April, in the second yere our reigne.

A declaration of the *Indies* and lands discouered, and *subdued vnto the Emperour, and the king of* Portingal: *And also of* other partes of the *Indies* and rich countries to be discouered, which the worshipfull M. *Robert Thorne* merchant of *London* (who dwelt long in the citie of *Siuil* in *Spaine*) exhorted king *Henrie* the eight to take in hand.

MOST EXCELLENT PRINCE,

EXperience proueth that naturally all princes bee desirous to extend and enlarge their dominions and kingdomes. Wherefore it is not to be marueiled, to see them euery day procure the same, not regarding any cost, perill, and labour, that may thereby chance, but rather it is to be marueiled, if there be any prince content to liue quiet with his owne dominions. For surely the people would thinke he lacketh the noble courage and spirit of all other.

The world knoweth that the desires of Princes haue bene so feruent to obtaine their purpose, that they haue aduentured and procured things to many men reputed impossible, the which they haue made possible, and also things difficult haue made facill: and thus to obtaine their purpose, haue in maner renewed vp and downe the whole world so many times, that the people inhabiting in the farthest region of the Occident haue pursued with great distresse, labours and perils, to penetrate and enter into the farthest regions of the Orient: and in like wise those people of the said parts of the Orient, haue had no lesse labour and desire to enter and penetrate into the farthest land of the Occident, and so following their purchase haue not ceased vntill they could passe no farther by reason of the great seas.

This naturall inclination is cause, that scarsely it may be said, there is any kingdome stable, nor king quiet, but that his owne imagination, or other princes his neighbours doe trouble him. God and nature hath prouided to your Grace, and to your gracious progenitors, this Realme of England, and set it in so fruitfull a place, and within such limites, that it should seeme to be a place quiet and aparted from all the foresayd desire. One speciall cause is, for that it is compassed with the Sea: by reason therof it seemes, this notwithstanding, their desires and noble courages haue beene most commonly like vnto others: and with maruelious great labours, costes and perils, they haue trauelled and passed the Seas, making warre, not onely with Kings and dominions nigh neighbours, but also with them of farre countries, and so haue woonne and conquered many rich and fayre dominions, and amplified this your Graces Realme with great victory and glory. And also now of late your Grace hauing like courage and desire, and not without iust cause, to enlarge this your kingdome, and demaund your limits and tribute of the French king, which

which at that present be restrained, your Grace in person passed with a great power into France, putting your Graces person to great paine and labour, and without doubt victoriously you had conquered the sayd Realme of France, as ye began, if your aduersary had not reconciled himselfe, and knowledged your Graces right and title: and so promised truly to pay the tribute then due, & fulfill your request in all things, and also desired your Grace for peace, the which of your clemencie you could not refuse.

Now I considering this your noble courage and desire, and also perceiuing that your Grace may at your pleasure, to your greater glory, by a godly meane, with little cost, perill, or labour to your Grace or any of your subiects, amplifie and inrich this your sayd Realme, I know it is my bounden duety to manifest this secret vnto your Grace, which hitherto, as I suppose, hath beene hid: which is, that with a small number of ships there may bee discouered diuers New lands and kingdomes, in the which without doubt your Grace shall winne perpetuall glory, and your subiectes infinite profite. To which places there is left one way to discouer, which is into the North: for that of the foure partes of the worlde, it seemeth three parts are discouered by other Princes. For out of Spaine they haue discouered all the Indies and Seas Occidentall, and out of Portingall all the Indies and Seas Orientall: so that by this part of the Orient & Occident, they haue compassed the world. For the one of them departing toward the Orient, and the other toward the Occident, met againe in the course or way of the middest of the day, and so then was discouered a great part of the same Seas and coastes by the Spaniards. So that now rest to be discouered the sayd North parts, the which it seemeth to mee, is onely your charge and duety. Because the situation of this your Realme is thereunto neerest and aptest of all other: and also for that you haue already taken it in hand. And in mine opinion it will not seeme well to leaue so great and profitable an enterprise, seeing it may so easily and with so little cost, labour, and danger, be followed and obtayned: though heretofore your Grace hath made thereof a proofe, & found not the commodity thereby as you trusted, at this time it shall be no impediment. For there may be now prouided remedies for things, then lacked, and the inconueniences and lets remooued, that then were cause that your Graces desire tooke no full effect, which is, the courses to be changed, & other may be deuised and taken meete and conuenient, much better then hitherto. By reason whereof, and by Gods grace, no doubt your purpose shall take effect. Surely the cost herein will be nothing, in comparison to the great profit. The labour is much lesse, yea nothing at all, where so great honour and glory is hoped for: and considering well the courses, truely the danger & way is shorter to vs, then to Spaine or Portingall, as by euident reasons appereth.

Secrets.

The discouery of the North.

King Sebastian Cabot and sir Thomas Perr the right pers of his reigne.

And this is the hoonge spoken of by Gonsaluo Ouiedo, that came to S. Domingo.

And now to declare something of the commodity and vtilitie of this Nauigation and discouerie: it is very cleere and certaine, that the Seas that commonly men say, without great danger, difficulty and perill, yea rather it is impossible to passe, that those same Seas be nauigable and without anie such danger, but that shippes may passe and haue in them perpetuall clerenesse of the day without any darkenesse of the night: which thing is a great commoditie for the nauigants, to see at all times round about them, as well the safegards as dangers, and how great difference it is betweene the commoditie and perils of other which leese the most part of euery foure and twentie houres the said light, and goe in darkenesse groping their way, I thinke there is none so ignorant but perceiueth this more plainely, then it can be expressed. Yea what a vantage shal your Graces subiects haue also by this light to discouer the strange lands, countries, and coastes? For if they that be discouered, to saile by them in darkenesse is with great danger, much more then the coastes not discouered be daungerous to trauell by night or in darkenesse. Yet these dangers or darkenesse hath not letted the Spaniards and Portingals and other, to discouer many vnknowen Realmes to their great perill. Which considered (and that your Graces subiects may haue the same light) it will seeme your Graces subiects to be without actiuity or courage, in leauing to doe this glorious and noble enterprise. For they being past this litle way which they named to dangerous, (which may be two or three leagues before they come to the Pole, and as much more after they passe the Pole) it is cleere, that from thence foorth the seas and landes are as temperate as in these parties, and that then it may be at the will and pleasure of the mariners, to choose whether they will saile by the coastes, that be colde, temperate or hote. For they being past the Pole, it is plaine, they may decline to what part they list.

Note.

Nauigation vnder the Pole

If they will goe toward the Orient, they shall inioy the regions of all the Tartarians that extend toward the midday, and from thence they may goe and proceede to the land of the Chinas, and from thence to the land of Cathaio Orientall, which is of all the maine land most Orientall that can be reckoned from our habitation. And if from thence they doe continue their nauigation, following the coasts that returne toward the Occident, they shall fall in with Malaca, and so with all

Tartaria.

China.

the

the Indies which we call Orientall, and following the way, may returne hither by the Cape of Buona Speransa: and thus they shall compasse the whole worlde. And if they will take their course after they be past the Pole, toward the Occident, they shall goe in the backe side of the new found land, which of late was discouered by your Graces subiects, vntill they come to the backe side and South Seas of the Indies Occidentall. And so continuing their voyage they may returne thorow the streight of Magellan to this countrey, and so they compasse also the world by that way: and if they goe this third way, and after they be past the Pole, goe right toward the Pole Antarctike, and then decline toward the lands and Illands situated between the Tropikes, and vnder the Equinoctiall, without doubt they shall finde there the richest landes and Illands of the world of golde, precious stones, balmes, spices, and other thinges that we here esteeme most: which come out of strange countries, and may returne the same way.

New found land discouered by ỹ English.

By this it appeareth, your Grace hath not onely a great aduantage of the riches, but also your subiects shall not trauell halfe of the way that other doe, which goe round about as afore I sayd.

The booke made by the right worshipful M. *Robert Thorne* in the *yeere* 1527. *in* Siuil, *to Doctour* Ley, *Lord ambassadour for king* *Henry* the eight, *to Charles* the Emperour, being an information of the parts of the world, discouered by him and the king of *Portugal*: and also of the way to the Moluccaes by the North.

RIght noble and reuerend in ge. I haue receiued your letters, and haue procured and sent to know of your seruant, who your Lordship wrote, should be sicke in Merchena. I cannot there or els where heare of him, without he be returned to you, or gone to S. Lucar, and shipt. I cannot iudge but that of some contagious sicknesse hee died, so that the owner of the house for defaming his house would bury him secretly, and not be knowen of it. For such things haue often times happened in this countrey.

Also to write vnto your Lordshippe of the new trade of Spicery of the Emperour, there is no doubt but that the Illands are fertile of Cloues, Nutmegs, Mace, and Cinnamom: and that the said Illands, with other there about, abound with golde, Rubies, Diamondes, Balasses, Granates, Iacinets, and other stones & pearles, as all other lands, that are vnder and neere the Equinoctiall. For we see, where nature giueth any thing, she is no nigard. For as with vs and other, that are aparted from the said Equinoctiall, our mettals be Lead, Tinne, and Iron, so theirs be Gold, Siluer, and Copper. And as our fruits and graines bee Apples, Nuts, and Corne, so theirs be Dates, Nutmegs, Pepper, Cloues, and other Spices. And as we haue Ieat, Amber, Cristall, Iasper, and other like stones, so haue they Rubies, Diamonds, Balasses, Saphyres, Iacinets, and other like. And though some say that of such precious mettals, graines, or kind of spices, and precious stones, the abundance and quantity is nothing so great, as our mettals, fruits or stones abouc rehearsed: yet if it be well considered, how the quantitie of the earth vnder the Equinoctiall to both the Tropicall lines, (in which space is found the sayd Golde, spices and precious stones) is as much in quantity, as almost all the earth from the Tropickes to both the Poles; it cannot be denied but there is more quantity of the sayd mettals, fruites, spices, and precious stones, then there is of the other mettals and other things before rehearsed. And I see that the preciousnes of these things is measured after the distance that is betweene vs, and the things that we haue appetite vnto. For in this nauigation of the Spicerie was discouered, that these Illands nothing set by golde, but set more by a knife and a naple of iron, then by his quantitie of Golde: and with reason, as the thing more necessary for mans seruice. And I doubt not but to them should be as precious our coyne and seedes, if they might haue them, as to vs their spices: & likewise the pieces of glasse that here we haue counterfeited are as precious to them, as to vs their stones: which by experience is seene daylie by them that haue trade thither. This of the riches of those countries is sufficient.

Doctor Leys letters.

Touching that your Lordship wrote, whether it may bee profitable to the Emperor or not: it may be without doubt of great profite: if, as the king of Portingal doth, he would become a merchant, and prouide shippes and their lading, and trade thither alone, and defend the trade of these Illands for himselfe. But other greater businesse withholdeth him from this. But still, as now it is begunne to be occupied, it would come to much. For the shippes comming in safetie, there would thither many euery yere, of which to the Emperour is due of all the wares and iewels that come from thence the fift part for his custome cleare without any cost. And besides this hee pur-

teth in euery flote a certaine quantitie of money, of which hee emporth of the gaines pound and pounds like as other aduenturers doe. In a fleete of three shippes and a Carauel that went from this citie armed by the marchants of it, which departed in Aprill last past, I and my partener haue one thousand foure hundred duckets that we employed in the said fleete, principally for that two Englith men, friends of mine, which are somewhat learned in Cosmographie, should goe in the same shippes, to bring me certaine relation of the situation of the countrey, and to be expert in the nauigation of those seas, and there to haue informations of many other things, and aduise that I desire to know we especially. Seeing in these quarters are shippes, and mariners of that countrey, and cardes by which they saile, though much vnlike ours, that they should procure to haue the said cards, and learne how they vnderstand them, and especially to know what nauigation they haue for those Illands Northwards, and Northeastward.

This was the fleete wherein Cabot discouered the riuer of Plate, 1526.

For if from the said Illands the said direct rend, without interposition of land, to saile from the Northpoint to the Northeast poynt one thousand seuen hundred or one thousand eight hundred leagues, they should come to the New found Illands that we discouered, and so we should be nerer to the said Spicerie by almost two thousand leagues then the Emperour, or the king of Portingal are. And to aduise your Lordship whether of these Spiceries of the king of Portingal or the Emperours is nearer, and also of the titles that either of them hath, and howe our New found lands are parted from it, (for that by writing without some demonstration, it were hard to giue any declaration of it) I haue caused that your Lordship shall receiue herewith a little Mappe or Carde of the world: the which, I feare me, shall put your Lordship to more labour to vnderstand, then me to make it, onely for that it is made in so little roome that it cannot be but obscurely set out, that is desired to be seene in it, and also for that I am in this science little expert: Yet to remoue in part this difficulty, it is necessary to declare to your Lordship my intent, with which I trust you shall perceiue in this Card part of your desire, if, for that I cannot expresse mine intent, with my declaration I doe not make it more obscure.

Note.

The Newe found Illands discouered by the English.

A Mappe of the world.

First, your Lordship knoweth that the Cosmographers haue diuided the earth by 360 degrees in latitude, and as many in longitude, vnder the which is comprehended all the roundnes of the earth: the latitude being diuided into foure quarters, ninetie degrees amount to euery quarter, which they measure by the altitude of the Poles, that is the North and South starres, being from the line Equinoctiall till they come right vnder the North starre the said ninetie degrees: and as much from the said line Equinoctiall to the South starre the said ninetie degrees: and as more is also from either of the said starres againe to the Equinoctiall. And as much round, is seene perceiued thus, 360 degrees of latitude to be consumed in the said foure quarters of ninetie degrees a quarter: so that this latitude is the measure of the world from North to South, and from South to North. And the longitude, in which are also counted other 360, is counted from West to East, or from East to West, as in the Card is set.

The said latitude your Lordship may see marked and diuided in the ende of this Card on the left hand: so that if you would know in what degrees of latitude any region or coast standeth, take a compalle, and set the one foot of the same in the Equinoctial line right against the said region, & apply the other foote of the compalle to the said region or coast, & then set the said compalle at the end of the Card, where the degrees are diuided. And the one foote of the compalle standing in the line Equinoctial, the other will shew in the scale the degrees of altitude or latitude that the said region is in. Also the longitude of the world I haue set out in the nether part of the Card, containing also 360 degrees: which begin to be counted after Ptolome and other Cosmographers from an headland called Capo Verde, which is ouer against a little crosse made in the part Occidental, where the diuision of the degrees beginneth, and endeth in the same Capo Verde.

To know the latitudes.

Now to know in what longitude any land is, your Lordship must take a ruler or a compalle, and set the one foot of the compalle vpon the land or coast whose longitude you would know, and extend the other foot of the compalle to the next part of one of the transuersall lines in the Occidentall or Occidental part: which done, set the one foot of the compalle in the said transuersall line at the end of the nether scale, the scale of longitude, and the other foot shweth the degree of longitude that the region is in. And your Lordship must vnderstand that this Card, though little, containeth the vniuersall whole world betwixt two collaterall lines, the one in the Occidentall part descendeth perpendicular vpon the 175 degree, & the other in the Oziental on the 170 degree, whose distance measureth the scale of longitude. And that which is without the two said transuerlall lines, is onely to shew how the Oziental part is ioined with the Occident, and Occident with the Oziene. For that that is set without the line in the Oziental part, is the same that is set within the other line in the Occidentall part: and that that is set without the line in the Occidentall part, is the same that is set within the line in the Oziental part, to shew that though this figure of the

To know the longitudes.

world

worlde in plaine or flatte seemeth to haue an end, yet one imagining that this sayd Card were set vpon a round thing, where the endes should touch by the lines, it would plainely appeare howe the Orient part topneth with the Occident, as there without the lines it is described and figured.

And for more declaration of the said Card, your Lordship shall vnderstand, that beginning on the part Occidental within the line, the first land that is set out, is the maine land and Ilands of the Indies of the Emperour. Which maine land or coast goeth Northward, and stretcheth in the land that we found, which is called here Terra de Labrador. So that it appeareth the sayd land that we found, and the Indies to be all one maine land.

Now called the straight of Magelane.

The sayd coast from the sayd Indies Southward, as by the Card your Lordshippe may see, commeth to a certaine straight Sea, called Estrecho de todos Santos: by which straight Sea the Spaniards goe to the Spiceries, as I shall declare more at large: the which straight Sea is right against three hundred fifteene degrees of longitude, and is of latitude or altitude from the Equinoctiall three and fifty degrees. The first land from the sayd beginning of the Card toward the Orient are certaine Ilands of the Canaries, and Ilandes of Capo verde. But the first maine land next to the line Equinoctial is the sayd Capo verde, and from thence Northward by the straight of this sea of Italie. And so followeth Spayne, France, Flanders, Almaine, Denmarke, and Norway, which is the highest parte toward the North. And ouer against Flanders are our Ilands of England and Ireland. Of the landes and coastes within the streights I haue set out onely the Regions, dividing them by lines of their limits, by which plainely I thinke your Lordship may see, in what situation euerie region is, and of what highnesse, and with what regions it is ioyned. I doe thinke few are left out of all Europe. In the parts of Asia and Affrica I could not so wel make the sayd diuisiõs: for that they be not so wel knowen, nor need not so much. This I write because in the said Card be made the said lines & strikes, that your Lordship should vnderstand where for they doe serue. Also returning to the foresaid Capo verde, the coast goeth Southward to a Cape called Capo de buona speransa: which is right ouer against the 60. degree of longitude. And by this Cape go the Portingals to their Spicerie. For from this Cape toward the Orient, is the land of Calicut, as your Lordshipmay see in the headland ouer against the 130. degree. Frõ the sayd Cape of Buona speransa the coast returneth toward the line Equinoctial, and passing forth, entreth the red sea, & returning out, entreth again into the gulfe of Persia, and returneth toward the Equinoctiall line, till that it commeth to the headland called Calicut aforesayd, and from thence the coast making a gulfe, where is the riuer of Ganges, returneth toward the line to a headland called Malaca, where is the principall Spicerie: & from this Cape returneth and maketh a great gulfe, and after the coast goeth right toward the Orient, and ouer against this last gulfe and coast be many Ilands, which be Ilandes of the Spiceries of the Emperour. Upon which the Portingals and he be at variance.

Note.

The sayd coast goeth toward the Orient, and endeth right against the 155. degrees, and after returneth toward the Occident Northward: which coast not yet plainely knowen, I may vnto to the New found landes found by vs, that I spake of before. So that I finish with this briefe declaration of the Card aforesayd. Well I know I should also haue declared how the coasts within the straights of the Sea of Italie runne. It is playne that passing the streights on the North side of that Sea after the coast of Granado, and with that which pertaines to Spaine, is the coast of that which France hath in Italie. And then followeth in one piece all Italie, which land hath in arme of the Sea, with a gulfe which is called Mare Adriaticum. And in the bottome of this gulfe is the citie of Venice. And on the other part of the sayd gulfe is Sclauonia, and next Grecia, then the streits of Constantinople, and then the sea called Euxinus, which is within the sayd streights and comming out of the sayd streights, followeth Turcia maior (though now on both sides is called Turcia.) And so the coast runneth Southward to Syria, and ouer against the sayd Turcia are the Ilands of Rhodes, Candie, and Cyprus. And ouer against Italie are the Ilands of Sicilia and Sardinia. And ouer against Spaine is Maiorca and Minorca. In the ende of the gulfe of Syria is Iudea. And from thence returneth the coast toward the Occident, till it commeth to the streights where we began, which all is the coast of Affrike and Barbarie. Also your Lordship shall vnderstand that the coastes of the Sea throughout all the worlde, I haue coloured with yellow, for that it may appeare that all that is within the line coloured yellow, is to be imagined to be maine land or Ilands: and all without the line so coloured to bee Sea: whereby it is easie and light to know it. Albeit in this little roome any other description would rather haue made it obscure then cleere. And the sayd coasts of the Sea are all set iustly after the maner and forme as they lie, as the nauigation approueth them throughout all the Card, saue onely the coastes and Iles of the Spiceries of the Emperour which is from ouer against the 160. to the 215. degree of longitude. For these coastes and situations of the Ilands, euery of the Cosmographers and pilots

pilots of Portingal & Spayne do lie after their purpole. The Spaniards moze towards the Occident, becauſe they ſhould appeare to appertain to the Emperour: & the Portingals moze toward the Occident, foz thas they ſhould fal within their iuriſdiction. So that the pilots and nauigants ech her, which in ſuch caſes ſhould declare the truth, by their inoulerie do ſet them ſallly euery one to ſauour his prince. And foz this cauſe can be no certaine ſituation of that coaſt and Iſlands, till this difference bet wixt them be verified. Now to come to the purpoſe of your Lozdſhips demaund touching the difference between the Emperour and the king of Portingal, to vnderſtand it better, I muſt declare the beginning of this diſcouerie. Though peradventure your Lozdſhip may ſay that in that I haue written ought of purpoſe, I fall in the prouerbe, A gemino ono bellum: But your Lozdſhip commanded me to be large, and I take licence to be prolixious, and ſhalbe peradventure tedious, but your Lozdſhip knoweth that Nihil ignorantia verboſius. Doctor Ley demaund.

In the yeere 1484 the king of Portingal minded to arme certaine Caruels to diſcouer this Spicerie. Then foraſmuch as he feared that being diſcouered, euery other prince would ſende and craue thither, ſo that the coſt and peril of diſcouering ſhould be his, and the profite common: wherefore firſt hee gaue knowledge of this his minde to all princes Chriſtened, ſaying that hee would ſeeke among ſt the infidels newe poſſeſſions of regions, and therefore would make a certaine armie: and that if any of them would helpe in the coſt of the ſayd armie, he ſhould enioy his part of the profite or honour that ſhould come of it. And as then this diſcouering was holden for a ſtrange thing and vncertaine. Nowe they ſay, that all the Princes of Chriſtendome anſwered, that they would be no part of ſuch an armie, nor yet of the profit that might come of it. After the which he gaue knowledge to the Pope of his purpoſe, and of the anſwere of all the Princes, deſiring him that ſeeing that none would helpe in the coſtes, that he would iudge all that ſhould bee found and diſcouered to be of his iuriſdiction, and commaund that none other princes ſhould intermeddle therewith. The Pope ſayd not as Chriſt ſaith, Quis me conſtituit iudicem inter vos? The Pope refuſed. but making himſelfe as Lord and Judge of all, not onely granted that all that ſhould be diſcouered from Orient to Occident, ſhould be the kings of Portingal, but alſo, that vpon great cenſures no other Prince ſhould diſcouer but he. And if they did, alſo to ber the kings of Portingal. So he armed a fleete, and in the yeere 1497 were diſcouered the Iſlands of Calicut, from whence is brought all the ſpice he hath.

After this in the yere 1492 the king of Spaine willing to diſcouer lands toward the Occident without making any ſuch diligence, or taking licence of the king of Portingal, armed certaine Caruels, and then diſcouered this India Occidentall, ſpecially two Iſlands of the ſayd India, as in this Card I ſet forth, naming the one la Dominica, and the other Cuba, and brought certaine golde from thence. Of the which when the king of Portingal had knowledge, he ſent to the king of Spaine, requiring him to giue him the ſayd Iſlands. For that by the ſentence of the Pope that ſhould be diſcouered was his; and that hee ſhould not proceede further in the diſcouerie without his [illegible]. And at the ſame time it ſeemeth that out of Caſtil into Portingal had gone for feare of [illegible] infinite number of Iewes that were expelled out of Spaine, for that they would not [illegible] to be Chriſtians, and carried with them infinite number of golde and ſiluer. So it ſeemeth that the king of Spaine anſwered, that it was reaſon that the king of Portingal ſhould, and that to be obedient to that which the Pope had decreed, he would giue him the ſayd Iſlands of the Indies. Nowe for as much as it was decreed bet wixt the ſayde kings, that none ſhould receiue the others ſubiects fugitiues, nor their goods, therefore the king of Portingal ſhould reſtore and returne to the king of Spaine a million of golde or more, that the Iewes had carried out of Spaine to Portingal, & that in ſo doing he would giue thele Iſlands, and deſiſt from any more diſcouering. And not fulfilling this, he would not onely not giue theſe Iſlands, but procure to diſcouer more where him thought beſt. It ſeemeth that the king of Portingal would not, or could not at his eaſe pay this money. And ſo not paying, that he could not let the king of Spaine to diſcouer: ſo that he enterpriſed not toward the Orient where he had begun & found the Spicerie. And ſeemed to the king of Spaine, that touching this diſcouering they ſhould diuide the worlde betweene them two. And that all that ſhould be diſcouered from Cape Verde, where this Card beginneth to be counted in the degrees of longitude, to 180 of the ſayd ſcale of longitude, which is the worlde toward the Orient, & finiſheth in this Card right ouer againſt a litle croſſe made at ſayd 180 degrees, to be the king of Portingals. And all the land from the ſaid Croſſe towarde Occident, vntill it ioyneth with the other Croſſe in the Orient, which conteineth the other 180 degrees, that is the other halfe of the worlde, to be the king of Spaines. So from the land ouer againſt the ſaid [illegible] eighty degrees vntill it ſmith in the three hundred and fiftie on both the ends of the Card, is the iuriſdiction of the king of Spaine. So after this maner they diuided the worlde betweene them.

now to ſay that theſe Iſlands of Spicery fall neere the terme and limites betweene theſe princes (for as by the ſayd Carde you may ſee they begin from one hundred and ſixtie degrees of longitude, and ende in 215) it ſeemeth all that falleth from 160 to 180 degrees, ſhould be of Portingal: and all the reſt of Spaine. And for that their Coſmographers and Pilots coulde not agree in the ſituation of the ſayde Iſlandes (for the Portingals ſet them all within their 180 degrees, and the Spaniards ſet them all without:) and for that in meaſuring, all the Coſmographers of both partes, or what other that euer haue bene cannot giue certaine order to meaſure the longitude of the worlde, as they doe of the latitude: for that there is no ſtarre fixe from Eaſt to Weſt, as are the ſtarres of the Poles from North to South, but all moueth with the mouing diuine: no maner can bee founde howe certainely it may bee meaſured, but by coniectures, as the Nauigants haue eſteemed the way they haue gone. But it is manifeſt that Spaine had the ſituation of all the landes from Cape Verde, toward the Orient of the Portingals to their 180 degrees. And in all their Cardes they neuer hitherto ſet the ſaide Iſlands within their limitation of the ſayd 180 degrees, (though they knewe very well of the Iſlands,) till now that the Spaniards diſcouered them. And it is knowen that the king of Portingal had trade to theſe Iſlands afore, but would neuer ſuffer Portingal to go thither from Calicut: for ſo much as he knew that it fell out of his dominion: leaſt by going thither there might come ſome knowledge of thoſe other Iſlands of the king of Spaine, but bought the cloues of Marchants of that countrey, that brought them to Calicut, much derer then they would haue coſt, if he had ſeene them, thinking after this maner it would abide alwayes ſecret. And now that it is diſcouered by the Spaniards and keepes the Spaniards from the trade all that he can.

The longitudes hard to be found out.

Alſo it ſhould ſeeme that when this foreſaid conſent of the diuiſion of the worlde was agreed betweene them, the king of Portingal had already diſcouered certaine Iſlandes that lie ouer against Cape Verde, and alſo certaine part of the maine land of India toward the South, from whence he fette Braſill, and called it the land of Braſil. So for that all ſhould come in his terme and limites, hee tooke three hundred and ſeuentie leagues beyond Cape Verde: and after this 180 degrees, being his part of the worlde, ſhould begin in the Carde right ouer againſt the 340 degrees, where I haue made a little compaſſe with a croſſe, and ſhould finiſh at the 160 degree, where alſo I haue made another little marke. And after this computation without any controuerſie, the Iſlands of the Spicery fal out of the Portingals domination. So that nowe the Spaniards ſay to the Portingals, that if they would beginne their 180 degrees from the ſayde Cape Verde, to the intent they ſhould extende more toward the Orient, and ſo to touch thoſe Iſlandes of the Spicerie of the Emperour, which is all that is betweene the two croſſes made in this Carde, that then the Iſlands of Cape Verde and the lande of Braſil that the Portingals nowe obtaine, is out of the ſayd limitation, and that they are of the Emperours. Or if their 180 degrees they take from the 370 leagues beyond the ſaid Cape Verde, to include in it the ſaid Iſlands and lande of Braſil, then plainely appeareth the ſaid 180 degrees ſhould finiſh long before they come to the Iſlands of the Spicerie of the Emperour: As by this Carde your Lordſhip may ſee. For the limits ſhould begin at the 340 degrees of this Carde, and ende at the 160 degrees, where I haue made two little markes of the compaſſe with croſſes in them.

So that plainely it ſhould appeare by reaſon, that the Portingals ſhould leaue theſe Iſlands of Cape Verde and land of Braſil, if they would haue part of the Spicerie of the Emperour: or els holding theſe, they haue no part there. To this the Portingals ſay, that they will begin their 180 degrees from the ſelfe ſame Cape Verde: for that it may extende ſo much more toward the Orient, and touch theſe Iſlandes of the Emperours: and would winne theſe Iſlands of Cape Verde and land of Braſil neuertheleſſe, as a thing that they poſſeſſed before the conclusion of this limitation was made.

So none can verely tell which hath the beſt reaſon. They be not yet agreed, Quare ſub iudice lis eſt.

But without doubt (by all coniectures of reaſon) the ſayd Iſlands fall all without the limitation of Portingal, and pertaine to Spaine, as it appeareth by the moſt part of all the Cardes made by the Portingals, ſaue thoſe which they haue falſified of late purpoſely.

But now touching that your Lordſhip wrote, whether that which we diſcouered touched any thing the foreſayd coaſtes: once it appeareth plainely, that the Newefound land that we diſcouered, is all a maine land with the Indies Occidentall, from whence the Emperour hath all his gold and pearles: and ſo continueth of coaſt more then 5000 leagues of length, as by this Carde appeareth. For from the ſaid New lands it proceedeth toward the Occident to the Indies, and from the Indies returneth toward the Orient, and after turneth Southward vp till it come to the Straits of Todos Santos, which I reckon to be more then 5000 leagues.

Newe found land diſcouered by the Engliſhmen.

So that to the Indias it should seeme that we haue some title, at least that for our discouering we might trade thither as other doe. But all this is nothing neere the Spicerie. Note.

Now then if from the sayd New found lands the Sea be nauigable, there is no doubt, but sayling Northward and passing the Pole, descending to the Equinoctial line, we shall hit these Ilands, and it should be a much shorter way, then either the Spaniards or the Portingals haue. For we be distant from the Pole but thirty and nine degrees, and from the Pole to the Equinoctiall be ninetie, the which added together, bee an hundred twenty and nine degrees, leagues 2489, and miles 7440: Where we should find these Ilands. And the Nauigation of the Spaniards to the Spicerie is, as by this Carde you may see, from Spaine to the Ilandes of Canarie, and from these Ilandes they runne ouer the line Equinoctiall Southwarde to the Cape of the maine land of the Indians, called the Cape of Saint Augustine, and from this Cape Southwards to the straites of Todos Santos, in the which nauigation to the said straites is 1700. or 1800 leagues; and from these Straites being past them, they returne to warde the line Equinoctial, to the Ilands of Spicerie, which are distant from the saide Straites 4200. or 4300. leagues. To sayle by the Pole. Of the straites of Magellane.

The nauigation of the Portingals to the said Ilandes is departing from Portingal Southward towarde the Cape Verde, and from thence to another Cape passing the line Equinoctial called Capo de bona speranza, and from Portingal to the Cape is 1800 leagues, and from this Cape to the Ilands of Spicerie of the Emperour is 2500. leagues.

So that this nauigation amounteth all to 4300. leagues. So that (as afore is sayd,) if between our New found lands or Norway, or Iland, the seas toward the North be nauigable, we should goe to these Ilands a shorter way by more then 2000. leagues.

And though we went not to the sayd Ilandes, for that they are the Emperours or kings of Portingal, wee should by the way and comming once to the line Equinoctiall, finde landes no lesse riche of golde and Spicerie, as all other landes are vnder the sayd line Equinoctiall: and should, if we may passe vnder the North, enioy the nauigation of all Tartarie, Which should be no lesse profitable to our commodities of cloth, then these Spiceries to the Emperour, and king of Portingal. Note. Benefite to England.

But it is a generall opinion of all Cosmographers, that passing the seuenth clime, the sea is all yce, and the colde so much that none can suffer it. And hitherto they had all the like opinion, that vnder the line Equinoctiall for much heate the land was vnhabitable. Obiection.

Yet since (by experience is proued) no land so much habitable nor more temperate. And to conclude, I thinke the same should be found vnder the North, if it were experimented. For as all Philosophers iudge, Nihil fit vacuum in rerum natura: So I iudge, there is no land vnhabitable, nor Sea innauigable. If I should write the reason that presenteth this vnto me, I should be too prolixe, and it seemeth not requisite for this present matter. God knoweth that though by it I should haue no great interest, yet I haue had and still haue no litle mind of this businesse: So that if I had facultie to my will, it should be the first thing that I would vnderstand, euen to attempt, if our Seas Northward be nauigable to the Pole, or no. I reason, that as some sicknesses are hereditarious, and come from the father to the sonne, so this inclination or desire of this discouerie I inherited of my father, which with another marchant of Bristow named Hugh Eliot, were the discouerers of the New found lands, of the which there is no doubt, (as nowe plainely appeareth) if the Mariners would then haue bene ruled, and followed their Pilots minde, the lands of the West Indies (from whence all the gold commeth) had bene ours. For all is one coast, as by the Carde appeareth, and is afore sayd. Answere. A true opinion. A voyage of discouery by the Pole. M. Thorne and M. Eliot discouerers of New found land. The cause why the West Indies were not ours: which also Sebastian Gabot writeth in an Epistle to Baptista Ramusius.

Also in this Carde by the coastes where you see C. your Lordship shall vnderstand it is set for Cape or headland, where I. for Iland, where P. for Port, where R. for Riuer. Also in all this little Carde I thinke nothing be erred touching the situation of the land, saue onely in these Ilands of Spicerie: which, for that (as afore is sayd) euery one setteth them after his minde, there can be no certification how they stand. I doe not denie, that there lacke many things, that a consummate Carde should haue, or that a right good demonstration desireth. For there should be expressed all the mountaines and Riuers that are principall of name in the earth, with the names of all principall cities, which all I might haue set, but not in this Carde, for the little space would not consent.

Your Lordship may see that setting onely the names almost of euery Region, and yet not of all, the roome is occupied, Many Ilands are also left out, for the said lack of roome, the names almost all Portes put to silence, with the rules of the windes or points of the compasse: For that this is not for Pilots to sayle by, but a summary declaration of that which your Lordship commanded. And if by this your Lordship cannot well perceiue the meaning of this Card, of the which I would

not marueile, by reason of the rude composition of it, will it please your Lordship to aduise mee to make a bigger and a better Mappe, or els that I may cause one to be made. For I know my selfe in this and all other nothing perfect, but Licet semper discens, nunquam tamen ad perfectam scientiam perueniens. Also I know, to set the forme Sphericall of the world in Plano after the true rule of Cosmographie, it would haue bene made otherwise then this is: howbeit the demonstration should not haue bene so plaine.

And also these degrees of longitude, that I set in the lower part of this card, should haue binset along by the line Equinoctiall, (so then must be imagined. For the degrees of longitude neere either of the poles are nothing equall in bignesse to them in the Equinoctiall. But these are set so, for that setting them along the Equinoctial, it would haue made obscure a great part of the map. Many other curiosities may be required, which for the nonce I did not set downe, as well for that the intent I had principally was to satisfie your doubt touching the spicerie, as for that I lacke leasure and time. I trust your Lordship correcting that which is erred, will accept my good will, which is to doe any thing that I may in your Lordships seruice. But from henceforth I know your Lordship will rather commaund me to keepe silence, then to be large, when you shall be wearied with the reading of this discourse. Iesus prosper your estate and health.

Your Lordships
Robert Thorne 1527.

ALso this Carde and that which I write touching the variance betweene the Emperour and the king of Portingall, is not to be shewed or communicated there with many of that countrey. For though there is nothing in it preiudiciall to the Emperour, yet it may be a cause of paine to the maker: as well for that none may make these Cardes, but certaine appointed and allowed for maisters, as for that peraduenture it would not sound well to them, that a stranger should know or discouer their secretes: and would appeare worst of all, if they vnderstand that I write touching the short way to the spicerie by our Seas. Though peraduenture of troth it is not to be looked to, as a thing that by all opinions is impossible, and I thinke neuer will come to effect: and therefore neither here nor elsewhere is it to be spoken of. For to moue it amongst wise men, it should bee had in derision. And therefore to none I would haue written nor spoken of such things, but to your Lordship, to whom boldly I commit in this all my foolish fantasie as to my self. But if it please God that into England I may come with your Lordship, I will shew some coniectures of reason, though against the generall opinion of Cosmographers, by which shall appeare this that I say not to lacke some foundation. And till that time I beseeche your Lordship let it be put to silence: and in the meane season it may please God to send our two Englishmen, that are gone to the Spicerie, which may also bring more plaine declaration of that which in this case might be desired.

Also I knowe I needed not to haue beene so prolixe in the declaration of this Carde to your Lordship, if the said Carde had bene very well made after the rules of Cosmographie. For your Lordship would soone vnderstand it better then I, or any other that could haue made it: and so it should appeare that I shewed Delphinũ natare. But for that I haue made it after my rude manner, it is necessary that I be the declarer or gloser of mine own worke, or els your Lordship should haue had much labour to vnderstand it, which now with it also cannot be excused, it is so grossely done. But I knew you looked for no curious things of mee, and therefore I trust your Lordship will accept this, and hold me for excused. In other mens letters that they write they craue pardon that at this present they write no larger: but I must finish, asking pardon that at this present I write so largely. Iesus preserue your Lordship with augmentation of dignities.

Your seruant Robert
Thorne, 1527.

Epitaphium M. Roberti Thorni, sepulti in Ecclesia Templariorum Londini.

RObertus iacei hic Thorne, quem Bristolia quondam
Prætoris meritò legit ad officium.
Huic etenim semper magnæ Respublica curæ,
Charior & cunctis patria diuitijs.
Ferre inopi auxilium, tristes componere lites,

Duke

Dulce huic consilio quósque iuuare fuit,
Qui pius exaudis miserorum vota precésque,
Christe huic cœli des regione locum.

A briefe Treatise of the great Duke of *Moscouia* his genealogie, being taken out of the Moscouites manuscript Chronicles written by a Polacke.

IT hath almost euer bene the custome of nations, in searching out the inlancie and first beginnings of their estate, to ascribe the same vnto such authors as liued among men in great honour and endued mankinde with some one or other excellent benefite. Nowe, this inbred desire of all nations to blaze and set foorth their owne pedigree hath so much pleuailed with the greater part, that leauing the vndoubted trueth, they haue betaken themselues vnto meere fables and fictions. Yea and the Chronicles of many nations written in diuers and sundrie ages doe testifie the same. Euen so the Grecians boasted that they were either Autochthones, that is earthbredde, or els lineally descended from the Gods. And the Romans affirme that Mars was father vnto their first founder Romulus. Right well therefore and iudicially saith Titus Liuius: Neither meane I to auouch (quoth he) ne to disable or confute those thinges which before the building and foundation of the Citie haue beene reported, being more adorned and fraught with Poeticall fables then with incorrupt and sacred monuments of trueth: antiquitie is to be pardoned in this behalfe, namely in ioyning together matters historicall and poeticall, to make the beginnings of cities to seeme the more honourable. For sith antiquity it selfe is accompted such a notable argument of true nobility, euen priuate men in all ages haue contended thereabout. Wherefore citizens of Rome being desirous to make demonstration of their Gentrie, vse to haue their auncestours armes painted along the walles of their houses: in which regarde they were so puffed vp, that oftentimes they would arrogantly disdaine those men, which by their owne vertue had attained vnto honour. In like sorte Poets, when the originall of their worthines and braue champions was either vtterly vnknowen or somewhat obscure, would ofte referre it vnto their Gods themselues. So in these our dayes (to lette passe others) the Turkish Emperour with great presumption boasteth himselfe to bee descended of the Troian blood. Likewise the great duke of Moscouie, to make himselfe and his predecessours seeme the more souereigne, deriueth the beginnings of his parentage from the Romane Emperours, yea euen from Augustus Cæsar. Albeit therefore no man is so fonde as to accept of this report for trueth, yet will wee briefly set downe what the Moscouites haue written in their Chronicles as touching this matter.

Augustus (beleeue it who liketh) had certaine brethren or kinsfolkes which were appointed gouernours ouer diuers prouinces. Amongst the rest one Prussus (of whome Prussia was named) had his place of gouernment assigned vnto him vpon the shore of the eastern or Baltick sea, and vpon the famous riuer of Wixel. This mans graund children or nephewes of the fourth generation were Rurek, Sinaus, and Truuor, who likewise inhabited in the very same places. Whereas therefore at the very same time the Russians or the Moscouites without any ciuill regiment possessed large and spacious territories towards the north, the foresayd three brethren, vpon the perswasion of one Gostomislius the chiefe citizen of Nouogrod, in the yeare since the worldes creation (according to the computation of the Greekes) 6370, which was in the yeare of our Lord 572, were sent for, to beare rule. And so ioyning their kinsman Olechus vnto them, and diuiding these huge countreys among themselues, they laboured to reduce the barbarous and sauage people vnto a ciuill kinde of life.

Russia became ciuill in ye yere of our Lord 572.

Sinaus and Truuor deceasing without issue, Rurek succeeded and left a sonne behinde him named Igor; who not being of sufficient yeres to beare rule, was committed vnto the protection of his kinsman Olechus. The sayde Igor begate of Olha daughter vnto a citizen of Pleico (who, after her husbande was slaine by his enemies, taking her iourney to Constantinople, was there baptized by the name of Helena) a sonne called Stoslaus, who fought many battels with the neighbour countreys. Howbeit at length Stoslaus was slayne by his foe, who hauing a drinking cup of his skull, engraued thereupon in golden letters this sentence: Seeking

after other mens, he loſt his owne. He left behind him three ſonnes, namely Teropolchus, Olega, and Vulodimir. The which Vulodimir hauing ſlaine his two brethren, became ſole gouernour of Ruſſia, or (as the Moſcouites call it) Roſſeia, his owne ſelfe. This man beginning at length to loath and miſlike the ethnik religion, and the multitude of falſe gods, applyed his minde vnto the religion of Chriſt, and hauing taken to wife Anna ſiſter vnto Baſilius and Conſtantinus Emperours of Conſtantinople, was together with his whole nation, in the yeare of Chriſt 988. baptized, and imbraced the Chriſtian religion, with the rites and ceremonies of the Greeke Church, and his name being changed, he was called Baſilius.

Howbeit Zonaras reporteth that before the time of Vulodimir, Baſilius Emperour of Conſtantinople ſent a biſhop vnto the Ruſſians, by whoſe meanes they were conuerted vnto the Chriſtian faith. He reporteth moreouer that they would not be perſwaded vnleſſe they might ſee a miracle: whereupon the ſaid biſhop hauing made his prayers vnto almighty God, threwe the booke of the Euangeliſts into the fire, which remained there vnconſumed. And that by this miracle they were mooued to giue credite vnto the doctrine of Chriſt, and to conforme themſelues thereunto.

The ſonnes of Vulodimir were Vuiſeſlaus, Iſoſlaus, Iaroſlaus, Suatopolcus, Boriſſus, Glebus, Stoſlaus, Vulzeuolodus, Staniſlaus, Sudiſlaus, and Podius who died in his childhood. Amongſt the reſidue all Ruſſia was diuided by their father, who not being contented with their portions, but inuading each other, were moſt of them ſlaine by their mutuall contentions. Boriſſus and Glebus in regard of their holy conuerſation were regiſtred for Saints, whoſe feaſts are euery yeare celebrated with great ſolemnitie vpon the twelfth of Nouember.

At length Iaroſlaus only got the Soueraigne authoritie into his owne hands, and left behind him foure ſonnes, Vlodimir, Iſoſlauus, Weceſlauus, and Vuſzeuolodus.

Kiow. The foreſaid Vulodimir ſonne of Iaroſlaus kept his reſidence at the ancient citie of Kiow ſtanding vpon the riuer of Boriſthenes, and after diuers conflicts with his kinſmen, hauing ſubdued all the prouinces vnto himſelfe, was called Monomachos, that is, the onely champion. This man (for I thinke it not amiſſe to report thoſe things which their owne Manuſcript Chronicles make mention of) waged warre againſt Conſtantine the Emperour of Conſtantinople, and when he had walked & ouerrun Thracia, being returned home with great and rich ſpoyles, and making preparation for new wars, Conſtantine ſent Neophytus the Metropolitane of Epheſus and two Biſhops, with the gouernour of Antiochia, and Euſtaphius the Abbat of Ieruſalem, to preſent rich and magnificent gifts vnto him; as namely, part of the croſſe of our Sauiour Chriſt, a crowne of gold, a drinking cup curiouſly made of Sardonyx ſtone, a cloake ſet all ouer with precious ſtones, and a golden chaine; commaunded them to ſalute him by the name of Czar (which name, as it may be prooued by many arguments, ſignifieth a king, and not an Emperour) and concluded a moſt inuiolable league of amity and friendſhip with him.

The foreſayd Vulodimir begate Vuſzeuolodus the ſecond. This Vuſzeuolodus left eight ſonnes behind him, Miteiſlaus, Iſoſlaus, Stoſlaus, Teropolcus, Weceſlaus, Romanus, Georgius, and Andrew. The ſonnes of George were Roſeſlaus, Andrew, Baſilius, and Demetrius.

1237. Demetrius begat George, who in the yere 1237. was ſlaine by one Bathy a Tartarian duke, which Bathy waſted Moſcouia, and ſubdued the ſame vnto himſelfe. Since which time the Ruſſians were tributary to the Tartars, and were gouerned by ſuch dukes as they pleaſed to ſet ouer them. Howbeit the Tartars ſo greatly abuſed that authoritie, that when they ſent their ambaſſadours vnto the prince of Moſcouie, he was conſtrained to goe forth and meete with them, and (as Herbortus Fulſtinius in his Polonian hiſtorie reporteth) to offer them a baſon full of mares milk, and if they had ſpilt any whit thereof vpon their horſes maines, to licke it off with his toung, and hauing conducted them into his princely court, to ſtand bareheaded before them while they ſate downe, and with all reuerence to giue eare and attendance vnto them. But by what meanes they ſhooke off at the length this yoake of ſeruitude, I will forthwith declare.

About the ſame time almoſt all Polonia, and the dukedome of Sileſia were ouerrun by the Tartars with fire and ſword. Who hauing burnt Preſla the chiefe citie of Sileſia, & being come before the citie of Legnitz, they fought there a moſt cruel and bloody field, wherin was ſlain duke Henrie himſelfe being ſonne vnto the moſt holy and deuout lady Heduice, with many others, whoſe monuments and graues be as yet extant in ſundry places, and with an infinite multitude of common ſouldiers, inſomuch that the Tartars filled nine great ſackes with the eares of them which they had ſlaine. The Tartars to the end they might obtaine the victorie, preſented vnto the view of our ſouldiers the portrature of a mans head placed by arte magique vpon a banner, wherein the letter X. was painted, which being ſhaken and mooued vp and downe breathed forth a moſt loathſome ſtench, & ſtrooke ſuch a terrour into the hearts of our men, that being as it were aſtoniſhed with the ſnaky viſage of Meduſa, they were vtterly daunted and diſmayed.

From

From thence Bathy and his company with the same bloodthirstie intent marched into Hungarie, and had almost slaine king Bela the fourth, who together with his sonne escaping by flight did scarcely ride themselues out of the enemies hand. And when the whole world almost was exceedingly terrified at the cruell inuasions of this most barbarous nation, at length Pope Innocentius the fourth sending ambassadours vnto Bathy obtained peace for fiue yeeres: but to forsake his heathenish superstitions and to become a Christian, hee would by no meanes bee perswaded. For he was by the instigation of the Saracens infected with deuilish opinions of Mahomet, as being more agreeable vnto his barbarous rudenes, which euen vnto this day the Tartars do maintaine, like as the prophane Turkes also.

These ambassadours were Iohan. de Plano Carpini & Frier Benedict a Polonian.

This Bathy had a sonne called Tamerlan, whome the Moscouites call Temirkutla, who likewise, as it is recorded in histories, attained vnto great renoume. For he caried about with him in a cage Baiazet the Turkish Emperour being fettered in golden chaines, and made him a laughing stocke vnto all men.

Let vs now returne vnto the Russians. George being slaine, Iaroslaus his brother succeeded in his roome, and left behinde him three sonnes, Theodorus, Alexander and Andreas. Daniel the sonne of Alexander first established his royall seate in the citie of Mosco, and magnificently building the castle which before time had bene obscure, he tooke vpon him the title of the great Duke of Russia. He had fiue sonnes, namely, George, Alexander, Borissus, Ophonias, and Iohn. This Iohn succeeded his father, and because he continually caried a scrippe about with him to beg almes, he was stirnamed Kaleta, which word signifieth a scrippe. His sonnes were, Simeon, Iohn, and Andrew. He gaue vnto his sonne Simeon the prouinces of Vvlodimiria and Moscouia: which Simeon deceasing without issue his brother Iohn succeeded, who begate a sonne called Demetrius. This Demetrius had seuen sonnes, namely Daniel, Basilius, George, Andrew, Peter, Iohn, & Constantine. Basilius reigned after his fathers death. This mã disinheriting his sonne which was called after his owne name, because he suspected his mother of adulterie, at his death surrendred his Dukedome vnto his brother George, who kept his nephewe a long time in prison. Howbeit at his death, though himselfe had two sonnes namely Andrew and Demetrius, yet being stricken perhaps with remorse of conscience, he bestowed the Dukedome vpon his nephew Basilius. Against whom his two cousins bearing a grudge waged warre, and at length hauing taken him by a wyly stratageme they put out his eyes. Notwithstanding the Boiarens (for so the Moscouites call their nobles) continued their duetifull alleageance vnto this their blinde Duke, whom for his blindnes they called Cziemnox, that is to say, darke or darkened. He left a sonne behinde him called Iuan Vasilowich who brought the Russian common wealth, being before his time but obscure, vnto great excellencie and renowme. Who that he might the better get all the superiority into his owne hands put to death so many sonnes and nephewes of the former Dukes as he could lay hold on, and began to take vpon him the title of the great Duke of Vvlodimiria, Moscouia, and Nouogardia, and to call himselfe the Monarch or Czar of all Russia. He brought vnder his subiection two principall cities, namely Plesco being the only walled citie in all Moscouie, and Mouogrod, both of them being in regard of traffike most riche and flourishing cities, and hauing bin subiect vnto the Lithuanians for the space of 50. yeeres before. The treasure of Nouogrod was so exceeding, that the great Duke is reported to haue carried home from thence 300. carts laden with gold and siluer.

The citie of Mosco first made the seate of the great Duke.

Iuan Vasilowich.

The name of the Moscouites first aduanced.

He also was the first man that waged warre against the Polonians and the Liuonians: against Polonia he pretended a quarell, alleaging that his daughter Helena (whome hee had married vnto Alexander the great Duke of Lithuania, which was afterward king of Polonia) was euil intreated, and was withdrawen from the Greekish religion vnto the ceremonies of the Church of Rome. But against the Liuonians for none other cause, but onely for an incredible desire of enlarging his dominions. Howbeit what impulsiue causes of litle or no moment happened in the meane season, we will in another place more plainely declare. Notwithstanding he was very often and in diuers battels vanquished by Plettebergius the great master of the Dutch knights: but it is not to the purpose to stand any longer vpon this discourse.

He was married first vnto Marie the Duke of Tyuersky his daughter, and of her hee begate Iohn, vnto whom in his life time he surrendred his Dukedome, and married him vnto the daughter of Stephan the Palatine of Moldauia: which Iohn, after he had begotten his sonne Demetrius, deceased before his father.

Afterward Iuan Vasilowich aforesaide married a wife called Sophia being daughter vnto Thomas Palæologus, which is reported to haue had her dowry out of the Popes treasury, because the Moscouite had promised to conforme himselfe vnto the Romish Church. This Sophia being a woman of a princely and aspiring minde, and often complaining that she was married vnto the

Tartars

Tartars vaſſal, at length by her inſtant intreatie and continual perſwaſions, and by a notable ſtratageme ſhe caſt off that ſlauiſh yoke very much vnbeſeeming ſo mighty a prince. For whereas the Tartarian Duke had his procuratours and agents in the Moſcouites court, who dwelt in their owne houſes built within the very caſtle of Moſco, and were eye witneſſes of all affaires which were there performed: Sophia ſaid ſhe was admoniſhed from heauen to builde a Temple in the ſelfe ſame place where the Tartars houſe ſtoode, and to conſecrate it vnto Saint Nicholas. Being therfore deliuered of a ſonne ſhe inuited the Tartarian Duke vnto the ſolemne baptizing of him, and being come, ſhee requeſted him to giue her his houſe, and obtained it at his hands. Which houſe being razed and thoſe Tartarian eſpials being excluded, the Tartars at length were quite bereaued and vtterly diſpoſſeſſed of their authoritie which they had exerciſed ouer the Ruſſians for many yeres, and could neuer yet recouer it; albeit they haue giuen ſundry attempts. Of his wife Sophia he begate ſixe children, namely, a daughter called Helena, & fiue ſonnes, that is to ſay, Gabriel, Demetrius, George, Simeon, and Andrew.

The yoke of the Tartars ſhaken off.

The Dukedome of right appertayned vnto Demetrius the ſonne of Iohn, which was the ſonne of Vaſilowich by his firſt mariage. Howbeit Sophia preuailed ſo with her huſband, that neglecting his graund-childe Demetrius, hee beſtowed his Dukedome vpon Gabriel his ſonne.

Andrew the younger had a ſonne called Vvlodimir, of whom Mary was borne, which in the yeere of Chriſt 1573. was maried vnto Magnus the Duke of Holſt.

Baſilius.

Gabriel hauing obtained the great dukedome of Ruſſia, changed his name calling himſelfe Baſilius, and applied his minde to the atchieuing of high and great enterpriſes. For hee reduced a great part of the dukedome of Moſcouie, which Vitoldus the great Duke of Lithuania held in poſſeſſion, vnder his owne iuriſdiction, and wonne vpon the riuer of Boriſthenes (which the Ruſſians call Neiper) many cities and eſpecially Smolenſco, in the yeere of our Lord 1514. Hauing diuorced his firſt wife, hee begate of Helena daughter vnto Duke Glinskie, Iuan Vaſilowich, which now this preſent 1580. reigneth as great Duke. Hee was borne in the yeere of our Lorde 1528. the 25. of Auguſt, ſixe houres after the riſing of the ſonne. The great dukedome of Ruſſia fell vnto the ſaid Iuan Vaſilowich in the fifth yeere of his age, hauing his vncle George for his great protector: being 25. yeeres of age, and being of a ſtrong body and of a couragious minde he ſubdued the Tartars of Cazan and Aſtracan vpon the riuer of Volgha, carrying their Dukes and chiefetaines into captiuitie.

Iuan Vaſilowich.

But by what wayes and meanes (after the league which by the intercceſſion of the moſt ſacred Roman Emperour, continued from the yeere 1503. for the ſpace of fifty yeeres, was expired) hauing renewed warres againſt Liuonia, hee brought that moſt flouriſhing prouince into extreame miſerie, vſing for the ſame purpoſe a new pretenſe, and alleadging that it belonged vnto him by right of inheritance, I tremble to recount: and it requireth a large hiſtorie, which perhaps in time and place conuenient ſome more learned then my ſelfe will take vpon them to addreſſe.

He is exceedingly addicted vnto piety and deuotion, and both oftentimes obſerue very ſtrict faſtings and abſtinence with his monks: and whereas the Ruſſes in doing reuerence & adoration vnto God doe beate their foreheads againſt the ground, this Iuan Vaſilowich with performing of the ſame ceremonie cauſeth his forehead to be ful of boines and ſwellings, and ſometimes to be black and blew, and very often to bleed. He is much delighted with building of Churches & ſpareth no coſt for that purpoſe. Whether therfore by nature, or (which hee pretendeth to be the cauſe) by reaſon of his ſubiects malice & treacherie, he be ſo addicted vnto all rigour and cruelty, I dare not determine, eſpecially ſithens he hath not an illiberal or miſhapen countenance, as Attila is reported to haue had. Of his firſt wife which was ſiſter vnto Mikita Romanowich, beeing now great ſteward of his houſhold, he begate two ſonnes, namely Iuan and Theodore. And albeit he was fiue times married, yet had he not one childe more.

Theodore.

Whereas this Iuan Vaſilowich vpon certaine friuolous reaſons calleth himſelfe the naturall lord of Liuonia, I thought it not amiſſe to adde an Epiſtle hereunto, which was written by a certaine honourable man concerning the ſame matter.

S. All wee which inhabite this Prouince with all ſeemely reuerence and ſubmiſſion of mind, do offer moſt humble thanks vnto the Emperors moſt ſacred and peereleſſe maieſty our moſt gracious lord, in that according to his fatherly affection which he beareth towards all Chriſtendome, and for the good & commodity of this our diſtreſſed and afflicted countrey, which theſe many yeres hath bin in ſtead of a bulwarke againſt the inuaſion of barbarous nations, he hath ſent his ambaſſadors vnto the great duke of Moſcouia. In regard of which his fatherly loue and great benefite vouchſafed on vs, wee are ready when occaſion ſhall ſerue, to aduenture our liues and goods: praying in the meane ſeaſon vnto Almightie God, who is the onely eſtabliſher and confounder of

of common wealths, to bring this excellent worke, the foundation whereof is already laide vnto a prosperous conclusion. But as touching the title which the Moscouite maketh to this prouince, to say the very trueth, we greatly wondred and were astonished at the declaration thereof. For it is most apparant, not onely out of all ancient and credible histories, but euen from the experience and state of these regions, that the said title and allegations are fabulous and fained. For out of all auncient monuments, by what names soeuer they bee called (whereof there are diuers extant among vs) it cannot be proued by any mention, nor yet by any likelihoode or coniecture, that those things which the Moscouite affirmeth concerning the people which were gouernors of their regions in times past, and concerning the right and title of his ancestors vnto this prouince, are grounded vpon truth.

The commodities of traffike and of nauigation.

For it is not vnknowen by what meanes this prouince, partly through the industry of marchants, and partly by the benefite of nauigation, was first discouered: neither is it vnknowen howe the inhabitants thereof beeing wholly addicted vnto heathenish superstitions and idolatrie, were by the croised knights (who drew other knights professing the same order in Prussia to aide and accompanie them in this their enterprise) and that with great labour and difficultie, conuerted vnto the Christian faith: when as at the same time the Liuonians had no knowledge at all of the iurisdiction, religion, maners, or language of Moscouie: who had not onely no conuersation nor dealings with the Moscouites, but were estranged also from all other nations whatsoeuer: for leading a miserable, poore, barbarous, and heathenish life, in sauage maner among wilde beastes, and in the desert and solitary woods, they were vtterly ignorant of God and destitute of ciuil magistrates. Howbeit this kind of gouernment was peculiar vnto them, namely that all of one familie and society vsed a kinde of reuerence vnto their elders more then to any other, whom also, that their authoritie might be the greater, they called by the name of kings, and (albeit one of their families consisted of a 100. persons) they obeyed them in all respects, and after their rude and barbarous maner did them loyal seruice. At the very same time the Moscouites had receiued the religion, and the Ecclesiasticall ceremonies of the Greeke and Easterne Church, which religion they published and dispersed throughout all prouinces subiect to their dominion, vsing their owne proper letters and characters for the same purpose. Of all which things the Liuonians which very barbarously inhabited a lande beeing enuironed with Russia, Liehuania, Samogitia, Prussia, and the Balthic sea, neuer heard any report at all. It is moreouer to be noted that neuer at any time heretofore either within the earth, or in other places of Liuonia, there haue bene found any monuments at all of the antiquitie or letters of the Russes: which verily must needs haue come to passe, if the Moscouites, Russes, or any other nations which vse the foresaid particulars, had borne rule and authority ouer the Liuonians: yea there had beene left some remainder and token, either of their religion and diuine worship, or of their lawes and customes, or at the least of their maners, language, and letters. This indeed we can in no wise deny, that euen in Liuonia it selfe, there haue bin in times past and at this present are many and diuers languages spoken by the people. Howbeit no one language of them all hath any affinity either with the Moscouian tongue, or with the tongues of any other nations. But whereas the Moscouite pretendeth that there hath bin vsually paide a pension or tribute vnto himselfe and his predecessours out of the whole prouince, it is as incredible as the former.

About the beginning of this tragicall warre, the Moscouite, to cloke his tyranny and ambition vnder some faire pretence, amongst other of his demaunds, made mention also of a tribute which should be due vnto him out of the bishop of Dorpat his iurisdiction, whereof notwithstanding hee could neither bring any iust account, nor affirm any certainty: howbeit there is no man liuing to be found which either can tell of his owne remembrance, or from the relation of others, that any such tribute was euer paid vnto the Moscouite. What time therefore he referred al this negotiation vnto the master of the Liuonian order, and commanded him to get what knowledge hee could therof from the men of Dorpat, & vrged the tribute, saying if it were worth but one haire, that he would not remit it: at length it was found recorded in the ancient Chronicles of Dorpat, that beyond the memory of man, when the territory of Plesco contained nothing but woods and forrests for wilde beastes, that the peasants of the liberty of Dorpat called Neuhus, by the consent of the Russian borderers, enioyed Bee-hiues in the said woods, and paid euery yeere in lieu therof vnto the Russian gouernours, fiue shillings of Liuonian coine. But so soone as the Russians had felled the woods and had built townes and villages in their place, the saide pension ceased together with the trees which were cut downe. Wherefore the saide fiue shillings were neuer since that time either demanded by the Russes or paid by the Liuonians. These things which I knew concerning the causes of the Liuonian warres I thought good to signifie vnto you. Giuen the 22. of May, in the yeere of our Lord 1576.

Ordinan-

Ordinances, instructions, and aduertisements of and for the direction of the intended voyage for Cathay, compiled, made, and deliuered by the right worshipfull M. Sebastian Cabota Esquier, gouernour of the mysterie and companie of the Marchants aduenturers for the discouerie of Regions, Dominions, Islands and places vnknowen, the 9. day of May, in the yere of our Lord God 1553. and in the 7. yeere of the reigne of our most dread soueraigne Lord Edward the 6. by the grace of God, king of England, Fraunce and Ireland, defender of the faith, and of the Church of England and Ireland, in earth supreame head.

FIrst the Captaine generall, with the pilot maior, the masters, marchants & other officers, to be so knit and accorded in vnitie, loue, conformitie, and obedience in euery degree on all sides, that no dissention, variance, or contention may rise or spring betwixt them and the mariners of this companie, to the damage or hinderance of the voyage: for that dissention (by many experiences) hath ouerthrown many notable intended and likely enterprises and exploits.

2 Item, for as much as euery person hath giuen an othe to be true, faithfull, and loial subiects, and liege men to the kings most excellent Maiestie, his heires and successors, and for the obseruation of all lawes & statutes, made for the preseruation of his most excellent Maiestie, & his crowne Imperiall of his realmes of England and Ireland, and to serue his grace, the Realme, and this present voyage truely, and not to giue vp, intermit, or leaue off the said voyage and enterprise vntill it shalbe accomplished, so farre forth as possibilitie and life of man may serue or extend: therfore it behoueth euery person in his degree, as well for conscience, as for dueties sake to remember his said charge, and the accomplishment therof.

3 Item, where furthermore euery mariner or passenger in his ship, hath giuen like othe to be obedient to the Captaine generall, and to euery Captaine and master in his ship, for the obseruation of these present orders contained in this booke, and all other which hereafter shalbe made by the 12. counsailers in this present book named, or the most part of them, for the better conduction, and preseruation of the fleete, and atchieuing of the voyage, and to be prompt, ready and obedient in all acts and feates of honestie, reason, and duetie to be ministred, shewed & executed, in aduancement and preferment of the voyage and exploit: therfore it is conuenient that this present booke shall once euery weeke (by the discretion of the Captaine) be read to the said companie, to the intent that euery man may the better remember his othe, conscience, duetie and charge.

4 Item, euery person by vertue of his othe, to doe effectually & with good will, as farre forth as him shall compile) all, and euery such act and acts, deede and deeds, as shalbe to him or them from time to time commanded, committed and enioyned (during the voyage) by the Captain generall, with the assent of the Counsell and assistants, as well in and during the whole Nauigation and voyage, as also in discouering and landing, as cases and occasions shall require.

5 Item, all courses in Nauigation to be set and kept, by the aduice of the Captaine, Pilot maior, masters, & masters mates, with the assents of the counsailers and the most number of them, and in voyces vniformely agreeing in one to preuaile, and take place, so that the Captaine generall, shall in all counsailes and assemblies haue a double voyce.

6 Item, that the fleete shal keep together, and not separate themselues asunder, as much as by winde & weather may be done or permitted, & that the Captaines, Pilots & masters shall speedily come aboord the Admiral, when and as often as he shall seeme to haue iust cause to assemble them for counsaile or consultation to be had concerning the affaires of the fleete and voyage.

7 Item, that the marchants, and other skilful persons in writing, shal daily write, describe, and put in memorie the Nauigation of euery day and night, with the points, and obseruation of the lands, tides, elements, altitude of the sunne, course of the moon and starres, and the same so noted by the order of the Master and pilot of euery ship to be put in writing, the captaine generall assembling the masters together once euery weeke (if winde and weether shal serue) to conferre all the obseruations, and notes of the said ships, to the intent it may appeare wherein the notes do agree, and wherein they dissent, and vpon good debatement, deliberation, and conclusion determined, to put the same into a common leger, to remain of record for the company: the like order to be kept in proportioning of the Carues, Astrolabes, and other instruments prepared for the voyage, at the charge of the companie.

8 Item, that all enterprises and exploits of discouering or landing to search Iles, regions, and such like, to be searched, attempted, and enterprised by good deliberation, and common assent, determined aduisedly. And that in all enterprises, notable ambassages, suites, requests, or presentment of gifts, or presents to Princes, to be done and executed by the captaine generall in person,

person or by such other, as he by common assent shall appoint or assigne to doe or cause to be done in the same.

9 Item, the steward and cookes of euery ship, and their assistants, to giue and render to the captaine and other head officers of their shippe weekely (or oftner, if it shall seeme requisite, a iust or plaine and perfect accompt of expenses of the victuals, as well flesh, fish, bisket, meate, or bread, as also of beere, wine, oyle, or vineger, and all other kinde of victualling vnder their charge, and they, and euery of them so to order and dispende the same, that no waste or vnprofitable expense be made otherwise then reason and necessitie shall command.

10 Item, when any inferiour or meane officer of what degree or condition he shalbe, shalbe erred in errour, remisse, negligent, or vnprofitable in or about his office in the voyage, or not to vse him selfe in his charge accordingly, then euery such officer to be punished or removed at the discretion of the captaine and assistants, or the most part of them, and the person so removed not to be repute, accepted, or taken from the time of his remoue, any more for an officer, but to remaine in such condition and place, as hee shall be assigned vnto, and none of the companie, to resist such chastisement or worthie punishment, as shalbe ministred vnto him moderately, according to the fault or defect of his offence, after the lawes and common customes of the seas, in such cases heretofore vsed and obserued.

11 Item, if any Mariner or officer inferiour shalbe found by his labour not meete nor worthie the place that he is preferred for, such person may bee vnshipped and put on lande at any place within the kings Maiesties realme & dominion, and one other person more able and worthy to be put in his place, at the discretion of the captaine and masters, & order to be taken that the parties dismissed shalbe allowed proportionably the value of that he shall haue deserued to the time of his dismission or discharge, & he to giue order with sureties, pawn, or other assurance, to repay the ouerplus of that he shall haue receiued, which he shall not haue deserued, & such wages to be made with the partie newly placed as shalbe thought reasonable, and he to haue the furniture of al such necessaries as were prepared for the partie dismissed, according to right and conscience.

12 Item, that no blaspheming of God, or detestable swearing be vsed in any ship, nor communication of ribaldrie, filthy tales, or vngodly talke to be suffred in the company of any ship, neither dicing, carding, tabling, nor other puerilish games to be frequented, whereby ensueth not only poverty to the players, but also strife, variance, [illegible]ing, fighting, and oftentimes murther to the vtter destruction of the parties, and prouoking of Gods most iust wrath, and lawful of vengeance. These and all such like pestilences, as contagious vices, and sinnes to bee eschewed, and the offenders once monished, and not reformed, to bee punished at the discretion of the captaine and master, as appertaineth.

13 Item, that morning and euening prayer, with other common seruices appointed by the kings Maiestie, and lawes of this Realme to be read and saide in euery ship daily by the minister in the Admirall, and the marchant or some other person learned in other ships, and the Bible or paraphrases to be read deuoutly and Christianly to Gods honour, and for his grace to be obtained, and had by humble and hearty prayer of the Nauigants accordingly. At conuenient time of the voyage.

14 Item, that euery officer is to be charged by Inuentorie with the particulars of his charge, and to render a perfect accompt of the distraying of the same together with modest & temperate dispending of powder, shot, and vse of all kinde of artillery, which is not to be misused, but diligently to be preserued for the necessary defence of the fleete and voyage, together with due keeping of all instruments of your Nauigation, and other requisites.

15 Item, no liquor to be spilt on the balast, nor filthines to be left within boorde: the cook room, and all other places to be kept cleane for the better health of the companie, the grommets & pages to bee brought vp according to the laudable order and vse of the Sea, as well in learning of Nauigation, as in exercising of that which to them appertaineth.

16 Item, the liueries in apparel giuen to the mariners he to be kept by the marchants, and not to be worne, but by the order of the captaine, when he shall see cause to muster or shewe them in good aray, for the aduancement and honour of the voyage, and the liueries to bee redeliuered to the keeping of the marchants, vntill it shal be thought conuenient for euery person to haue the full vse of his garment.

17 Item, when any mariner or any other passenger shal haue neede of any necessarie furniture of apparell for his body, and conseruation of his health, the same shall bee deliuered him by the Marchant, at the assignement of the captaine and Master of that shippe, wherein such needie person shall be, at such reasonable price as the same cost, without any gaine to be exacted by the marchants, the value therof to be entred by the marchant in his booke, and the same to be discounted of the parties wages, that so shal receiue, and weare the same.

18 Item

18 Item the ſicke, diſeaſed, weake, and vnſtrong perſon within boord, to be tendred, relieued, comforted, and holpen in the time of his infirmitie, and euery maner of perſon, without reſpect, to beare another's burden, and no man to refuſe ſuch labour as ſhall be put to him, for the moſt benefite, and publike wealth of the voyage, and enterpriſe, to be atchieued exactly.

19 Item if any perſon ſhal fortune to die, or miſcary in the voyage, ſuch apparell, and other goods, as he ſhall haue at the time of his death, is to be kept by the order of the captaine and maſter of the ſhippe, and an inuentorie to be made of it, and conſerued to the vſe of his wife, and children, or otherwiſe according to his mind, and wil, and the day of his death to be entred in the Marchants and Stewards bookes: to the intent it may be knowen what wages he ſhall haue deſerued to his death, and what ſhall reſt due to him.

20 Item, that the Marchants appointed for this preſent voyage, ſhall not make any ſhew or ſale of any kind of marchandizes, or open their commodities to any forrein princes, or any of their ſubiects, without the conſent, priuitie, or agreement of the Captaines, the cape Marchants and the aſſiſtants, or foure of them, whereof the captaine generall, the Pilot Maior, and cape marchant to be three, and euery of the petie marchants to ſhewe his reckoning to the cape marchant, when they, or any of them ſhall be required: and no commutation or trucke to be made by any of the petie marchants, without the aſſent aboueſaid: and all wares, and commodities trucked, bought or giuen to the companie, by way of marchandiſe, trucke, or any other reſpect, to be booked by the marchants, and to be wel ordred, packed, and conſerued in one maſſe entirely, and not to be broken or altered, vntil the ſhippes ſhall returne to the right diſcharges, and inuentorie of al goods, wares, and marchandiſes ſo trucked, bought, or otherwiſe diſpended, to be preſented to the Gouernor, Conſuls, and Aſſiſtants in London, in good order, to the intent the Kings Maieſtie may be truly anſwered of that which to his grace by his grant of corporation is limited, according to our moſt bound dueties, and the whole companie alſo to haue that which by right vnto them appertaineth, and no embezelment ſhall be vſed, but the truth of the whole voyage to be opened, to the common wealth and benefite of the whole companie, and myſterie, as appertaineth, without guile, fraude, or male engine.

King Edwards corporation.

21 Item, no particular perſon, to hinder or preiudicate the common ſtocke of the company in ſale or preferment of his own proper wares, and things, and no particular emergent or purchaſe to be employed to any ſeuerall profite, vntill the common ſtocke of the companie ſhall be furniſhed, and no perſon to hinder the common benefite in ſuch purchaſes or contingents, as ſhal fortune to any one of them, by his owne proper policie, induſtrie, or chance, nor no contention to riſe in that behalfe, by any occaſion of iewel, ſtone, pearles, precious mettals, or other things of the region, where it ſhall chance the ſame to riſe, or to be found, bought, trucked, permuted, or giuen: but euery perſon to be bounden in ſuch caſe, and vpon ſuch occaſion, by order, and direction, as the generall captaine, and the Councell ſhall eſtabliſh and determine, to whoſe order and diſcretion the ſame is left: for that of things vncertaine, no certaine rules may or can be giuen.

22 Item not to diſcloſe to any nation the ſtate of our religion, but to paſſe it ouer in ſilence, without any declaration of it, ſeeming to beare with ſuch lawes, and rites, as the place hath, where you ſhall arriue.

23 Item for as much as our people, and ſhippes may appeare vnto them ſtrange and wonderous, and theirs alſo to ours: it is to be conſidered, how they may be vſed, learning much of their natures and diſpoſitions, by ſome one ſuch perſon, as you may firſt either allure, or take to be brought aboord your ſhips, and there to learne as you may, without violence or force, and no woman to be tempted, or intreated to incontinencie, or diſhoneſtie.

24 Item the perſon ſo taken, to be well entertained, vſed, and apparelled, to be ſet on land, to the intent that he or the may allure other to draw nigh to ſhewe the commodities: and if the perſon taken may be made drunke with your beere, or wine, you ſhal know the ſecrets of his heart.

25 Item our people may not paſſe further into a lande, then that they may be able to recouer their pinneſſes, or ſhips, & not to credit the faire words of the ſtrange people, which be many times tried ſubtile, and falſe, nor to be drawen into perill of loſſe, for the deſire of golde, ſiluer, or riches, and eſteeme your owne commodities aboue al other, and in countenance ſhew not much to deſire the forren commodities: neuertheleſſe take them as for friendſhip, or by way of permutation.

26 Item euery nation and region is to be conſidered aduiſedly, & not to prouoke them by any diſdaine, laughing, contempt, or ſuch like, but to vſe them with prudent circumſpection, with gentleneſs, and curteſie, & not to tary long in one place, vntill you ſhall haue attained the moſt worthy place & may be found, in ſuch ſort, as you may returne to victuals ſufficient, proſperouſly.

27 Item the names of the people of euery Iſland, are to be taken in writing, with the commodities, and incommodities of the ſame, their natures, qualities, and diſpoſitions, the ſite of the

ſame,

same, and what things they are most desirous of, & what commodities they wil most willingly depart with, & what mettals they haue in hils, mountaines, dreames, or riuers, in, or vnder the earth.

28 Item if people shal appeare gathering of stones, gold, mettall, or other like, on the land, your pinnesses may drawe nigh, marking what things they gather, viing or playing vpon the drumme, or such other instruments, as may allure them to harkening, to fantasie, or desire to see, and heare your instruments and voyces, but keepe you out of danger, and shewe to them no poynt or signe of rigour and hostilitie.

29 Item if you shall be inuited into any Lords or Rulers house, to dinner, or other parliance, goe in such order of strength, that you may be stronger then they, and be warie of woods and ambushes, and that your weapons be not out of your possessions.

30 Item if you shall see them weare Lyons or Beares skinnes, hauing long bowes, and arrowes, be not afraid of that sight: for such be worne oftentimes more to feare strangers, then for any other cause.

31 Item there are people that can swimme in the sea, hauens, & riuers, naked, hauing bowes and shafts, couering to drawe nigh your ships, which if they shal finde not wel watched, or warded, they wil assault, desirous of the bodies of men, which they couet for meate: if you resist them, they driue, and so will flee, and therefore diligent watch is to be kept both day & night, in some Illands.

32 Item if occasion shal serue, that you may giue aduertisements of your proceedings in such things as may correspond to the expectation of the company, and likelihood of successe in the voyage, passing such dangers of the seas, perils of ice, intollerable colders, and other impediments, which by simply authors & writers, haue ministred matter of suspition in some heads, that this voyage could not succeede for the extremitie of the North pole, lacke of passage, & such like, which haue caused wauering minds, and doubtful heads, not onely to withdraw themselues from the aduenture of this voyage, but also dissuaded others from the same, the certainty wherof, when you shall haue tried by experience, (most certaine Master of all worldly knowledge) then for declaration of the truth, which you shall haue experted, you may by common assent of counsell, sende either by land, or otherwaies, such two or one person, to bring the same by credite, as you shal think may passe in safetie: which sending is not to be done, but vpon vrgent causes, in likely successe of the voyage, in finding of passage, in towardlines of beneficiall traffike, or such other like, whereby the company being aduertised of your estates and proceedings, may further prouide, foresee, and determine that which may seeme most good and beneficiall for the publike wealth of the same: either prouiding before hand such things, as shall be requisite for the continuance of the voyage, or else otherwise to dispose as occasion shall serue: in which things your wisedomes and discretions are to be vsed, and shewed, and the contents of this capitule, by you much to be pondred, for that you be not ignorant, how many persons, as well the kings Maiestie, the Lords of his honorable Counsel, this whole companie, as also your wiues, children, kinsfolkes, allies, friends and familiars, be replenished in their hearts with ardent desire to learne and know your estates, conditions, and welfares, and in what likelihood you be in, to obtain this notable enterprise, which is hoped no lesse to succeed to you, then the Orient or Occident Indias haue to the high benefite of the Emperour, and kings of Portingal, whose subiects industries, and trauailes by sea, haue inriched them, by those lands and Illands, which were to all Cosmographers, and other writers both vnknowne, and also by apparances of reason voide of experience thought and reputed vninhabitable by extremities of heates, and colds, and yet indeed cried most rich, peopled, temperate, and so commodious, as all Europe hath not the like.

Reason voide of experience.

33 Item no conspiracies, partakings, factions, false tales, vntrue reports, which be the very weeds, and fruits of contention, discord, & confusion, by euill tongues to be suffered, but the same, and all other vngodlines to be challenged charitably with brotherly loue, and alwaies obedience to be vsed and practised by al persons in their degrees, not only for duetie and conscience sake towards God, vnder whose mercifull hand nauigents aboue all other creatures naturally bee most nigh, no vice, but also for prudent and worldly politicie, and publike weale, considering and alwaies hauing present in your minds that you be all one most royall kings subiects, and naturals, with whom depend of, and vpon the same, toward the commin wealth of this noble Realme, the aduancement of you the trauailers therein, your wiues, and children, any so to endeuour your selues as that you may satisfie the expectation of them, who at their great costs, charges, and expenses, haue furnished you in good sort, and plentie of all necessaries, as the like was neuer in any realme seene, tried, or known requisite and needful for such an exploit, which is most likely to be accomplished, and brought to good effect, if euery person in his vocation shall endeuour himselfe according his charge, and most bounden duetie: praying the liuing God, to giue you his grace, to accom-

piſh your charge to his glorie, whoſe merciful hand shal prosper your voyage, and preserue you from all dangers.

In witnes whereof I Sebastian Gabota, Gouernour aforesaide, to these presents ordinances, haue subscribed my name, and put my seale, the day and yeere aboue written.

The names of the twelue Counſellors appointed in *this voyage*.

1 Sir Hugh Willoughby Knight, Captaine generall.
2 Richard Chancelour Captaine of the Edward Bonauenture, and Pilot generall of the fleete.
3 George Burton Cape marchant.
4 Maſter Richard Stafford Miniſter.
5 Thomas Langlie Marchant.
6 Iames Dalabere Gentleman.
7 William Gefferſon Maſter of the Bona Speranza Admirall.
8 Stephen Burrough Maſter of the Edward Bonauenture.
9 Gornelius Durfurth Maſter of the Confidentia.
10 Roger Wilſon.
11 Iohn Buckland.
12 Richard Ingram.
} Maſters mates.

Exemplar Epiſtolæ ſeu literarum Miſsiuarum, quas illuſtriſsimus Princeps Eduardus eius nominis Sextus, Angliæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ Rex, miſit ad Principes Septentrionalem, ac Orientalem mundi plagam inhabitantes iuxta mare glaciale, nec non Indiam Orientalem; Anno Domini 1553 Regni ſui anno ſeptimo, & vltimo.

EDuardus ſextus, Angliæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ Rex, &c. Omnibus Regibus & principibus ac dominis, & cunctis Iudicibus terræ, & Ducibus eius, quibuſcunque eſt excellens aliqua dignitas in ea, cunctis in locis quæ ſunt ſub vniuerſo cœlo: Pax, tranquillitas, & honor vobis, terris, & regionibus veſtris quæ imperio veſtro ſubiacent, cuiq; veſtrum quemadmodum conuenit ei. Propterea quòd indidit Deus Opt. Max. hominibus præ cunctis aliis viuentibus, cor & deſiderium tale, vt appetat quiſque cum alijs ſocietatem inire, amare, & viciſſim amari, beneficijs afficere, & mutua accipere beneficia ſtudeat, ideò eque pro facultate ſua hoc deſiderium in omnibus quidem hominibus beneficijs fouere & conſeruare conuenit, in illis autem maximè, qui hoc deſiderio adducti, à remotis etiam regionibus ad eos veniunt. Quo enim longius iter eius rei gratia ingreſſi ſunt, eò ardentius in eis hoc deſiderium fuiſſe declararunt. Inſuper etiam ad hoc, nos patrum maiorumq; noſtrorum exemplo inuitant, qui ſemper humaniſſimè ſuſceperunt & benigniſſimè tractauerunt illos, qui tum iis cis propinquis, tum à remotis, eos amicè adibant, eorum ſe protectioni commendantes. Quod ſi omnibus id præſtare æquum eſt, certè mercatoribus imprimis præſtari debet, qui per vniuerſum orbem diſcurrunt, mare circumluſtrantes & aridam, vt res bonas & vtiles, quę Dei beneficio in regione eorum inueniuntur, ad remotiſſimas regiones & regna adferant, atque inde viciſſim referant, quòd ſuæ regioni vtile ibi reperierint: vt & populi ad quos eunt, non deſtituantur commodis quæ non profert illis terra eorum, & ipſi ſint participes rerum quibus illi abundant. Nam Deus cœli & terræ, humano generi maximè conſulens, noluit vt omnia in quauis regione inuenirentur, quò regio ope alterius regionis indigeret, & gens ab alia gente commodum aliquod expectaret, ac ita ſtabiliretur amicitia inter omnes, ſingulíq; omnibus beneficere quærerent. Hoc itaque ineundæ ac ſtabiliendæ amicitiæ deſiderio moti viri quidam regni noſtri, iter in remotas maritimas regiones inſtituerunt, vt inter noſtros & illos populos, via mercibus inferendis & efferendis aperiretur, noſq; rogauerunt vt id illis concederemus. Quorum petitioni illorum annuentes, conceſſimus viro honorabili & forti, Hugoni Wilibeo, & alijs qui cum eo ſunt ſeruis noſtris fidis & charis, vt pro ſua voluntate, in regiones eis priùs incognitas eant, quæſituri ea quibus nos caremus, & adducant illis ex noſtris terris id quo illi carent. Atque ita illis & nobis commodum inde accedat, ſitq; amicitia perpetua, & fœdus indiſſolubile inter illos & nos, dum permittent illi nos accipere de rebus, quibus ſuperabundant in re-

nis ſuis, & nos concedemus illis ex regnis noſtris res, quibus deſtituuntur. Rogamus itaque vos Reges & Principes, & omnes quibus aliqua eſt poteſtas in terra, vt viris iſtis noſtris, tranſitum permittatis per regiones veſtras. Non enim tangent quicquam ex rebus veſtris inuitis vobis. Cogitate quòd homines & ipſi ſunt. Et ſi qua re caruerint, oramus pro veſtra beneficentia, eam vos illis tribuatis, accipientes vicißim ab eis quod poterunt rependere vobis. Ita vos gerite erga eos, quemadmodum cupieretis vt nos, & ſubditi noſtri, nos gereremus erga ſeruos veſtros, ſi quando tranſierint per regiones noſtras. Atque promittimus vobis per Deum omnium quæ cœlo, terra & mari continentur, perq; vitam noſtram, & tranquillitatem regnorum noſtrorum, nos pari benignitate ſeruos veſtros accepturos, ſi ad regna noſtra aliquando venerint, Atque à nobis & ſubditis noſtris, ac ſi nati fuiſſent in regnis noſtris ita benignè tractabuntur, vt rependamus vobis benignitatem, quam noſtris exhibueritis. Poſtquam vos Reges, Principes, &c. rogauimus, vt humanitate & beneficentia omni proſequamini ſeruos noſtros nobis charos, oramus omnipotentem Deum noſtrum, vt vobis diuturnam vitam largiatur, & pacem quæ nullam habeat finem. Scriptum Londini, quæ ciuitas eſt primaria regni noſtri, Anno 5515. à creato mundo, menſe Iiar, 14. die menſis, anno ſeptimo regni noſtri.

The copie of the letters miſſiue, which the right noble Prince *Edward the ſixt ſent to the Kings, Princes, and other Potentates, in*habiting the Northeaſt partes of the worlde, toward the mighty Empire of Cathay, at ſuch time as Sir Hugh Willoughby knight, and Richard Chancelor, with their company, attempted their voyage thither in the yeere of Chriſt 1553. and the ſeuenth and laſt yeere of his raigne.

EDward the firſt, by the grace of God, King of England, France, and Ireland, &c. To all Kings, Princes, Rulers, Iudges, and Gouernours of the earth, and all other hauing any excellent dignitie on the ſame, in all places vnder the vniuerſall heauen: peace, tranquillitie, and honour be vnto you, and your landes and regions, which are vnder your dominions, and to euery of you, as is conuenient.

Foraſmuch as the great and Almightie God hath giuen vnto mankinde, aboue all other liuing creatures, ſuch an heart and deſire, that euery man deſireth to ſome friendſhip with other, to loue, and be loued, alſo to giue and receiue mutuall benefites: it is therefore the duety of all men, according to their power, to maintaine and increaſe this deſire in euery man, with well deſeruing to all men, and eſpecially to them this good affection to ſuch, as being moued with this deſire, come vnto them from ferre countreis. For how much the longer voyage they haue attempted for this intent, ſo much the more doe they thereby declare that this deſire hath bene ardent in them. Furthermore alſo, the examples of our fathers and predeceſſors doe inuite vs hereunto, foraſmuch as they haue euer gently and louingly intreated ſuch as of friendly mind came to them, aſwell from Countries neare hand, as farre remote, commending themſelues to their protection. And if it be right and equity to ſhew ſuch humanitie toward all men, doubteleſſe the ſame ought chiefly to be ſhewed to marchants, who wandering about the world, ſearch both the land and the ſea, to carry ſuch good and profitable things, as are found in their Countries, to remote regions and kingdomes, and againe to bring from the ſame, ſuch things as they find there commodious for their owne Countries: both alwell that the people, to whom they goe, may not be deſtitute of ſuch commodities as their Countries bring not forth to them, as that alſo they may be partakers of ſuch things, whereof they abound. For the God of heauen and earth greatly prouiding for mankinde, would not that all things ſhould be found in one region, to the end that one ſhould haue neede of another, that by this meanes friendſhip might be eſtabliſhed among all men, and euery one ſeeke to gratifie all. For the eſtabliſhing and furtherance of which vniuerſall amitie, certaine men of our Realme, moued hereunto by the ſame deſire, haue inſtituted and taken vpon them a voyage by ſea into ferre Countreis, to the intent that betweene our people and them, a way may bee opened to bring in, and carry out marchandiſe, deſiring vs to further their enterpriſe. Who aſſenting to their petition, haue licenſed the right welbeloued Sir Hugh Willoughby, knight, and other our truſty and faithfull ſeruants, to ſeeke ſuch things as we lacke, as alſo to carry vnto them from our regions, ſuch things as they lacke. So that hereby not onely commoditie may enſue both to them and vs, but alſo an indiſſoluble and perpetuall league of friendſhip be eſtabliſhed betweene vs both, while they per-

mit vs to take of their things, such whereof they haue abundance in their regions, and we againe grant them such things of ours, whereof they are destitute. We therefore desire you kings & princes, and al other, to whom there is any power on the earth, to permit vnto these our seruants free passage by your regions and dominions: for they shall not touch any thing of yours vnwilling vnto you. Consider you that they also are men. If therefore they shall stand in neede of any thing, we desire you of all humanitie, and for the nobilitie which is in you, to ayde and helpe them with such things as they lacke, receiuing againe of them such things as they shall bee able to giue you in recompense. Shew your selues so towards them, as you would that we and our subiects should shew our selues towards your seruants, if at any time they shall passe by our regions.

Thus doing, we promise you by the God of all things that are contained in heauen, earth, and the Sea, and by the life and tranquillitie of our kingdomes, that we will with like humanitie accept your seruants, if at any time they shall come to our kingdomes, where they shall as friendly and gently bee entertained, as if they were borne in our Dominions, that wee may hereby recompence the fauour and benignitie which you haue shewed to our men. Thus after we haue desired you Kings and princes, &c. with all humanity and fauour, to entertaine our welbeloued seruants, we will pray our Almighty God, to graunt you long life, and peace, which neuer shall haue ende. Written in London, which is the chiefe Citie of our kingdome, in the yeere from the creation of the world, 5515, in the moneth of Iiar, the fourteenth day of the moneth, and seuenth yeere of our reigne.

Iiar. I would reade Mair, that is, in the Sarasenians language, most of Turkish and Aegyptian, Februarie, interpreted by them the moneth to set ships to the sea.

This letter was written also in Greeke, and diuers other languages.

The true copie of a note found written in one of the two ships, *to wit, the* Speranza, *which wintred in Lappia, where sir Hugh Willoughby* and all his companie died, being frozen to death. Anno 1553.



THe voiage intended for the discouerie of Cathay, and diuers other regions, dominions, Ilands, and places vnknowen, set forth by the right worshipfull master Sebastian Cabota Esquire, and Gouernour of the mysterie and companie of the Marchants Aduenturers of the citie of London: which fleete being furnished, did set forth the tenth day of May, 1553. and in the seuenth yeere of our most dread Soueraigne Lord, and King, Edward the sixt.

The names of the ships of the fleete, and of their burden, together with the names of the Captaines, and Counsellors, Pilot Maior, Masters of the ships, Marchants, with other officers, and Mariners, as hereafter followeth.

The first ship. The Bona Esperanza, Admirall of the fleete, of 120. tunnes, hauing with her a pinnesse, and a boate.

Sir Hugh Willoughby, knight, Captaine generall of the fleete.

William Gefferson, Master of the shippe.

Roger Wilson, his Mate.

William Gittons, Charles Barret, Gabriel Willoughby, Iohn Andrews, Alexander Woodfoord, Ralph Chatterton, Marchants.

Mariners and officers, according to the custome, and vse of the Seas,

Iohn Brooke, Master Gunner.

Nicholas Anthony, Boateswaine.

Iohn Web, his Mate.

Christopher Banbrucke, Thomas Daulson, Robert Rosse, Thomas Simpson, quarter Masters.

William White, Iames Smith, Thomas Painter, Iohn Smith, their Mates.

Richard Gwinne, George Goiswine, Carpenters.

Robert Gwinne, Purser.

Laurence Edwards, his Mate, and Cooper.

Richard Morgan, Cooke.

Thomas Nashe, his Mate.

William Light, Iohn Brande, Cuthert Chelsie, George Blage, Thomas Walker, Thomas Allen, Edward Smith, Edward Hunt, Iohn Fawknes, Rowland Brooke.

Alexander Gardiner, Richard Molton, Surgeons, which two were taken in at Harwich.

Dischar-

Diſcharged at Harwich, by reaſon of ſickneſs, George Blake, Nicholas Anthony.
For pickerie vnckes at the parts arme, and ſo diſcharged Thomas Naſh.

The Edward Bonauenture, of 160. tunnes, with her a pinneſſe, and a boate.

Richard Chancelor, Captaine, and Pilot maior of the fleete.
Stephen Borowgh, Maſter of the ſhip. The fleete ſhip.
John Buckland, his Mate.
George Burton, Arthur Edwards, Marchants.
John Stafford, Miniſter. John Stafford Miniſter.
James Dallaber, Nicholas Newborrow, Iohn Segſwike, Thomas Francis, Iohn Haſſe, Richard Iohnſon, William Kempe.

Mariners and officers, according to the cuſtome and vſe of the Seas.

Robert Stanton, Maſter Gunner.
John Walker, his Mate.
James Long, Iohn Cocks, Gunners.
Thomas Walter, Surgeon.
Peter Palmer, Boateſwaine.
Richard Strowde, his Mate.
Iohn Robinſon, Iohn Carowe, Thomas Stone, Roger Liſhbie, quarter Maſters.
John Auſten, Steward: Patricke Steuens, his Mate.
Auſten Iacks, Cooke.
William Euery, Cowper.
Griffin Wagham, Carpenter.
Thomas Stelſton, Thomas Townes, Iohn Robinſon, Iohn White, William Laurence, Miles Butter, Iohn Browne, William Morren, William Watſon, Thomas Handcocks, Edward Pacie, Thomas Browne, Arthur Pet, George Phibarie, Edward Patterſon, William Beare, Iohn Potter, Nicholas Lawrence, William Burrough, Roger Welford, Iohn Williams. M. William Burrough moſt comptroller of her Maieſties Nauie.

The Bona Confidentia of 90. tunnes, hauing with her a pinneſſe, and a boate. The third ſhip.
Cornelius Durfoorth, Maſter of the ſhippe.
Richard Ingram, his Mate.
Thomas Langlie, Edward Keuer, Henrie Dorſer, Marchants.

Mariners and officers, according to the vſe and cuſtome of the Sea.

Henrie Tailer, Maſter Gunner.
George Thurland, his Mate.
William Hamane, Boateſwaine.
Iohn Edwards, his Mate.
Thomas Kirbie, Henrie Dickenſon, Iohn Haye, William Shepwaſh, quarter Maſters.
John Reyne, Steward.
Thomas Hante, Cooke. William Laſſie, his Mate.
Nicholas Knight, Carpenter.
Peter Lewike, Nicholas Wiggleworth, Iohn Moore, William Chapman, Brian Cheſter, William Barrie, Richard Wood, Clement Gibſon, Iohn Clarocke, Eraſmus Bently, Iohn Durieforth.

The *Iuramentum*, or othe, miniſtred to the Captaine.

YOu ſhall ſweare to be a faithfull, true, and loyal ſubiect in all points, and duties, that to a ſubiect appertaineth, to our ſoueraigne Lord the kings Maieſtie, his heires, and ſucceſſors: and that you ſhall wel and truely to the vttermoſt of your capacitie, wit, & knowledge, ſerue this preſent voiage, committed to your charge, and not to giue vp, nor ſooner intermit the ſame, vntil you ſhall haue atchieued the ſame, ſo farre forth, as you may without danger of your life, and loſſe of the fleete: you ſhall giue good, true, and faithfull counſell to the ſaid ſocietie, and to ſuch as ſhall haue the charge with or vnder you, and not to diſcloſe the ſecrets, or priuities of the ſame to any perſon by any maner of meane, to the preiudice, hurt, or damage of it. You ſhal miniſter iuſtice to all men vnder your charge, without reſpect of perſon, or any affection, that might mout you to decline from the true miniſtration of iuſtice. And further, you ſhal obſerue, and cauſe to be obſerued, as much as in you lieth, all and ſingular rules, articles, proiſions hitherto made, or hereafter ſhall be made for the preſeruation or ſafe conduct of the fleete and voyage, and benefit of the company. You ſhall not permit nor ſuffer the ſtocke or goods of the company to be waſted, imbezeled, or conſumed, but ſhall conſerue the ſame whole and entire, without diminiſhment, vntill you ſhall haue

deliuered, or cause to be deliuered the same, to the vse of the companie. And finally you shall vse your selfe in all points, sorts, and conditions, as to a faithfull captaine, and brother of this companie shall belong and appertaine: So helpe you God, &c.

The othe ministred to the Maister of the ship, &c.

YOu shall sweare by the holy contents in that booke, that you according and to the vttermost of your knowledge, and good vnderstanding in mariners science and craft, shall in your vocation doe your best to conduct the good shippe called the M. &c. whereof you now are Maister vnder God, both vnto and from the portes of your discouerie, and so vse your indeuour and faithfull diligence, in charging, discharging, lading againe, and roomaging of the same shippe, as may be most for the benefite and profite of this right worshipfull fellowship: and you shall not priuely bargein, buy, sell, exchange, barter, or distribute any goods, wares, merchandize, or things whatsoeuer (necessary tackles and victuals for the shippe onely excepted) to or for your owne lucre, gaine or profit, neither to nor for the priuate lucre, gaine, or profit of any other person or persons whatsoeuer. And further, If you shall know any boatswaine, mariner, or any other person or persons whatsoeuer, to buy, sell, barter, trucke, or exchange any goods, wares, merchandizes, or things for priuate account, reckoning, or behalfe, you shall doe your best to withstand and let the same: and if you cannot commodiously so doe, that then before the discharge of such goods bought for priuat account, you shal giue knowledge therof to the captaine or other of this said fellowship for the time being. And you shal not receiue nor take, nor suffer to be receiued or taken into your said ship during this voyage any maner person or persons whatsoeuer, going or returning, but onely those mariners which without fraud or guile shall be hired to be of your company, and to serue in mariners craft and science onely: So helpe you God, &c.

These foresaid shippes being fully furnished with their pinnesses and boates, well appointed with al maner of artillerie, and other things necessary for their defence with al the men aforesaid, departed from Ratcliffe, and haled vnto Detford, the 10. day of May, 1553.

The 11. day about two of the clocke, we departed from Detford, passing by Greenwich, saluting the Kings Maiestie then being there, shooting off our ordinance, & so haled vnto Blackwall, and there remained vntil the 17. day, and that day in the morning we went from Blackwall, and came to Woolwich by nine of the clocke, and there remained one tide, and so the same night vnto Heyreth.

The 18. day from Heyreth vnto Grauesend, and there remained vntil the twentieth day: the day being Saterday, from Grauesend vnto Tilberie Hope, remaining there vntill the two and twenteth day.

The 22. day from Tilbery Hope to Hollie hauen.

The 23. day from Hollie Hauen, till we came against Lee, and there remained that night, by reason that the winde was contrary to vs.

The 24. day the winde being in the Southwest in the morning, we sailed along the coast ouer the Spits, vntill we came against S. Osyth, about sixe of the clocke at night, and there came to anker, and abode there all that night.

The 25. day about tenne of the clocke we departed from S. Osyth, and so sailed forward vnto the Nase, and there abode that night for winde and tide.

The 26. day at fiue of the clock in the morning, we weyed our anker, and sailed ouer the Nase, the winde being at the Southwest, vntill wee came to Orwell wands, and there came to an anker, and abode there vntill the 28. day.

The same day being Trinitie Sunday about 7. of the clocke before noone we weyed our ankers, and sailed til we came athwart Walsurlye, and there came to an anker.

The 29. day from thence to Holmehead, where we stayed that day, where we consulted which way, and what courses were best to be holden for the discouerie of our voyage, and there agreed.

The 30. day of May at fiue of the clocke in the morning wee set saile, and came against Yarmouth about three leagues into the sea, riding there at anker all that night.

The last of May into the Sea sixe leagues Northeast, and there tarried that night, where the winde blew very sore.

June. The first of June the winde being at North contrary to vs, wee came backe againe to Orwell, and remained there vntill the 15. day, tarying for the winde, for all this time the winde was contrary to our purpose.

The 15 day being at Orwel in the latitude of 52 degrees, in the morning wee weyed our anchers, and went forth into the wands about two miles from the towne, and lay there that night.

The 16 day at eight of the clocke we ſet forward, and ſayled vntill we came athwart Aldburough, and there ſtayed that night.

The 17 day about fiue of the clocke before noone we went backe vnto Orfordneſſe, and there remained vntill the 19 day.

The 19 day at eight of the clocke in the morning we went backe to Orwel, and abode there three dayes tarying for the winde.

The 23 day of June the wind being faire in the Southweſt we hailed into the ſeas to Orfordneſſe, and from thence into the ſeas ten leagues Northeaſt: then being paſt the ſands, we changed our courſe fiue leagues Northnortheaſt: about midnight we changed our courſe againe, and went due North, continuing in the ſame vnto the 27 day.

The 27 day about ſeuen of the clocke Northnorthweſt 42 leagues to the ende to fall with Shotland: then the wind veered to the Weſt, ſo that we could lie but North and by Weſt, continuing in the ſame courſe 40 leagues, whereby we could not fetch Shotland: then we ſayled North 16 leagues by eſtimation, after that North and by Weſt, & Northnorthweſt, then Southeaſt, with diuers other courſes, trauerſing and tracing the ſeas, by reaſon of ſundry and manifolde contrary windes, vntill the 14 day of July: and then the ſunne entring into Leo, we diſcouered land Eaſtward of vs, vnto the which we ſayled that night as much as we might: and after wee went on ſhore with our Pinneſſe, & found little houſes to the number of 30, where we knew that it was inhabited, but the people were fled away, as we iudged, for feare of vs. July.

The land was all full of little Illands, and that innumerable, which were called (as we learned afterwards) Ægeland and Halgeland, which lieth from Orfordneſſe North and by Eaſt, being in the latitude of 66 degrees. The diſtance betweene Orfordneſſe and Ægeland 250 leagues. Then we ſailed from thence 12 leagues Northweſt, and found many other Illandes, and there came to anker the 19 day, and manned our Pinneſſe, and went on ſhore to the Illands, and found people mowing and making of hay, which came to the ſhore and welcomed vs. In which place were an innumerable ſort of Illands, which were called the Iſles of Roſt, being vnder the dominion of the king of Denmarke: which place was in latitude 66 degrees, and 30 minutes. The winde being contrary, we remayned there three dayes, & there was an innumerable ſort of foules of diuers kindes, of which we tooke very many. In this land dwelt Other as it ſeemeth. Roſt Illands.

The 22 day the winde comming fayre, we departed from Roſt, ſailing Northnortheaſt, keeping the ſea vntill the 27 day, and then we drew neere vnto the land, which was ſtill Eaſt of vs: then went foorth our Pinneſſe to ſeeke harborow, & found many good harbours, of the which we entred into one with our ſhippes, which was called Stanfew, and the land being Illands, were called Lewfoot, or Lofoot, which were plentifully inhabited, and very gentle people, being alſo vnder the king of Denmarke: but we could not learne how farre it was from the maine land: and we remained there vntill the 30 day, being in latitude 68 degrees, and from the ſoreſaid Roſt about 30 leagues Northnortheaſt. Stanfew harbor. Lofoot.

The 30 day of July about noone we weyed our ankers, and went into the Seas, and ſayled along theſe Illands Northnortheaſt, keeping the land ſtill in ſight vntill the ſecond day of Auguſt: then hailing in cloſe aboord the land, to the entent to knowe what land it was, there came a ſkuffe of the Illand aboord vs, of whom we aſked many queſtions, who ſhewed vnto vs, that the Illand was called Seynam, which is the latitude of ſeuenty degrees, and from Stanfew thirtie leagues, being alſo vnder the king of Denmarke, and that there was no merchandiſe there, but onely dryed fiſh, and traine oyle. Then we being purpoſed to goe vnto Finmarke, inquired of him, if we might haue a pilot to bring vs vnto Finmarke, & he ſaid, that if we could beare in, we ſhould haue a good harbour, and on the nere day a pilot to bring vs to Finmarke, vnto the wardhouſe, which is the ſtrongeſt holde in Finmarke, and moſt reſorted to by repayre. But when wee would haue entred into an harbour, the land being very high on euery ſide, there came ſuch ſtawes of winde and terrible whirlewinds, that we were not able to beare in, but by violence were conſtrained to take the ſea agayne, our Pinneſſe being vnſhipt: we ſailed North and by Eaſt, the wind increaſing ſo ſore that we were not able to beare any ſaile, but tooke them in, and lay a drift, to the end to let the ſtorme ouer paſſe. And that night by violence of winde, and thickeneſſe of miſts, we were not able to keepe together within ſight, and then about midnight we loſt our pinneſſe, which was a diſcomfort vnto vs. Aſſoone as it was day, and the fogge ouerpaſt, we looked about, and at the laſt we deſcried one of our ſhippes to Leeward of vs: then we ſpyed an hullocke of our conſort, and bare roome with her, which was the Confidence, but the Edward we could not ſee. Then the ſtaw ſomething abating, we and the Confidence hoyſed vp our ſailes the fourth day, Auguſt. Seynam in 70 degrees.

ſayling

ſayling Northeaſt and by North, to the end to fall with the Wardhouſe, as we did conſult to doe before, in caſe we ſhould part company. Thus running Northeaſt and by North, and Northeaſt ſixtie leagues, then we ſounded, and had 160 fadomes, whereby we thought to be farre from land, and perceiued that the land lay not as the Globe made mention. Wherefore we changed our courſe the firſt day, and ſailed Southeaſt and by South eight and fortie leagues, thinking thereby to find the Wardhouſe.

The eight day much winde riſing at the Weſtnorthweſt, we not knowing how the coaſt lay, ſtrooke our ſayles, and lay a drift, where we ſounded and found 160 fadomes as afore.

The ninth day, the wind bearing to the South Southeaſt, we ſailed Northeaſt 25 leagues.

The tenth day we ſounded, and could get no ground, neither yet could ſee any land, wherat we wondered: then the wind comming at the Northeaſt, we ran Southeaſt about 48 leagues.

The 11 day, the wind being at South, we ſounded, and found 40 fadoms, and faire ſand.

The 12 day the winde being at South and by Eaſt, we lay with our ſaile Eaſt, and Eaſt and by North 30 leagues.

The 14 day early in the morning we deſcried land, which land we bare with all, hoiſing out our boat to diſcouer what land it might be: but the boat could not come to land the water was ſo ſhoale, where was very much ice alſo, but there was no ſimilitude of habitation, and this land lieth from Seynam Eaſt and by North 160 leagues, being in latitude 72 degrees. Then we plyed to the Northward the 15, 16 and 17 day.

Willoughbies land, in 72 degrees.

The 18 day, the winde comming at the Northeaſt, and the Conſidence being troubled with bilge water, and ſtocked, we thought it good to ſeeke harbour for her reliefe: then we bare roome the 18 day Southſoutheaſt, about 70 leagues.

The 21 day we ſounded, and found 10 fadome, after that we ſounded againe, and found but 7 fadome, ſo ſhoalder and ſhoalder water, and yet could ſee no land, where we maruelled greatly: to auoide this danger, we bare roomer into the ſea all that night Northweſt and by Weſt.

The next day we ſounded, and had 20. fadoms, then ſhaped our courſe, and ran Weſt Southweſt vntill the 23. day: then we deſcried Low land, vnto which we bare as nigh as we could, and it appeared vnto vs vnhabitable. Then wee plyed Weſtward along by that lande, which lyeth Weſt Southweſt, and Eaſt Northeaſt, and much winde blowing at the Weſt, we haled into the ſea North and by Eaſt 30. leagues. Then the winde comming about at the Northeaſt, we ſailed Weſt Northweſt: after that, the winde bearing to the Northweſt, we lay with our ſailes Weſt ſouthweſt, about 14. leagues, and then deſcried land, and bare in with it, being the 28. day, finding ſhoale water, and bare in till we came to 3. fadome, then perceiuing it to be ſhoale water, and alſo ſeeing dyle ſands, we haled out againe Northeaſt along that land vntil we came to the point thereof. That land turning to the Weſtwarde, we ran along 16. leagues Northweſt: then comming into a faire bay, we went on land with our boat, which place was vnhabited, but yet it appeared vnto vs that the people had bin there, by crolles, and other ſignes: from thence we went all along the coaſt Weſtward.

September. The fourth day of September we loſt ſight of land, by reaſon of contrary winds, and the eight day we deſcried land againe. Within two dayes after we loſt the ſight of it: then running Weſt and by South about 30. leagues, we got the ſight of land againe, and bare in with it vntill night: then perceiuing it to be a lee ſhore, we gat vs into the ſea, to the end to haue ſea roome.

The 12. of September we haled to ſhoareward againe, hauing then indifferent winde and weather: then being neere vnto the ſhoare, and the tide almoſt ſpent, wee came to an anker in 30. fadoms water.

The 13. day we came along the coaſt, which lay Northweſt and by Weſt, and Southeaſt and by Eaſt.

The 14. day we came to an anker within two leagues of the ſhoare, hauing 6. fadoms.

There we went a ſhore with our boat, & found two or three good harboroughs, the land being rocky, and high, but as for people could we ſee none. The 15 day we ran ſtill along the coaſt vntill the 17 day: then the winde being contrary vnto vs, we thought it beſt to returne vnto the harbor which we had found before, and ſo we bare roomer with the ſame, howbeit we could not accompliſh our deſire that day. The next day being the 18 of September, we entred into the hauen, and there came to an anker at 6 fadoms. This hauen runneth into the maine, about two leagues, and is in breadth halfe a league, wherein were very many ſeale fiſhes, & other great fiſhes, and vpon the maine we ſaw beares, great deere, foxes, with diuers ſtrange beaſts, as Iguloines, and ſuch other which were to vs vnknowen, and alſo wonderfull. Thus remaining in this hauen the ſpace of a weeke, ſeeing the yeare farre ſpent, & alſo very euill wether, as froſt, ſnow, and haile, as though had beene the deepe of winter, we thought beſt to winter there. Wherefore we ſent out three men Southſouth-

In this hauen they lied.

Hoi, Elkes.

Southsouthwest, to search it they could find people, who went three dayes iourney, but could finde none: after that, we sent other three Westward foure dayes iourney, which also returned without finding any people. Then sent we three men Southeast three dayes iourney, who in like sorte returned without finding of people, or any similitude of habitation.

Here endeth Sir Hugh Willoughbie this note, which was written with his owne hand.

These two notes following were written vpon the outside of this Pamphlet, or Booke.

1 The proceedings of Sir Hugh Willoughbie after he was separated from the Edward Bonauenture.

2 Our shippe being at an anker in the harbour called Sterfier in the Island Lofoote.

The riuer or hauen wherein Sir Hugh Willoughbie with the companie of his two ships perished for cold, is called Arzina in Lapland, neere vnto Kegor. But it appeareth by a Will found in the ship that Sir Hugh Willoughbie and most of the company were aliue in January 1554.

The booke of the great and mighty Emperor of *Russia*, and Duke of Moscouia, and of the dominions orders and commodities thereunto belonging: drawen by *Richard Chancelour*.

FOrasmuch as it is meete and necessary for all those that minde to take in hande the trauell into farre or strange countreys, to endeuour themselues not onely to vnderstande the orders, commodities, and fruitfulnesse thereof, but also to applie them to the setting forth of the same, whereby it may incourage others to the like trauaile: therefore haue I nowe thought good to make a briefe rehearsall of the orders of this my trauaile in Russia and Moscouia, and other countreys thereunto adioyning; because it was my chaunce to fall with the North parties of Russia before I came towards Moscouia, I will partly declare my knowledge therein. Russia is very plentifull both of land and people, and also wealthy for such commodities as they haue. They be very great fishers for Salmons and small Codes: they haue much oyle which wee call treine oyle, the most whereof is made by a riuer called ‖ Duina. They make it in other places, but not so much as there. They haue also a great trade in setting of salte water. To the North parte of that countrey are the places where they haue their Furres, as Sables, marterns, greelle Beuers, Foxes white, blacke, and reede, Minkes, Ermines, Pinnuer, and Harts. There are also a fishes teeth, which fish is called a Bozzle. The takers thereof dwell in a place called Postesora, which bring them vpon Harres to Lampas to sell, and from Lampas carie them to a place called Colmogro, where the fie market is holden on Saint Nicholas day. To the West of Colmogro there is a place called Gratanoue, in our language Nouogorode, where much fine Flaxe and Hempe groweth, and also much ware and honie. The Dutch marchants haue a Staplehouse there. There is also great store of hides, and at a place called Plesco: and thereabout is great store of Flaxe, Hempe, Ware, Honie; and that towne is from Colmogro 120 miles.

‖ Duyna

Note.

There is a place called Vologda; the commodities whereof are Tallowe, Ware, and Flaxe: but not so great plenty as is in Gratanoue. From Vologda to Colmogro there runneth a riuer called Duyna, and from thence it falleth into the sea. Colmogro ferueth Gratanoue, Vologda and the Mosco with all the countrey thereabout with salte and salt fish. From Vologda to Ieraslaue is two hundreth miles: which towne is very great. The commodities thereof are hides, and tallowe, and some in great plenty, and some Ware, but not so plentifull as in other places.

The Mosco is from Ieraslaue two hundreth miles. The countrey betwixt them is very well replenished with small Villages, which are so well filled with people, that it is wonder to see them: the ground is well stored with some which they carie to the citie of Mosco in such abundance that it is wonder to see it. You shall meete in a morning seuen or eight hundred sleds comming or going thither, that carrie some, and some carie fish. You shall haue some that carie some to the Mosco, and some that fetch some from thence, that at the least dwell a thousand miles off: and all their carriage is on sleds. Those which come so farre dwell in the North parties of the Dukes dominions, where the cold will suffer no some to grow, it is so extreme.

extreme. They bring thither fishes, furres, and beastes skinnes. In those parts they haue but small store of cattell.

The Mosco it selfe is great: I take the whole towne to bee greater then London with the suburbes: but it is very rude, and standeth without all order. Their houses are all of timber very dangerous for fire. There is a faire Castle, the walles whereof are of bricke, and very high: they say they are eighteene foote thicke, but I doe not beleeue it, it doth not so seeme, notwithstanding I doe not certainely know it: for no stranger may come to view it. The one side is ditched, and on the other side runneth a riuer called Moscua which runneth into Tartarie and so into the sea called Mare Caspium: and on the North side there is a base towne, the which hath also a bricke wall about it, and so it ioyneth with the Castle wall. The Emperour lieth in the castle, wherein are nine fayre Churches, and therin are religious men. Also there is a Metropolitane with diuers Bishops. I will not stande in description of their buildinges nor of the strength thereof because we haue better in all poinct in England. They be well furnished with ordinance of all sortes.

The Emperours or Dukes house neither in building nor in the outward shew, nor yet within the house is so sumptuous as I haue seene. It is very lowe built in eight square, much like the olde building of England, with small windowes, and so in other poynts.

Now to declare [illegible] before his Maiestie: After I had remained twelue daies, the Secretary which had [illegible] Strangers did send for me, aduertising me that the Dukes pleasure was [illegible] before his Ma. with the kings my masters letters: whereof I was right glad, and so I gaue mine attendance. And when the Duke was in his place appointed, the interpretour came for me into the vter chamber, where sate one hundred or more gentlemen, all in cloth of golde very sumptuous, and from thence I came into the Counsaile chamber, where sate the Duke himselfe with his nobles, which were a faire company: they sate round about the chamber on high, yet so that he himselfe sate much higher then any of his nobles in chaire gile, and in a long garment [illegible], with an emperial crowne vpon his head, and a Saffe of Christall and golde in his right hand, and his other hand halfe leaning on his cheire. The Chancelour stoode vp with the Secretary before the Duke. After my duetie done and my letter deliuered, he bade me welcome, & enquired of me the health of the King my master, and I answered that he was in good health at my departure from his court, and that my trust was that he was now in the same. Vpon the which he bade me to dinner. The Chancelour presented my present vnto his Grace bareheaded (for before they were all couered) and when his Grace had receiued my letter, I was required to depart: for I had charge not to speake to the Duke, but when he spake to me. So I departed vnto the Secretaries chamber, where I remayned two houres, and then I was sent for againe vnto another palace which is called the golden palace, but I know no cause why it should be so called: for I haue seene many fayrer then it in all poynts: and so I came into the hall, which was small and not great as is the Kings Maiesties of England, and the table was couered with a tablecloth; and the Marshall sate at the ende of the table with a little white rod in his hand, which boorde was full of vessell of golde: and on the other side of the hall did stand a faire cupboorde of plate. From thence I came into the dining chamber, where the Duke himselfe sate at his table without cloth of estate, in a gowne of siluer, with a crowne emperiall vpon his head, he sate in a chaire somewhat hie: There sate none neare him by a great way. There were long tables set round about the chamber, which were full set with such as the Duke had at dinner: they were all in white. Also the places where the tables stoode were higher by two steppes then the rest of the house. In the middest of the chamber stoode a table or cupboord to set plate on; which stoode full of cuppes of golde: and amongst all the rest there stoode foure marueilous great pottes or crudences as they call them, of golde and siluer: I thinke they were a good yarde and a halfe hie. By the cupboorde stoode two gentlemen with napkins on their shoulders, and in their handes each of them had a cuppe of gold set with pearles and pretious stones, which were the Dukes owne drinking cups: when he was disposed, he drunke them off at a draught. And for his seruice at meate it came in without order, yet it was very rich seruice: for all were serued in gold, not only he himselfe, but also all the rest of vs, and it was very massie: the cups also were of golde and very massie. The number that dined there that day was two hundred persons, and all were serued in golden vessell. The gentlemen that waited were all in cloth of gold, and they serued him with their caps on their heades. Before the seruice came in, the Duke sent to euery man a great shiuer of bread, and the bearer called the party so sent to by his name aloude, and sayd, Iohn Basilowich Emperour of Russia and great Duke of Mo[illegible] reward thee with bread: then must all men stand vp, and doe at all times when those words are spoken. And then last of all he giueth the Marshall bread

breau, whereof he eateth before the Dukes Grace, and so doth reuerence and departeth. Then commeth the Dukes seruice of the Swannes all in pieces, and euery one in a seuerall dish: the which the Duke serueth as he did the bread, and the bearer saieth the same words as he sayd before. And as I sayd before, the seruice of his meate is in no order, but commeth in dish by dish: and then after that the Duke serueth drinke, with the like saying as before is told. Also before dinner hee changed his crowne, and in dinner time two crownes; so that I saw three seuerall crownes vpon his head in one day. And thus when his seruice was all come in hee goue to eate: euery one of his gentlemen waiters meate with his owne hand, & so likewise drinke. His intent thereby is, as I haue heard, that euery man shall know perfectly his seruants. Thus when dinner is done hee calleth his nobles before him name by name, that it is wonder to heare howe he could name them, hauing so many as he hath. Thus when dinner was done I departed to my lodging, which was an bower within night. I will leaue this, and speake no more of him nor his houshold: but I will some what declare of his lands and people, with their nature and power in the wars. This Duke is Lord and Emperour of many countreis, & his power is marueilous great. For he is able to bring into the field two or three hundred thousand men: he neuer goeth into the field himselfe with vnder two hundred thousand men: And when he goeth himselfe he furnisheth his borders all with men of warre, which are no small number. He leaueth on the borders of Liefland fortie thousand men, and vpon the borders of Lecco 60 thousand men, and towarde the Nagayan Tartars sixtie thousand, which is wonder to heare of: yet doeth hee neuer take to his warres neither husbandman nor marchant. All his men are horsemen: he vseth no footmen, but such as goe with the ordinance and labourers, which are thirtie thousand. The horsemen are all archers, with such bowes as the Turkes haue, and they ride short as doe the Turkes. Their armour is a coate of plate, with a skull on their heads. Some of their coates are couered with veluet or cloth of gold: their desire is to be sumptuous in the field, and especially the nobles and gentlemen: as I haue heard their trimming is very costly, and partly I haue seene it, or else I would scarcely haue beleeued it: but the Duke himselfe is richly attired aboue all measure: his pauilion is couered either with cloth of gold or siluer, and so set with stones that it is wonderfull to see it. I haue seene the Kings Paiellies of England and the French Kings pauilions, which are fayre, yet not like vnto his. And when they bee sent into farre or strange countreys, or that strangers come to them, they be very gorgious. Else the Duke himselfe goeth but meanly in apparell: and when he goeth betwixt one place and another hee is but reasonably apparelled ouer other times. In the while that I was in Mosco the Duke sent two ambassadours to the King of Poleland, which had at the least fiue hundred horses; their sumptuousnes was aboue measure, not onely in themselues, but also in their horses, as veluet, cloth of golde, and cloth of siluer set with pearles and not scant. What shall I farther say? I neuer heard of nor saw men so sumptuous: but it is no daily guise, for when they haue not occasion, as I sayd before, all their doing is but meane. And now to the effect of their warres: They are men without al order in the field. For they runne hurling on heapes, and for the most part they neuer giue battell to their enemies: but that which they doe, they doe it all by stelth. But I beleeue they be such men for hard liuing as are not vnder the sun: for no cold will hurt them. Yea and though they lie in the field two moneths, at such time as it shall freese more then a yard thicke, the common souldier hath neither tent nor any thing else ouer his head: the most defence they haue against the wether is a felte, which is set against the winde and weather, and when snowe commeth hee doth cast it off, and maketh him a fire, and laieth him down there-vpon. Thus doe the most of all his men, except they bee gentlemen which haue other prouision of harie & maintenance for himselfe & his horse for a moneth or two, which is very wonderful. For he himselfe that eateth vpon water & otemeale mingled together cold, and drinke water thereto: his horse shal eat green wood, & such like baggage, & shal stand open in the cold field without couert, & euer will he labour & serue him right wel. I pray you amongst all our boasting warriors how many should we find to endure the field with the but one moneth. I know no such region about vs that beareth that name for men & beast. Now to what might be made of these men if they were trained & spoken to order and knowledge of ciuill warre: If this Prince had within his countrey such men as he could make them to vnderstand y things aforesaid, I do beleeue that 2 of the best & greatest Princes in Christendome were not wel able to match with him, considering the greatnes of his power & hardnes of his people & straite liuing both of people and horse, and the small charges which his warres stand him in: for he giueth no wages, except to strangers. They haue a yerely stipend & not much. As for his own countrey men euery one serueth of his owne proper costes and charges, sauing that he giueth to his Harcubusiers certaine allowance for powder & shot: or else no

man

man in all this countrey hath one penne wages. But if any man hath done very good ſeruice he giueth him a ferme or a piece of lande; for the which hee is bound at all times to bee ready with ſo many men as the Duke ſhall appoynt: who conſidereth in his mind what that lande or ferme is well able to finde: and ſo many ſhall he bee bound to furniſh at all and euery ſuch time as warres are holden in any of the Dukes dominions. For there is no man of liuing, but hee is bound likewiſe, whether the Duke call for either ſouldier or labourer, to furniſh them with all ſuch neceſſaries as to them belong.

Alſo, if any gentleman or man of liuing do die without iſſue male, immediately after his death the Duke entreth his land, notwithſtanding he haue neuer ſo many daughters, and peraduenture giueth it foorthwith to another man, except a ſmall portion that he ſpareth to marrie the daughters withall. Alſo if there be a rich man, a ſeruitour, or man of liuing, which is ſtricken in age or by chance is maimed, and be not able to doe the Duke ſeruice, ſome other gentleman that is not able to liue and more able to doe ſeruice, will come to the Duke and complayne, ſaying, your Grace hath ſuch an one, which is vnmeete to doe ſeruice to your Highnes, who hath great abundance of wealth, and likewiſe your Grace hath many gentlemen which are poore and lacke liuing, and we that lacke are well able to bee good ſeruice, your Grace might doe well to looke vpon him, and make him to helpe thoſe that want. Immediately the Duke ſendeth forth to inquire of his wealth: and if it be ſo proued, he ſhall be called before the Duke, and it ſhall bee ſayd vnto him, friend, you haue too much liuing, and are vnſeruiceable to your prince, leſſe will ſerue you, and the reſt will ſerue other men that are more able to ſerue. whereupon immediately his liuing ſhall be taken away from him, ſauing a little to find himſelfe and his wife on, and he may not once repine thereat: but for anſwere he will ſay, that he hath nothing, but it is Gods and the Dukes Graces, and cannot ſay, as we the common people in England ſay, if wee haue any thing: that it is Gods and our owne. Men may ſay, that theſe men are in wonderfull great awe, and obedience, that thus one muſt giue and grant his goods which he hath bene ſcraping and ſcratching for all his life to be at his Princes pleaſure and commandement. Oh that our ſturdie rebels were had in the like ſubiection to knowe their duety toward their Princes. They may not ſay as ſome ſnudges in England ſay, I would find the Queene a man to ſerue in my place, or make her friends tarrie at home if money haue the vpper hand. Yea, no, it is not ſo in this countrey: for he ſhall make humble ſute to ſerue the Duke. And whom he ſendeth moſt to the warres he thinketh he is moſt in his fauour: and yet as I before haue ſayde, hee giueth no wages. If they lacke their ſtrength no man were able to make match with them: nor they that dwel neere them ſhould haue any reſt of them. But I thinke it is not Gods will: For I may compare them to a young horſe that knoweth not his ſtrength, whome a little childe ruleth and guideth with a bridle, for all his great ſtrength: for if hee did, neither childe nor man could rule him. Their warres are holden againſt the Crimme Tartarians and the Nagaians.

I will flow no longer in the rehearſall of their power and warres. For it were too tedious to the reader. But I will in part declare their lawes, and punithments, and the execution of iuſtice. And firſt I will begin with the commons of the countrey, which the gentlemen haue rule ouer. And that is, that euery gentleman hath rule and iuſtice vpon his owne tenants. And if it fall out that two gentlemens ſeruants or tenaunts doe diſagree, the two gentlemen examine the matter, and haue the parties before them, and ſo giue the ſentence. And yet cannot they make the ende betwixt them of the controuerſie, but either of the gentlemen muſt bring his ſeruant or tenant before the high iudge or iuſtice of that countrey, and there preſent them, and declare the matter and cauſe. The plaintife ſayth, I require the law; which is graunted: then commeth an officer and arreſteth the party defendant, and lieth him contrarie to the lawes of England. For when they attach any man they beate him about the legges, vntill ſuch time as he findeth ſureties to anſwere the matter: And if not, his handes and necke are bound together, and he is led about the towne and beaten about the legges, with other extreme punithmentes till he come to his anſwere: And the Iuſtice demaundeth if it be for debt, and ſayth: Diddeſt thou this man any ſuch debt? He will perhaps ſay nay. Then ſayth the Iudge: art thou able to anſwere it? Let vs heare what? By other ſayth the defendant. Then he commaundeth to leaue beating him till further triall be had.

Their order in one point is commendable. They haue no man of Lawe to pleade their cauſes in any court: but euery man pleadeth his owne cauſe, and giueth bill and anſwere in writing: contrarie to the order in England. The complaint is in maner of a ſupplication, preſented to the Dukes Grace, and deliuered him into his owne hand, requiring to haue iuſtice as in his complaint is all at large.

Of

The duke giueth sentence himselfe vpon all matters in the Law. Which is very cõmendable, that such a Prince will take paines to see ministration of iustice. Yet notwithstanding it is wonderfully abused: and thereby the Duke is much deceiued. But if it fall out that the officers be ethers in choking the trueth, they haue most condigne punishment. And if the plaintike can nothing prooue, then the defendant must take his oth vpon the crucifixe whether he bee in the right or no. Then is demanded if the plaintike be any thing able further to make proofe: if hee bee not; then sometimes he will say, I am able to prooue it by my body and hands, or by my champions body, so requiring the Campe. After the other hath his othe, it is graunted aswell to the one as to the other. So when they goe to the field, they sweare vpon the Crucifixe, that they bee both in the right, and that the one shall make the other to confesse the trueth before they depart foorth of the field: and so they goe both to the battell armed with such weapons as they vse in that countrey: they fight all on foote, & seldome the parties themselues do fight, except they be Gentlemen. For they stand much vpon their reputation, for they wil not fight, but with such as are come of as good an house as themselues. So that if either partie require the combate, it is granted vnto them, and no champion is to serue in their roome: wherein is no deceit: but otherwise by champions there is. For although they take great othes vpon them to doe the battell truely, yet is the contrary often seene: because the common champions haue none other liuing. And assoone as the one party hath gotten the victorie, hee demandeth the debt, and the other is carried to prison, and there is shamefully vsed till he take order. There is also another order in the lawe, that the plaintike may sweare in some causes of debt. And if the partie defendant be poore, he shalbe set vnder the Crutter, and the partie plaintike must sweare ouer his head, and when hee hath taken his othe, the Duke taketh the partie defendant home to his house, and vseth him as his bond-man, and putteth him to labour, or letteth him for hier to any such as neede him, vntill such time as his friends make prouision for his redemption: or else hee remaineth in bondage all the dayes of his life. Againe there are many that will sell themselues to Gentlemen or Marchants to bee their bondmen, to haue during their life meate, drinke and cloth, and at their comming to haue a piece of money, yea and some will sell their wiues and children to bee bawdes and drudges to the byer. Also they haue a Lawe for Fellons and pickers contrary to the Lawes of England. For by their law they can hang no man for his first offence; but may keepe him long in prison, and oftentimes beate him with whips and other punishment: and there he shall remaine vntill his friends be able to bayle him. If he be a picker or a cut-purse, as there be very many, the second time he is taken, he hath a piece of his Nose cut off, and is burned in the forehead, and kept in prison till hee finde sureties for his good behauiour. And if he be taken the third time, he is hanged. And at the first time he is extremely punished and not released, except hee haue very good friends, or that some Gentleman require to haue him to the warres: And in so doing, he shall enter into great bonds for him: by which meanes the countrey is brought into good quietnesse. But they be naturally giuen to great deceit, except extreme beating did bridle them. They be naturally giuen to hard fare aswell in fare as in lodging. I heard a Russian say, that is was a great deale merrier liuing in prison then foorth, but for the great beating. For they haue meate and drinke without any labour, and get the charitie of well disposed people: But being at libertie they get nothing. The poore is very innumerable, and liue most miserably: for I haue seene them eate the pickle of herring and other stinking fish: nor the fish cannot be so stinking nor rotten, but they will eate it and praise it to be more wholesome then other fish or fresh meate. In mine opinion there be no such people vnder the sunne for their hardnesse of liuing. Well, I will leaue them in this poynt, and will in part declare their Religion. They doe obserue the lawe of the Greekes with such excesse of superstition, as the like hath not bene heard of. They haue no grauen images in their Churches, but all painted, to the intent they will not breake the commandement: but to their painted images they vse such idolatrie, that the like was neuer heard of in England. They will neither worship nor honour any image that is made forth of their owne countrey. For their owne images (say they) haue pictures to declare what they be, and howe they be of God, and so be not Idols: They say, Looke how the Painter or Caruer hath made them, so we doe worship them, and they worship none before they be Christened. They say we be but halfe Christians: because we obserue not part of the olde law with the Turks. Therefore they call themselues more holy then we. They haue none other learning but their mother tongue, nor will suffer no other in their Country among them. All their seruice in Churches is in their mother tongue. They haue the Bible and the Testament, which are daily read among them: and yet their superstition is no lesse then, nor no man giueth care to them. For all the while the Priest readeth, the people stand and one talke with another. But when the Priest is at seruice no man listeneth, but gaggle

and ducke like ſo many Geeſe. And as for their prayers they haue but little ſkill, but vſe to ſay As bodi pomele: As much to ſay, Lord haue mercy vpon me. For the tenth man within the Land cannot ſay the Pater noſter. And as for the Creede, no man may be ſo bolde as to meuke therewith but in the Church: for they ſay it ſhoulde not bee ſpoken of, but in the Churches. Speake to them of the Commandements, and they wil ſay they were giuen to Moſes in the law, which Chriſt hath nowe abrogated by his precious death and paſſion: therefore, (ſay they) we obſerue little or none therof. And I doe beleeue them. For if they were examined of their Lawe and Commaundements together, they ſhoulde agree but in fewe poynts. They haue the Sacrament of the Lords Supper in both kindes, and more ceremonies then wee haue. They preſent them in a diſh in both kindes together, and carrie them rounde about the Church vpon the Prieſtes head, and ſo doe miniſter at all ſuch times as any ſhall require. They bee great offerers of Candles, and ſometimes of money, which wee call in England, Houle penſe, with more ceremonies then I am able to declare. They haue foure Lents in the yeere, whereof our Lent is the greateſt. Looke as we doe begin on the Wedneſday, ſo they doe on the Sunday before: And the weeke before that they call The Butter weeke: And in that weeke they eate nothing but Butter and milke. Howbeit I beleeue there bee in no other countrey the like people for drunkenneſſe. The next Lent is called Saint Peters Lent, and beginneth alwayes the Sunday next after Trinitie ſunday, and endeth on Saint Peters euen. If they ſhould breake that faſt, their beliefe is, that they ſhould not come in at heauen gate. And when any of them die, they haue a teſtimoniall with them in the Coffin, that when the ſoule commeth to heauen gates it may deliuer the ſame to Saint Peter, whuh declareth the the partie is a true and holy Ruſſian. The third Lent beginneth fifteene dayes before the Lady day, and endeth on our Lady Euen. The fourth Lent beginneth on Saint Martins day, and endeth on Chriſtmas Euen: which Lent is faſted for Saint Philip, Saint Peter, Saint Nicholas, and Saint Clement. For they foure be the principall and greateſt Saints in the countrey. In theſe Lents they eate neither Butter, Egges, Milke, nor Cheeſe; but they are very ſtraitely kept with Fiſh, Cabbages, and Rootes. And out of their Lents, they obſerue truely the Wedneſdayes and Fridayes throughout the yeere: and on the Saturday they vſe eate fleſh. Furthermore they haue a great number of Religious men: which are blacke Monks, and they eate no fleſh throughout the yeere, but fiſh, milke and Butter. By their order they ſhould eate no freſh-fiſh, and in their Lents they eate nothing but Coleworts, Cabbages, or Cowcumbers, with other rootes, as Raviſh and ſuch like. Their drinke is like our penyſh Ale, and is called Quaſſ. They haue ſeruice daily in their Churches; and vſe to goe to ſeruice three houres before day, and that is ended by day light. At nine of the clocke they goe to maſſe that ended, to dinner: and after that to ſeruice againe: and then to ſupper. You ſhall vnderſtand that at euery dinner and ſupper they haue declared the expoſition of the Goſpel that was but how they wreſt and twine the Scripture and that together is wonderfull. So for whoredome and drunkenneſſe there be none ſuch liuing: and for extortion, they be the moſt abhominable vnder the ſunne. Nowe iudge of their holineſſe. They haue twiſe as much land as the Duke himſelfe hath: but yet hee is reaſonable euen with them, as thus: When they take bribes of any of the poore and ſimple, he hath it by an order. When the Abbot of any of their houſes dieth, then the Duke hath all his goods moueable and immoueable: ſo that the ſucceſſour buieth all at the Dukes hande: and by this meane they be the beſt Fermers the Duke hath. Thus with their Religion I make an ende, truſting hereafter to know it better.

To the right worſhipfull and my ſingular good Vncle Maiſter Chriſtopher Frothingham, giue theſe.

Sir, Reade and correct;
For great is the defect.

The Teſtimonie of M. Richard Eden in his Decades, *concerning the Booke following.*

AND whereas (ſaith he) I haue before made mention howe Moſcouia was in our time diſcouered by Richard Chancelor in his voyage towards Cathay, by the direction and information of M. Sebaſtian Cabota, who long before had this ſecret in his minde: I ſhall not neede here to deſcribe that voyage, ſeeing ſo much as the ſame is largely and faithfully written in the Latine tongue, by the learned yong man Clement Adams, ſchoolemaiſter to the Queenes henchmen, as he receiued it at the mouth of the ſaid Richard Chancelor.

The ſec

The newe Nauigation and discouerie of the kingdome of Moscouia, by the Northeast, in the yeere 1553: Enterprised by Sir Hugh Willoughbie knight, and performed by Richard Chancelor Pilot maior of the voyage: Written in Latine by Clement Adams.

Upon what occasions, and by whom time voyage was set out, and of the discouerie of Moscouie by the North.

AT what time our Marchants perceiued the commodities and wares of England to bee in small request with the countreys and people about vs, and neere vnto vs, and that those Marchandizes which strangers in the time and memorie of our auncestors did earnestly seeke and desire, were nowe neglected, and the price thereof abated, although by vs carried to their owne portes, and all forreine Marchandises in great accompt, and their prises wonderfully raised: certaine graue Citizens of London, and men of great wisedome, and carefull for the good of their Country, began to thinke with themselues, howe this mischiefe might bee remedied. Neither was a remedie (as it then appeared) wanting to their desires, for the anoyding of so great an inconuenience: for seeing that the wealth of the Spaniards and Portingales, by the discouerie and search of newe trades and Countreys was maruellously increased, supposing the same to be a course and meane for them also to obteine the like, they thereupon resolued vpon a newe and strange Nauigation. And whereas at the same time one Sebastian Cabota, a man in those dayes very renowmed, happened to bee in London, they began first of all to deale and consult diligently with him, and after much speech and conference together, it was at last concluded that three shippes should bee prepared and furnished out, for the search and discouerie of the Northerne part of the worlde, to open a way and passage to our men for trauaile to newe and vnknowen kingdomes.

3. Ships first prouided for the discouerie.

And whereas many things seemed necessary to bee regarded in this so hard and difficult a matter, they first make choyse of certaine graue and wise persons in maner of a Senate or companie, which should lay their heads together, and giue their iudgements, and prouide things requisite and profitable for all occasions: by this companie it was thought expedient, that a certaine summe of money should publiquely bee collected to serue for the furnishing of so many shippes. And lest any priuate man should bee too much oppressed and charged, a course was taken, that euery man willing to be of the societie, should disburse the portion of twentie and fiue pounds a piece: so that in short time by this meanes the summe of fiue thousand pounds being gathered, the three shippes were bought, the most part whereof they prouided to be newly built and trimmed. But in this action, I wote not whether I may more admire the care of the Marchants, or the diligence of the Shipwrights: for the Marchants, they get very strong and well seasoned plankes for the building, the Shipwrights, they with daily trauaile, and their greatest skill doe fitte them for the dispatch of the shippes: they caulke them, watch them, and among the rest, they make one most stanch and firme, by an excellent and ingenious inuention. For they had heard that in certaine parts of the Ocean, a kinde of wormes is engendred, which many times pearceth and eateth through the strongest oake that is: and therfore for danger, they couer a piece of the keele of the shippe with thinne sheetes of leade: and hauing thus built the ships, and furnished them with armour and artillerie, then followed a second care no lesse troublesome and necessarie then the former, namely, the prouision of victuals, which were to be made according to the time and length of the voyage. And whereas they alope veteres vsed to haue the East part of the world sayled vnto, and yet that the sea towards the same was not open, except they kept the Northren coast, whereas yet it was doubtfull whether there were any passage or no, they resolued to victuall the ships for eighteene monethe, which wisely foreseeing it, allowe them fiue monethe victuall to saile to the place, so much more to remaine there if the extremitie of the winter hindered their returne, and so much more also for the time of their comming home.

Prouision of victuals for 18. monethe.

Hauing this prouision being made and caried aboord, with armour and munition of all sorts, sufficient Capteines and gouernours of so great an enterprise were as yet wanting: to which place and place, although many men, (and some voyde of experience) offered themselues, yet Sir Hugh Willoughbie a most valiant Gentleman, and well borne, very earnestly requested the same, for his goodly personage (for he was of a tall stature) as also for his singular skill in the seruices of warre, the company of the Marchants made greatest accompt: so that at the last they consented and made choyce of him for the Generall of this voyage, and appointed to him the Admirall

Choise of Capteines and Pilots for Sir Hugh Willoughbie.

mirall, with authoritie and commaund ouer all the reſt. And for the gouernement of other ſhips although diuers men ſeemed willing, and made offers of themſelues thereunto, yet by a common conſent one Richard Chanceler, a man of great eſtimation for many good parties of wit in him, was elected, in whom alone great hope for the performance of this buſineſſe reſted. This man was brought vp by one maſter Henry Sidney, a noble yong Gentleman and very much beloued of King Edward, who at this time comming to the place where the Marchants were gathered together, beganne a very eloquent ſpeech or Oration, and ſpake to them after this maner following.

maſter Henry Sidney his Oration.

My very worſhipfull friends, I cannot but greatly commend your preſent godly and vertuous intention, in the ſerious enterpriſing (for the ſingular loue you beare to your Countrey) a matter, which (I hope) will prooue profitable for this nation, and honourable to this our land. Which intention of yours wee alſo of the Nobilitie are ready to our power to helpe and further: neither doe wee holde any thing ſo deare and precious vnto vs, which wee will not willingly forgoe, and lay out in ſo commendable a cauſe. But principally I reioyce in my ſelfe, that I haue nouriſhed and maintained that witte, which is like by ſome meanes and in ſome meaſure, to profite and ſteede you in this worthy action. But yet I would not haue you ignorant of this one thing, that I doe now part with Chanceler, not becauſe I make little reckoning of the man, or that his maintenance is burdenous and chargeable vnto mee, but that you might conceiue and vnderſtand my good will and promptitude for the furtherance of this buſineſſe, and that the authoritie and eſtimation which hee deſerueth may be giuen him. You know the man by report, I by experience, you by words, I by deedes, you by ſpeech and companie, but I by the daily triall of his life haue a full and perfect knowledge of him. And you are alſo to remember, with howe many perils for your ſakes, and his countreys loue, he is nowe to runne: whereof it is requiſite that wee be not vnmindefull, if it pleaſe God to ſend him good ſucceſſe. Wee commit a little money to the chaunce and hazard of Fortune: He commits his life (a thing to a man of all things moſt deare) to the raging Sea, and the vncertainties of many dangers. We ſhall here liue and reſt at home quietly with our friends, and acquaintance: but hee in the meane time labouring to keepe the ignorant and vnruly Mariners in good order and obedience, with howe many cares ſhall hee trouble and vexe himſelfe? with how many troubles ſhall he driue himſelfe? and howe many diſquietings ſhall hee bee forced to ſuſtaine? We ſhall keepe our owne coaſtes and countrey: Hee ſhall ſeeke ſtrange and vnknowen kingdomes. He ſhall commit his ſafetie to barbarous and cruell people, and ſhall hazard his life amongſt the monſtrous and terrible beaſtes of the Sea. Wherefore in reſpect of the greatneſſe of the dangers, and the excellencie of his charge, you are to fauour and loue the man thus departing from vs: and if it fall ſo happily out that hee returne againe, it is your part and duetie alſo, liberally to reward him.

After that this noble yong Gentleman had deliuered this or ſome ſuch like ſpeech, much more eloquently then I can poſſibly report it, the companie then preſent beganne one to looke vpon another, one to queſtion and confer with another: and ſome (to whom the vertue and ſufficiencie of the man was knowen) began ſecretly to reioyce with themſelues, and to conceiue ſpeciall hope, that the man would prooue in time very rare and excellent, and that his vertues already appearing and ſhining to the world would growe to the great honour and aduancement of this kingdome.

After all this, the companie growing to ſome ſilence, it ſeemed good to them that were of greateſt grauity amongſt them, to inquire, ſearch and ſeeke what might be learned & knowen, concerning the Eaſterly part or tract of the world. For which cauſe two Tartarians, which were then of the kings ſtable, were ſent for, & an interpreter was gotten to be preſent, by whom they were demaunded touching their Countrey and the maners of their nation. But they were able to anſwere nothing to the purpoſe: being in deede more acquainted (as one there merily and openly ſaid) to toſſe pottes, then to learne the ſtates and diſpoſitions of people. But after much and many things paſſed about this matter, they grewe at laſt to this iſſue, to ſet downe and appoint a time for the departure of the ſhippes: becauſe diuers were of opinion, that a great part of the beſt time of the yeere was already ſpent, and if the deſay grewe longer, the way would be ſtoppe and bard by the force of the Ice, and the colde climate: and therefore it was thought beſt by the opinion of them all, that by the twentieth day of May, the Captaines and Pilots ſhould take ſhipping, and depart from Radcliffe vpon the ebbe, if it pleaſed God. They being ſaluted their acquaintance, one his wife, another his children, another his kinſfolkes, and another his friends dearer then his kinſfolkes, were preſent and ready at the day appointed and hauing waied ancre, they departed with the turning of the water, and ſailing eaſily, came

They departed from Ratcliffe the 20. of May 1553.

ſtrſt to Greenewich. The greater ſhippes are towed downe with boates, and oares, and the mariners being all apparelled in Watchet or ſkie coloured cloth, rowed amaine, and made way with diligence. And being come neere to Greenewich, (where the Court then lay) preſently vpon the newes therof, the Courtiers came running out, and the common people flocke together, ſtanding very thicke vpon the ſhoare: the priuie Counſel, they looke out at the windowes of the Court, and the reſt ranne vp to the toppes of the towers: the ſhippes hereupon diſcharge their Ordinance, and ſhoot off their pieces after the maner of warre, and of the ſea, inſomuch that the tops of the hilles ſounded therewith, the valleys and the waters gaue an Eccho, and the Mariners, they ſhouted in ſuch ſort, that the skie rang againe with the noyſe thereof. One ſtoode in the poope of the ſhip, and by his geſture bids farewell to his friendes in the beſt manner hee could. Another walkes vpon the hatches, another climbes the ſhrowds, another ſtands vpon the maine yard, and another in the top of the ſhippe. To be ſhort, it was a very triumph (after a ſort) in all reſpects to the beholders. But (alas) the good King Edward (in reſpect of whom principally all this was prepared) hee onely by reaſon of his ſickneſſe was abſent from this ſhewe, and not long after the departure of theſe ſhips, the lamentable and moſt ſorowfull accident of his death followed.

But to proceede in the matter.

The ſhippes going downe with the tyde came at laſt to Woolwich, where they ſtaied and caſt ancre, with purpoſe to depart therehence againe, as ſoone as the turning of the water, and a better winde ſhould drawe them to ſet ſaile. After this they departed and came to Harwich, in which poste they ſtayed long, not without great loſſe and conſuming of time: yet at the laſt with a good winde they hoyſed vp ſaile, and commuted themſelues to the ſea, giuing their laſt adieu to their native Countrey, which they knewe not whether they ſhould euer returne to ſee againe or not. Many of them looked oftentimes backe, and could not refraine from teares, conſidering into what hazards they were to fall, and what vncertainties of the ſea they were to make triall of.

Amongſt the reſt, Richard Chanceler the Captaine of the Edward Bonauenture, was not a little grieued with the feare of wanting victuals, part whereof was found to be corrupt and putrified at Harwich, and the boggeſheads of wine alſo leaked, and were not ſtaunch: his naturall and fatherly affection alſo ſomewhat troubled him, for he left behinde him his two little ſonnes, which were in the caſe of Orphanes if he ſhewe not well: the eſtate alſo of his companie mooued him to care, being in the former reſpects after a ſort vnhappie, and were to abide with himſelfe euery good or badde accident: but in the meane time while his minde was thus tormented with the multiplicitie of ſorowes and cares, after many dayes ſayling, they kenned land afarre off, whereupon the Pilots directed the ſhips: and being come to it, they land, and finde it to be Roſt Iſland, where they ſtayed certaine dayes, and afterwards ſet ſaile againe, and proceeding towards the North, they eſpied certaine other Iſlands, which were called the Trolle of Iſlands. From which places when they were a litle departed, Sir Hugh Willoughby the General, a man of good forecaſt and prouidence in all his actions, erected and ſet out his flagge, by which hee called together the chiefeſt men of the other ſhippes, that by the helpe and aſſiſtance of their counſels, the order of the gouernement, and conduction of the ſhippes in the whole voyage might bee the better: who being come together accordingly, they conclude and agree, that if any great tempeſt ſhould ariſe at any time, and happen to diſperſe and ſcatter them, euery ſhippe ſhould indeuour his beſt to goe to Wardhouſe, a hauen or caſtell of ſome name in the kingdome of Norway, and that they that arriued there firſt in ſafetie ſhould ſtay and expect the comming of his reſt.

The very ſame day in the afternoone, about foure of the cloche, ſo great a tempeſt ſuddenly aroſe, and the Seas were ſo outragious, that the ſhips could not keepe their intended courſe, but ſome were perforce driuen one way, and ſome another way, to their great perill and hazards. The generall with his lowdeſt voyce cried out to Richard Chanceler, and earneſtly requeſted him not to goe farre from him: but hee neither would nor could keepe companie with him, if he ſailed ſtill ſo faſt: for the Admirall was of better ſaile then his ſhippe. But the ſaid Admirall I knowe not by whas meanes) bearing all his ſailes, was caried away with ſo great force and ſwiftneſſe, that not long after hee was quite out of ſight, and the third ſhip alſo with the ſame ſo prone and like rage was diſperſed and loſt vs.

The ſhippe boate of the Admirall (ſtriking againſt the ſhippe,) was ouerwhelmed in the ſea and the moſt of the Mariners of the Bonauenture: and as for them that are already returned and arriued, they know nothing of the reſt of the ſhips what is become of them.

They returne the next yeere following, and know not what is become of the other 2. ſhips.

But if it be ſo, that any miſerable miſhap haue ouertaken them, If the rage and furie of the ſea

Sea haue deuoured thoſe good men, or if as yet they liue, and wander vp and downe in ſtrange Countreys, I muſt needs ſay: they were men worthy of better fortune, and if they be liuing, let vs wiſh them ſafetie and a good returne: but if the crueltie of death hath taken holde of them, God ſend them a Chriſtian graue and Sepulchre.

Nowe Richard Chanceler with his ſhippe and company being thus left alone, and become very penſiue, heauie, and ſorowfull, by this diſperſion of the Fleete, hee (according to the order before taken,) ſhapeth his courſe for Wardhouſe in Norway, there to expect and abide the arriuall of the reſt of the ſhippes. And being come thither, and hauing ſtayed there the ſpace of 7. dayes, and looked in vaine for their comming, hee determined at length to proceede alone in the purpoſed voyage. And as hee was preparing himſelfe to depart, it happened that hee fell in company and ſpeech with certaine Scottiſhmen: who hauing vnderſtanding of his intention, and wiſhing well to his actions, beganne earneſtly to diſſwade him from the further proſecution of the diſcouerie, by amplifying the dangers which hee was to fall into, and omitted no reaſon that might ſerue to that purpoſe. But hee holding nothing ſo ignominious and reprochfull, as inconſtancie and leuitie of minde, and perſwading himſelfe that a man of valour could not commit a more diſhonourable part then for feare of danger to auoyde and ſhunne great attempts, was nothing at all changed or diſcouraged with the ſpeeches and words of the Scots, remaining ſtedfaſt and immutable in his firſt reſolution: determining either to bring that to paſſe which was intended, or els to die the death.

And as for them which were with Maſter Chanceler in his ſhippe, although they had great cauſe of diſcomfort by the loſſe of their companie (whom the foreſaid tempeſt had ſeparated from them,) and were not a little troubled with cogitations and perturbations of minde, in reſpect of their doubtfull courſe: yet notwithſtanding, they were of ſuch conſent and agreement of minde with Maſter Chanceler, that they were reſolute, and prepared vnder his direction and gouernment, to make proofe and triall of all aduentures, without all feare or miſtruſt of future dangers. Which conſtancie of minde in all the companie did exceedingly increaſe their Captaines carefulneſſe: for hee being ſwallowed vp with like good will and loue towards them, feared leſt through any errour of his, the ſafetie of the companie ſhould bee indangered. To conclude, when they ſawe their deſire and hope of the arriuall of the reſt of the ſhippes to be euery day more and more fruſtrated, they prouided to ſea againe, and Maſter Chanceler held on his courſe towards that vnknowen part of the world, and ſailed ſo farre, that hee came at laſt to the place where hee found no night at all, but a continuall light and brightneſſe of the Sunne ſhining clearely vpon the huge and mightie Sea. And hauing the benefite of this perpetuall light for certaine dayes, at the length it pleaſed God to bring them into a certaine great Bay, which was of one hundreth miles or thereabout ouer. Whereinto they entred, and ſomewhat farre within it caſt ancre, and looking euery way about them, it happened that they eſpied a farre off a certaine fiſher boate, which Maſter Chanceler, accompanied with a fewe of his men, went to warde to common with the fiſhermen that were in it, and to knowe of them what Country it was, and what people, and of what maner of liuing they were: but they being amazed with the ſtrange greatneſſe of his ſhippe, (for in thoſe partes before that time they had neuer ſeene the like) beganne preſently to auoyde and to flee: but hee ſtill following them at laſt ouertooke them, and being come to them, they (being in great feare, as men halfe dead) proſtrated themſelues before him, offering to kiſſe his feete: but hee (according to his great and ſingular courteſie,) looked pleaſantly vpon them, comforting them by ſignes and geſtures, refuſing their dueties and reuerences of theirs, and taking them vp in all louing ſort from the ground. And is ſtrange to conſider howe much fauour afterwards in that place, this humanitie of his did purchaſe to himſelfe. For they being diſmiſſed ſpread by and by a report abroad of the arriuall of a ſtrange nation, of a ſingular gentleneſſe and courteſie: whereupon the common people came together offering to theſe newe-come gheſts victuals freely, and not refuſing to traffique with them, except they had bene bound by a certaine religious vſe and cuſtome, not to buy any ſtrange commodities, without the knowledge and conſent of the king.

They arriue in the Bay of Saint Nicholas.

The diſcouerie of Ruſſia.

By this time our men had learned that this Countrey was called Ruſſia, or Moſcouie, and that Iuan Vaſiliwich (which was at that time their Kings name) ruled and gouerned farre and wide in thoſe places. And the barbarous Ruſſes aſked likewiſe of our men whence they were, and what they came for: whereunto anſwere was made, that they were Engliſhmen ſent from thoſe coaſtes, from the moſt excellent King Edward the firſt, hauing from him in commandement certaine things to deliuer to their King, and ſeeking nothing els but his gentle entertainment, ſhip, and traffique with his people, whereby they doubted not, but that great commodite and profite would grow to the ſubiects of both kingdomes.

The Barbarians heard theſe things very gladly, and promiſed their aide and furtherance to acquaint their king out of hand with ſo honeſt and a reaſonable requeſt.

In the meane time Maſter Chanceler intreated victuals for his money of the gouernour of that place (who together with others came aboord him) and required hoſtages of them likewiſe for the more aſſurance of ſafetie to himſelfe and his company. To whom the Gouernours anſwered, that they knewe not in that caſe the will of their king, but yet were willing in ſuch things as they might lawfully doe, to pleaſure him: which was as then to afforde him the benefit of victuals.

Nowe while theſe things were a doing, they ſecretly ſent a meſſenger vnto the Emperour, to certifie him of the arriuall of a ſtrange nation, and withall to knowe his pleaſure concerning them. Which meſſage was very welcome vnto him, inſomuch that voluntarily hee inuited them to come to his Court. But if by reaſon of the tediouſneſſe of ſo long a iourney, they thought it not beſt ſo to doe, then hee graunted libertie to his ſubiects to bargaine, and to traffique with them: and further promiſed, that if it would pleaſe them to come to him, hee himſelfe would beare the whole charges of poſte hoyſes. In the meane time the gouernours of the place differred the matter from day to day, pretending diuers excuſes, and ſaying one while that the conſent of all the gouernours, and another while, that the great and waighty affaires of the kingdome compelled them to differ their anſwere: and this they did of purpoſe, ſo long to protract the time, vntill the meſſenger (ſent before to the king) did returne with relation of his will and pleaſure.

But Maſter Chanceler, (ſeeing himſelfe held in this ſuſpenſe with long and vaine expectation, and thinking that of intention to delude him, they poſted the matter off ſo often,) was very inſtant with them to performe their promiſe: Which if they would not doe, hee tolde them that hee would depart and proceede in his voyage. So that the Moſcouites (although as yet they knewe not the minde of their king) yet fearing the departure in deede of our men who had ſuch wares and commodities as they greatly deſired, they at laſt reſolued to furniſh our people with all things neceſſarie, and to conduce them by land to the preſence of their king. And ſo Maſter Chanceler begamme his iourney, which was very long and moſt troubleſome, wherein hee had the vſe of certaine ſleds, which in that Countrey are very common, for they are carried themſelues vpon ſleds, and all their carriages are in the ſame ſort, the people almoſt not knowing any other maner of carriage, the cauſe wherof is the exceeding hardneſſe of the ground congealed in the winter time by the force of the colde, which in thoſe places is very extreme and horrible, whereof hereafter we will ſay ſomething.

But nowe they hauing paſſed the greater part of their iourney, mette at laſt with the Sledde-man (of whom I ſpake before) ſent to the king ſecretly from the Iuſtices or gouernours, who by ſome ill happe had loſt his way, and had gone to the Sea ſide, where his neere to the Countrey of the Tartars, thinking there to haue found our ſhip. But hauing long erred and wandered out of his way, at the laſt in his direct returne, hee met (as hee was comming) our Captaine on the way. To whom ſoone by and by deliuered the Emperours letters, which were written to him with all courteſie and in the moſt louing maner that could be: wherein expreſſe commandement was giuen, that poſt hoyſes ſhould bee gotten for him and the reſt of his company without any money. Which thing was of all the Ruſſes in the reſt of their iourney ſo willingly done, that they began to quarrell, yea, and to fight alſo in ſtriuing and contending which of them ſhould put their poſt hoyſes to the ſledde: ſo that after much paine and great paines taken in this long and weerie iourney, (for they had trauailed very neere fifteene hundred miles) Maſter Chanceler came at laſt to Moſco the chiefe citie of the kingdome, and the ſeate of the king: of which citie, and of the Emperour himſelfe, and of the principall cities of Moſcouie, wee will ſpeake immediately more at large in this diſcourſe.

The Emperours courteous letters to M. Chanceler.

Of Moſcouie, which is alſo called Ruſsia.

Moſcouie, which hath the name alſo of Ruſſia the white, is a very large and ſpacious Countrey, entry way bounded with diuers nations. Towards the South and the Eaſt, it is compaſſed with Tartarie: the Northern ſide of it ſtretcheth to the Scythian Ocean: vpon the Weſt bordereth the Lappians, a ſtout and ſtrange nation, liuing in woods, whoſe language is not vnlike to any other people: next vnto them, more towards the South, is Swecia, then Finlandia, then Liuonia, and laſt of all Lituania. This Countrey of Moſcouie, hath alſo very many and great riuers in it, and is couered ſtoore in many places: and as for the riuers, the greateſt

and

and moſt famous amongſt all the reſt, is that, which the Ruſſes in their owne tongue call Volga, but others know it by the name of Rha. Next vnto it in fame is Tanais, which they call Don, and the third Boriſthenes which at this day they call Neper. Two of theſe, to wit, Rha, and Boriſthenes ſpringing both out of one fountaine, runne very farre through the land: Rha receiuing many other pleaſant riuers into it, & running from the very head or ſpring of it towards the Eaſt, after many crooked turnings and windings, diſchargeth it ſelfe, and all the other waters and riuers that fall into it by diuers paſſages into the Caſpian Sea. Tanais ſpringing from a fountaine of great name in thoſe parties, and growing great neere to his head, ſpreds it ſelfe at length very largely, and makes a great lake: and then growing narrowe againe, doth ſo runne for certaine miles, vntill it fall into another lake, which they call Iuan: and therehence fetching a very crooked courſe, comes very neere to the riuer Volga: but diſdaining as it were the company of any other riuer, doth there turne it ſelfe againe from Volga, and runnes toward the South, and falls at laſt into the Lake of Mœotis. Boriſthenes, which comes from the ſame head that Rha doth, (as wee ſayde before) carieth both it ſelfe, and other waters that are neere vnto it, towards the South, not refuſing the mixture of other ſmall riuers: and running by many great and large Countreys falls at laſt into Pontus Euxinus. Beſides theſe riuers, are alſo in Moſcouie certaine lakes, and pooles, the lakes breede fiſh by the celeſtiall influence: and amongſt them all, the chiefeſt and moſt principall is called Bealozera, which is very famous by reaſon of a very ſtrong towre built in it, wherein the kings of Moſcouie reſerue and repoſe their treaſure in all time of warre and danger.

The mightie lake of Bealozera.

Touching the Riphean mountaines, whereupon the ſnow lieth continually, and where here in times paſt it was thought that Tanais the riuer did ſpring, and that the reſt of the wonders of nature, which the Grecians fained and inuented of olde, were there to be ſeene: our men which lately came from thence, neither ſawe them, nor yet haue brought home any perfect relation of them, although they remained there for the ſpace of three moneths, and had gotten in that time ſome intelligence of the language of Moſcouie. The whole Countrey is plaine and champion, and few hils in it: and towards the North it hath very large & ſpacious woods, wherein is great ſtore of Firre trees, a wood very neceſſarie, and fit for the building of houſes: there are alſo wilde beaſtes bred in thoſe woods, as Buffes, Beares, and blacke Moules, and another kinde of beaſt vnknowen to vs, but called by them Roſſomakka: and the nature of the ſame is very rare and wonderfull: for when it is great with yong, and ready to bring forth, it ſeeketh out ſome narrow place betweene two ſtakes, and ſo going through them, preſſeth it ſelfe, and by that meanes is eaſed of her burden, which otherwiſe could not be done. They hunt their buffes for the moſt part a horſebacke, but their Beares a foot, with woodden forkes. The north parts of the Countrey are reported to be ſo cold, that the very ice or water which diſtilleth out of the moiſt wood which they lay vpon the fire is preſently congealed and frozen: the diuerſitie growing ſuddenly to be ſo great, that in one and the ſelfe ſame firebrand, a man ſhall ſee both fire and ice. When the winter doth once begin there it doth ſtill more & more increaſe by a perpetuitie of cold: neither doth the colde ſlake, vntill the force of the Sunne beames doth diſſolue the cold, and make glad the earth returning to it againe. Our mariners which we left in the ſhip in the meane time to keepe it, in their going vp onely from their cabbins to the hatches, had their breath oftentimes ſo ſuddenly taken away, that they eſtſoones fell downe as men very neere dead, ſo great is the ſharpeneſſe of that colde climate: but as for the South parts of the Countrey, they are ſomewhat more temperate.

The ſharpneſſe of the winter in Moſcouie.

Of Moſco the chiefe Citie of the kingdome, and of *the Emperour thereof.*

It remaineth that a larger diſcourſe be made of Moſco, the principall Citie of that Countrey, and of the Prince alſo, as before we haue promiſed. The Empire and gouernment of the king is very large, and his wealth at this time exceeding great. And becauſe the citie of Moſco is the chiefeſt of all the reſt, it ſeemeth of it ſelfe to challenge the firſt place in this diſcourſe. Our men ſay, that in bigneſſe it is as great as the Citie of London, with the ſuburbes thereof. There are many and great buildings in it, but for beautie and faireneſſe, nothing comparable to ours. There are many Townes and Villages alſo, but built out of order, and with no handſomneſſe: their ſtreetes and wayes are not paued with ſtone as ours are: the walles of their houſes are of wood: the rooſes for the moſt part are couered with ſhingle boords. There is hard by the Citie a very faire Caſtle, ſtrong, and furniſhed with artillerie, whereunto the Citie is ioyned directly

Their manner of building.

towards

towards the North, with a bricke wall: the walles alſo of the Caſtle are built with bricke, and are in breadth or thickneſſe eightéene foote. This Caſtle hath on the one ſide a drie ditch, on the other ſide the riuer Moſcua, whereby it is made almoſt inexpugnable. The ſame Moſcua trending towards the Eaſt doth admit into it the companie of the riuer Occa.

In the Caſtle alſo reſiaide, there are in number nine Churches, or Chappels, not altogether vnhandſome, which are vſed and kept by certaine religious men, ouer whom there is after a ſort a Patriarke, or Gouernour, and with him other reuerend Fathers, all which for the greater part, dwell within the Caſtle. As for the kings Court and Palace, it is not of the neateſt, onely in ſome it is foure ſquare, and of lowe building, much ſurpaſſed and excelled by the beautie and elegancie of the houſes of the Kings of England. The windowes are very narrowly built, and ſome of them by glaſſe, ſome other by lettiſſes admit the light: and whereas the Palaces of our Princes are decked, and adorned with hangings of cloth of gold, there is none ſuch there: they haue and ioyne to all their walls benches, and that not onely in the Court of the Emperour, but in all priuate mens houſes.

Now after that they had remained about twelue dayes in the Citie, there was then a Meſſenger ſent vnto them, to bring them to the Kings houſe: and they being after a ſort wearied with their long ſtay, were very ready, and willing ſo to doe: and being entred within the gates of the Court, there ſate a very honorable companie of Courtiers, to the number of one hundred, all apparelled in cloth of golde, downe to their ankles: and there-hence being conducted into the chamber of preſence, our men beganne to wonder at the Maieſtie of the Emperour: his ſeate was aloft, in a very royall throne, hauing on his head a Diademe, or Crowne of golde, apparelled with a robe all of Goldſmiths worke, and in his hand hee held a Sceptor garniſhed, and beſet with precious ſtones: and beſides all other notes and apparances of honour, there was a Maieſtie in his countenance proportionable with the excellencie of his eſtate: on the one ſide of him ſtood his chiefe Secretarie, on the other ſide, the great Commander of ſilence, both of them araied alſo in cloth of gold: and then there ſate the Counſel of one hundred and fiftie in number, all in like ſort arayed, and of great ſtate. This ſo honorable an aſſemblie, ſo great a Maieſtie of the Emperour, and of the place might very well haue amazed our men, and haue daſht them out of countenance: but notwithſtanding Maſter Chanceler being therewithall nothing diſmaied ſaluted, the letters of our king, Edward the ſixt. The Emperour hauing taken, & read the letters, began a little to queſtion with them, and to aſke them of the welfare of our king: whereunto our men anſwered him directly, & in few words: hereupon our men preſented ſome thing to the Emperour, by the chiefe Secretary, which at the deliuery of it, put of his hat, being before all the time couered: and ſo the Emperour hauing inuited them to dinner, diſmiſſed them from his preſence: and going into the chamber of him that was Maſter of the Requeſts to the Emperour, & hauing ſtayed there the ſpace of two howres, at the laſt, the Meſſenger commeth, and calleth them to dinner: they goe, and being conducted into the golden Court, (for ſo they call it, although not very faire) they finde the Emperour ſitting vpon an high and ſtately ſeate, apparelled with a robe of ſiluer, and with another Diademe on his head: our men being placed ouer againſt him, ſit downe: in the middeſt of the roome ſtoode a mightie Cupboord vpon a ſquare foote, whereupon ſtoode alſo a round booord, in manner of a Diamond, broade beneath, and towardes the toppe narrowe, and euery ſteppe roſe vp more narrowe then another. Vpon this Cupboorde was placed the Emperours place, which was ſo much, that the very Cupboord it ſelfe was ſtraunge to ſuſtaine the waight of it: the better part of all the veſſels, and goblets, was made of very fine gold: and amongſt the reſt, there were foure pots of very large bignelle, which did adorne the reſt of the place in great meaſure: for they were ſo high, that they thought them at the leaſt fiue foote long. There were alſo vpon this Cupboord certaine ſiluer cakes, not much differing from the quantitie of our Fyskins, wherein was reſerued the Emperours drinke: on each ſide of the Hall ſtood foure Tables, each of them layde and couered with very cleane table clothes, whereunto the company aſcended by three ſteps or degrees: all which were filled with the aſſemblie preſent: the gheſts were all apparelled with linnen without, and with rich ſhirtes within, and ſo did notably ſet out this royall feaſt. The Emperour, when hee takes any bread or knife in his hand, doth firſt of all croſſe himſelfe vpon his forehead: they that are in ſpeciall fauour with the Emperour ſit vpon the ſame bench with him, but ſomewhat farre from him: and before the comming in of the meate, the Emperour himſelfe, according to an ancient cuſtome of the kings of Moſcouy, doth firſt deliuer a piece of bread vpon euery one of his trencher, with a loud pronunciation of his title, and honour, in this manner: The great Duke of Moſcouie, and chiefe Emperour of Ruſſia, Iohn Baſiliwich (& then the officer nameth the gheſt)

doth

King Edwards letters deliuered.

both giue thee bread. Whereupon al the ghests riſe vp, and by & by ſit downe againe. This done, the Gentleman Vſher of the Hall comes in, with a notable company of ſeruents, carying the diſhes, and hauing done his reuerence to the Emperour, puts a pong Swanne in a golden platter vpon the table, and immediatly takes it thence againe, deliuering it to the Caruer, and ſeuen other of his fellowes, to be cut vp: which being perfourmed, the meate is then diſtributed to the ghests, with the like pompe, and ceremonies. In the meane time, the Gentleman Vſher receiues his bread, and taſteth to the Emperour, and afterward, hauing done his reuerence, he departeth. Touching the reſt of the diſhes, becauſe they were brought in out of order, our men can repoꝛt no certaintie: but this is true, that all the furniture of diſhes, and drinking veſſels, which were then foꝛ the vſe of a hundred ghests, was all of pure golde, and the tables were ſo laden with veſſels of gold, that there was no roome foꝛ ſome to ſtand vpon them.

We may not foꝛget, that there were 140. ſeruitoꝛs araped in cloth of gold, that in the dinner time, changed thꝛiſe their habit and apparell, which ſeruitoꝛs are in like ſoꝛt ſerued with them from the Emperour, as the reſt of the ghests. Laſt of all, dinner being ended, and candles brought in, (foꝛ by this time night was come) the Emperour calleth all his ghests and Noble men by their names, in ſuch ſoꝛt, that it ſeemes miraculous, that a Pꝛince, otherwiſe occupied in great matters of eſtate, ſhould ſo well remember ſo many and ſundꝛy particular names. The Ruſſes tolde our men, that the reaſon thereof, as alſo of the beſtowing of bread in that maner, was to the ende that the Emperour might keepe the knowledge of his owne houſhold: and withal, that ſuch as are vnder his diſpleaſure, might by this meanes be knowen.

Of the diſcipline of warre among the Ruſſes.

Whenſoeuer the iniuries of their neighbours doe call the King foorth to battell, hee neuer armeth a leſſe number againſt the enemie, then 300. thouſand ſoldiers, 100. thouſand whereof hee carieth out into the field with him, and leaueth the reſt in gariſon in ſome fit places, foꝛ the better ſafetie of his Empire. He pꝛeſſeth no huſbandman, noꝛ Marchant: foꝛ the Country is ſo populous, that theſe being left at home, the youth of the Realme is ſufficient foꝛ all his wars. As many as goe out to warfare doe pꝛouide all things of their owne coſt: they fight not on foote, but altogether on hoꝛſebacke: their armour is a coate of maile, & a helmet: the coate of maile beeing gilded, oꝛ els adoꝛned with ſilke, although it pertaine to a common ſoldier: they haue a great pꝛide in ſhewing their wealth: they vſe bowes, and arrowes, as the Turkes doe: they carry lances alſo into the field. They ride with a ſhoꝛt ſtirrop, after the maner of the Turkes: They are a kinde of people moſt ſparing in diet, and moſt patient in extremitie of cold, aboue all others. Foꝛ when the ground is couered with ſnowe, and is growen terrible and hard with the froſt, this Ruſſe hangs vp his mantle, oꝛ ſouldiers coate, againſt that part from whence the winde and ſnowe bꝛiues, and ſo making a little fire, lieth downe with his backe towards the weather: this mantle of his ſerues him foꝛ his bed, wall, houſe and all: his dꝛinke is colde water of the riuer, mingled with oatemeale, and this is all his good cheere, and he thinketh himſelfe well, and daintily fene therewith, and ſo ſitteth downe by his fire, and vpon the hard ground, roſteth as it were in wearie ſtoes thus daintily ſtuffed: the hard ground is his feather bed, & ſome blocke oꝛ ſtone his pillow: and as foꝛ his hoꝛſe, he is as it were a chamberfellow with his maſter, faring both alike. How milkily may this barbarous, and rude Ruſſe condemne the daintineſſe and niceneſſe of our Capeanes, who liuing in a ſoile & aire much moꝛe temepꝛate, yet commonly vſe furred boots, and clokes? But thus much of the furniture of their common ſouldiers. But thoſe that are of higher degrees come into the field a little better pꝛouided. As foꝛ the furniture of the Emperour himſelfe, it is then aboue all other times, moſt notable. The couerings of his tent foꝛ the moſt part, are all of gold, adoꝛned with ſtones of great pꝛice, and with the curious woꝛkemanſhip of plumaſiers. As often as they are to ſkirmiſh with the enemie, they goe foꝛth without any oꝛder at all: they make no wings, noꝛ militarie diuiſions of their men, as we doe, but lying foꝛ the moſt part, in ambuſh, doe ſuddenly ſet vpon the enemie. Their hoꝛſes can well abſtaine two whole daies from any meate. They feede vpon the barkes of trees, and the moſt tender bꝛanches, in all the time of warre. And this ſcant and miſerable maner of liuing, both the hoꝛſe and his maſter can well endure, ſometimes foꝛ the ſpace of two moneths, luſtie, and in good ſtate of body. If any man behaue himſelfe valiantly in the fielde, to the contentation of the Emperour, he beſtoweth vpon him in recompenſe of his ſeruice, ſome farme, oꝛ ſo much ground as he and his may liue vpon, which notwithſtanding after his death, returneth againe to the Emperour, if he die without a male iſſue. Foꝛ although his daughters be neuer ſo many, yet no part of that inheritance comes to them, except peraduenture the Emperour of his goodneſſe, giue ſome poꝛtion of the land amongſt

amongst them, to bestowe them withall. As for the man, whosoeuer he be, that is in this sort rewarded by the Emperours liberalitie, hee is bound in a great summe, to maintaine so many souldiers for the warre, when need shall require, as that land, in the opinion of the Emperour, is able to maintaine. And all those, to whom any lands falls by inheritance, are in no better condition: for if they die without any male issue, all their lands fall into the hands of the Emperour. And moreouer, if there be any rich man amongst them, who in his owne person is vnfit for the warres, and yet hath such wealth, that thereby many Noble men and warriours might be maintained, if any of the Courtiers present his name to the Emperour, the vnhappy man is by and by sent for, and in that instant, bereaued of all his riches, which with great paines and trauell all his life time he had gotten together: except perhaps some small portion thereof be left him, to maintaine his wife, children and familie. But all this is done of all the people so willingly at the Emperours commandement, that a man would thinke, they rather make restitution of other mens goods, then giue that which is their owne to other men. Nowe the Emperour hauing taken these goods into his hands, bestoweth them among his Courtiers, according to their deserts: and the oftener that a man is sent to the warres, the more fauour he thinketh is borne to him by the Emperour, although he bee vpon his owne charge, as I said before. So great is the obedience of all men generally to their Prince.

Of the Ambassadors of the Emperour of Moscouie.

THe Moscouite, with no lesse pompe, and magnificence, then that which we haue spoken of, sendeth his Ambassadors to forren Princes, in the affaires of estate. For while our men were abiding in the Citie of Mosco, there were two Ambassadors sent to the King of Poland, accompanied with 500. notable horses, and the greater part of the men were arayed in cloth of gold, and of silke, and the most apparell was of garments of bis we colour, to speake nothing of the trappings of the horses, which were adorned with gold and siluer, and very curiously embroidered: they had also with them one hundred white and faire spare horses, to bis them at such times, as any necessitie came vpon them. But now the time requireth me to speake briefly of other Cities of the Moscouites, and of the wares and commodities that the Countrey yeeldeth.

Nouogorode.

NExt vnto Mosco, the Citie of Nouogorode is reputed the chiefest of Russia: for although it be in Maiestie inferiour to it, yet in greatnesse it goeth beyond it. It is the chiefest and greatest Marte Towne of all Moscouie: and albeit the Emperours feare is not there, but at Mosco, yet the commodiousnesse of the riuer, falling into that gulfe, which is called Sinus Finnicus, whereby it is well frequented by Marchants, makes it more famous then Mosco it selfe. This towne excels all the rest in the commodities of flaxe and hempe: it yeelds also hides, bonie, and waxe. The Flemings there sometimes had a house of Marchandize, but by reason that they vsed the like ill dealing there, which they did with vs, they lost their priuileges, a restitution whereof they earnestly sued for at the time that our men were there. But those Flemings hearing of the arriuall of our men in those parts, wrote their letters to the Emperour against them, accusing them for pirates and rouers, wishing him to detaine, and imprison them. Which things when they were knowen of our men, they conceiued feare, that they should neuer haue returned home. But the Emperour beleeuing rather the Kings letters, which our men brought, then the lying and false suggestions of the Flemings, bled no ill intreatie towards them.

The iniurie of the Flemings against our men.

Yeraslaue.

YEraslaue also is a Towne of some good fame, for the commodities of hides, tallow, and corne, which it yeelds in great abundance. Cakes of waxe are there also to bee solde, although other places haue greater store: this Yeraslaue is distant from Mosco, about two hundred miles: and betwixt them are many populous villages. Their fields yeeld such store of corne, that in comming it towards Mosco, sometimes in a fortnight, a man shall see seuen hundred or eight hundred fleets, going and comming, laden with corne and salt fish: the people come a thousand miles to Mosco, to buy that corne, and then carry it away vpon fleets: and these are those people that dwell in the North parts, where the colde is so terrible, that no corne doth growe there, or if it bring vp, it neuer comes to ripenesse. The commodities that they bring with them, are salt-

Vologda.

Vologda.

VOlogda being from Mosco, 550. miles yeelds the commodities of Hempe and Flaxe also: although the greatest [illegible] of Flaxe is solde at Nouogrode.

Plesco.

THe Towne of Plesco, is frequented of Marchants for the good store of Hides and Waxe that it yeeldeth.

Colmagro.

THe Northy parts of Russia yeelde very rare and precious skinnes: and amongst the rest, those principally, which we call Sables, worne about the necks of our Noble women and Ladies: it hath also Martins skinnes, white, blacke, and red Fox skinnes, skinnes of Hares, and Ermyns, and others, which they call and terme barbarously, as Beuers, Pinnes, and Whiuers. The sea adioyning, breedes a certaine beast, which they call the Morse, which seeketh his foode vpon the rockes, climing vp with the helpe of his teeth. The Russes vse to take them, for the great vertue that is in their teeth, whereof they make as great account, as we doe of the Elephants tooth. These commodities they carry vpon Deeres backes to the towne of Lampas: and from thence to Colmagro, and there in the winter time, are kept great Faires for the sale of them. This Citie of Colmagro, serues all the Countrey about it with salt, and salt fish. The Russians also of the North parts, send thither oyle, which they call traine, which they make in a tunne called ‖ Vna, although it be also made else-where: and here they vse to boile the water of the sea, whereof they make very great store of salt.

‖ Or, Diuina.

Of controuersies in Lawe, and how they are ended.

HAuing hitherto spoken so much of the chiefest Cities of Russia, as the matter required: it remaineth that we speake somewhat of the lawes, that the Moscouits doe vse, as farre forth as the same are come to our knowledge. If any controuersie arise among them, they first make their Landlords Iudges in the matter, and if they cannot end it, then they preferre it to the Magistrate. The plaintif craueth of the said Magistrate, that he may haue leaue to enter law against his aduersarie: and hauing obtained it, the officer fetcheth the defendant, and beateth him on the legges, till he bring forth a suretie for him: but if he be not of such credite, as to procure a surety, then are his hands by an officer tied to his necke, and he is beaten all the way, till he come before the Iudge. The Iudge then asketh him (as for example in the matter of debt) whether he owe any thing to the plaintife. If he denies it, then saith the Iudge, How canst thou deny it? the defendant answereth, By another: thereupon the officer is commanded to cease from beating of him, vntill the matter be further tried. They haue no Lawyers, but euery man is his owne Aduocat, and both the complaint of the accuser, and the answere of the defendant, are in manner of petition deliuered vnto the Emperour, interating iustice at his hands. The Emperour himselfe heareth euery great controuersie, and vpon the hearing of it, giueth iudgement, and that with great equity, which I take to be a thing worthy of speciall commendation, in the Maiestie of a Prince. But although he doe this with a good purpose of mind, yet the corrupt Magistrates do wonderfully peruert the same: but if the Emperour take them in any fault, he doeth punish them most seuerely. Now at the last, when each partie hath defended his cause with his best reasons, the Iudge demandeth of the accuser, whether he hath any more to say for himselfe: he answereth, that he will trie the matter in fight by his Champion, or else intreateth, that in fight betwixt themselues the matter may be ended: which being graunted, they both fight it out: or if both of them, or either of them seeme vnfit for that kinde of triall, then they haue publike Champions to be hired, which liue by ending of quarrels. These Champions are armed with pyon axes, and speares, and fight on foot, and he whose Champion is ouercome, is by and by taken, and imprisoned, and terribly hanged, vntill he agree with his aduersarie. But if either of them be of any good calling, and degree, and doe challenge one another to fight, the Iudge graunteth it: in which case they may not vse publike Champions. And he that is of any good birth, doth contemne the other, if he be basely borne, and will not fight with him. If a poore man happen to grow in debt, his Creditor takes him, & maketh him pay the debt, in working either to himselfe, or to some other man, whose wages be taken vp. And there are some among them, that vse willingly to make themselues, their wiues, and chil-

dren

vpon, vouchsafes vnto rich men, to haue a little money at the first into their hands, and so for euer after content themselues with meate and drinke: so little accompt doe they make of libertie.

Of punishments vpon theeues.

If any man be taken vpon conuicting of theft, he is imprisoned, and often beaten, but not hanged for the first offence, as the manner is with vs: and this they call the lawe of mercie. He that offendeth the second time hath his nose cut off, and is burnt in the forehead with a hot yron. The third time, he is hanged. There are many cutpurses among them, and if the rigour of the Prince did not cut them off, they could not be auoyded.

Of their religion.

They maintaine the opinions of the Greeke Church: they suffer no grauen images of Saints in their Churches, but their pictures painted in tables they haue in great abundance, which they do adore and offer vnto, and burne wax candles before them, and call holy water vpon them, without other honour. They say that our images which are set vp in Churches, and carued, haue no diuinitie in them. In their priuate houses they haue images for their houshold saints, and for the most part, they are put in the darkest place of the house: hee that comes into his neighbours house doth first salute his saints, although he see them not. If any loome or stoole stand in his way, hee oftentimes beateth his brows vpon the same, and often ducking downe with his head, and body, worshippeth the chiefe Image. The habite, and attire of the Priests, and of the Lay men, both nothing at all differ: as for marriage, it is forbidden to no man: onely this is receiued and held amongst them for a rule, and custome, that if a Priests wife doe die, he may not marry againe, nor take a second wife: and therefore they of secular Priests, as they call them, are made Monkes, to whom then chastitie for euer is commanded. Their seruice, as they call them, are made in their owne language, that euery man may vnderstand. The seruice is all done and said with learned head, and after the consecration, they carry about the Church in a saucer, and prohibite no man from receiuing and taking of it, that is willing so to doe. They vse both the Olde and the Newe Testament, and read both in their owne language, but so confusedly, that they themselues that doe reade, vnderstand not what themselues doe say: and while any part of either Testament is read, there is libertie giuen by custome to prattle, talke, and make a noise: but in the time of the rest of the seruice they vse very great silence and reuerence, and behaue themselues very modestly, and in good sort. As touching the Lords prayer, the tenth man amongst them knowes it not: and for the articles of our faith, and the ten commandements, no man, or at the least very fewe of them doe either know them or can say them: their opinion is, that such secrete and holy things as they are should not rashly and imprudently be communicated with the common people. They holde for a Maxime amongst them, that the olde Lawe, and the commandements also are abolished by the death and blood of Christ: all studies and letters of humanitie they vtterly refuse: concerning the Latine, Greeke, and Hebrew tongues, they are altogether ignorant in them.

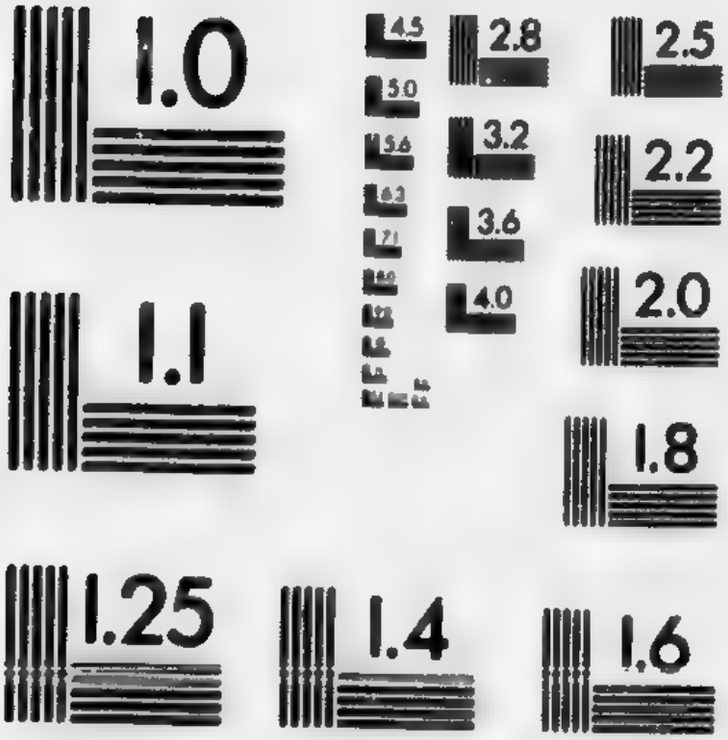
Euery yeere they celebrate fowre seuerall fasts, which they call according to the names of the Saints: the first beginnes with them, at the time that our Lent beginnes. The second is called amongst them the fast of S. Peter. The third is taken from the day of the Virgin Marie. And the fourth and last begins vpon S. Philips day. But as we begin our Lent vpon Wednesday, so they begin theirs vpon the Sunday. Vpon the Saturday they eate flesh: whensoeuer any of those fasting feastes doe drawe neere, looke what weeke both immediatly goe before them, the same weeke they liue altogether vpon white meates, and in their common language they call those weekes, the fast of Butter.

In the time of their fasts, the neighbours euery where goe from one to another, and visite one another, and kisse one another with kisses of peace, in token of their mutuall loue and Christian concord: and then also they doe more often then at any other time goe to the holy Communion. When seuen dayes are past, from the beginning of the fast, then they vse often either goe to their Churches, or keepe themselues at home, and vse often prayer: and for that seuennight they eate nothing but hearbes: but after that seuennights fast is once past, then they returne to their old intemperancie of drinking, for they are notable tospots. As for the keeping of their fasting dayes, they doe it very strictly, neither doe they eate any thing besides hearbes, and sale fish, as long as those fasting dayes doe endure: but vpon euery Wednesday and Friday, in euery weeke throughout the yeere, they fast.



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There are very many Monasteries of the order of S. Benedict, amongst them, to which many great liuings, for their maintenance, doe belong: for the Friers and the Monkes doe at the least possesse the third part of the liuings, throughout the whole Moscouite Empire. To those Monkes that are of this order, there is amongst them a perpetuall prohibition, that they may eate no flesh: and therefore their meate is onely salt fish, milke, and butter: neither is it permitted them by the lawes, and customes of their religion, to eate any fresh fish at all: and at those foure fasting times, whereof we spake before, they eate no fish at all: onely they liue with hearbes, and cucumbers, which they doe continually for that purpose cause and take order to grow and spring, for their vse and diet.

As for their drinke, it is very weake, and small. For the discharge of their office, they do euery day say seruice, and that early in the mornings before day: and they doe in such sort, and with such obseruation begin their seruice, that they will be sure to make an ende of it, before day: and about nine of the clocke in the morning they celebrate the Communion. When they haue so done, they goe to dinner, and after dinner they goe againe to seruice, and the like also after supper: and in the meane time while they are at dinner there is some exposition or interpretation of the Gospel vsed. Note.

Whensoeuer any Abbot of any monasterie dieth, the Emperour taketh all his houshold stuffe, beastes, flockes of sheepe, golde, siluer, and all that he hath: or els hee that is to succeede him in his place and dignitie doth redeeme all those things, and buyeth them of the Emperour for money.

Their churches are built of timber, and the towers of their churches for the most part are couered with shingle boordes. At the doores of their churches, they vsually build some entrance or porch as we doe, and in their churchyardes they erect a certaine house of wood, wherein they set vp their bels, wherein sometimes they haue but one, in some two, and in some also three.

There is one vse and custome amongst them, which is strange and rare, but yet it is very ridiculous, and that is this: when any man dyeth amongst them, they take the dead body and put it in a coffine or chest, and in the hand of the corps they put a litle scroule, & in the same there are these wordes written, that the same man died a Russe of Russes, hauing receiued the faith, and died in the same. This writing or letter they say they send to S. Peter, who receiuing it (as they affirme) reades it, and by and by admits him into heauen, and that his glory and place is higher and greater then the glory of the Christians of the Latine church, reputing themselues to be followers of a more sincere faith and religion then they: they hold opinion that we are but halfe Christians, and themselues onely to be the true and perfect church: these are the foolish and childish dotages of such ignorant Barbarians.

Of the Moscouites that are Idolaters, dwelling neere to *Tartaria*.

Aurea verula, or Zeloubabra,

THere is a certaine part of Moscouie bordering vpon the countreys of the Tartars, wherin those Moscouites that dwell are very great idolaters: they haue one famous idole amongst them, which they call the Golden old wife: & they haue a custome that whensoeuer any plague or any calamitie doth afflict the countrey, as hunger, warre, or such like, then they goe to consult with their idol, which they do after this maner: they fall down prostrate before the idol, & pray vnto it, & put in the presence of the same, a cymbal: & about the same certaine persons stand, which are chosen amongst them by lot: vpon their cymball they place a siluer tode, and sound the cymball, and to whomsoeuer of those lotted persons that tode goeth, he is taken, and by and by slaine: and immediately, I know not by what illusions of the deuill, or idole, he is againe restored to life, & then doth reueale and deliuer the causes of the present calamitie. And by this meanes knowing how to pacifie the idole, they are deliuered from the imminent danger.

Of the forme of their priuate houses, and of the apparell of the people.

THe common houses of the countrey are euery where built of beames of Firre tree: the lower beames doe so receiue the round holownesse of the vppermost, that by the meanes of the building thereupon, they resist, and expell all winds that blow, and where the timber is ioined together, there they stop the chinks with mosse. The forme & fashion of their houses in al places is foure square, with streit and narrow windowes, whereby with a transparent casement made or couered with skinne like to parchment, they receiue the light. The roofes of their houses are made of boordes couered without with ye barke of trees: within their houses they haue benches or

grieses

griezes hard by their wals, which commonly they ſleepe vpon, for the common people knowe not the vſe of beds: they haue ſtooues wherein in the morning they make a fire, and the ſame fire doth either moderately warme, or make very hote the whole houſe.

The apparell of the people for the moſt part is made of wooll, their caps are picked like vnto a rike or diamond, broad beneath, and sharpe vpward. In the maner of making whereof, there is a ſigne and repreſentation of nobilitie: for the loftier or higher their caps are, the greater is their birth ſuppoſed to be, and the greater reuerence is giuen them by the common people.

The Concluſion to Queene *Marie*.

THeſe are the things moſt excellent Queene, which your Subiects newly returned from Ruſſia haue brought home concerning the ſtate of that countrey: wherefore if your maieſtie ſhall be fauourable, and grant a continuance of the trauell, there is no doubt but that the honour and renowme of your name will be ſpred amongſt theſe nations, whereunto three onely noble perſonages from the verie creation haue had acceſſe, to whom no man hath bene comparable.

The copie of the Duke of Moſcouie and Emperour of *Ruſſia* his letters, ſent to King *Edward* the ſixt, by the hands of *Richard Chancelour*.

THe Almighty power of God, and the incomprehenſible holy Trinitie, right full Chriſtian beliefe, &c. We great Duke Iuan Vaſiliuich, by the grace of God great lord and Emperor of all Ruſſia, great Duke of Volodemer, Moſco, and Nouograd, King of Kazan, King of Aſtracan, lord of Plesko, and great duke of Smolensko, of Twerria, Ioughoria, Permia, Vadska, Bulghoria, and others, lord and great duke of Nouograd in the Low countrey, of Chernigo, Rezan, Polotskoy, Rottoue, Yaruſlaueley, Bealozera, Liefland, Oudoria, Obdoria, and Condenſa, Commander of all Siberia, and of the North parts, and lord of many other countries, greeting. Before all, right great and worthy of honour Edward King of England &c. according to our moſt hearty and good zeale, with good intent and friendly deſire, & according to our holy Chriſtian faith & great gouernance, & being in the light of great vnderſtanding, our anſwere by this our honourable writing vnto your kingly gouernance, at the requeſt of your faithfull ſeruant Richard Chancelour, with his company, as they ſhall let you wiſely know, is this. In the ſtrength of the twentieth yeere of our gouernance, be it knowen, that at our ſea coaſtes arriued a ſhippe, wherein Richard, and his companie, and ſayd, that hee was deſirous to come into our dominions, and according to his requeſt, hath ſeene our Maieſtie, and ‖ our eyes: and hath declared vnto vs your Maieſties deſire, as that we ſhould grant vnto your ſubiects, to goe and come, and in our dominions, and among our ſubiects, to frequene free Marts, and all ſortes of marchandizes, and vpon the ſame to haue wares for their returne. And they haue alſo deliuered vs your letters, which declare the ſame requeſt. And hereupon we haue giuen order, that whereſoeuer your faithful ſeruant Hugh Willoughbie land or touch in our dominions, to be wel entertained, who as yet is not arriued, as your ſeruant Richard can declare.

Iuan Vaſſiliuich, that is to ſay, Iohn the ſonne of Baſilius.

‖ That is, come into our preſence.

And we with Chriſtian beliefe and faithfulnes, and according to your honourable requeſt, and by honourable commandement will not leaue it vndone: and are furthermore willing that you ſend vnto vs your ſhips and veſſels, when and as often as they may haue paſſage, with good aſſurance on our part to ſee them harmeleſſe. And if you ſend one of your maieſties counſel to treate with vs whereby your countrey marchants may with all kinds of wares, and where they will make their market in our dominions, they ſhall haue their free Marte with all free liberties throughout my whole dominions with all kinde of wares to come and goe at their pleaſure, without any let, damage or impediment, according to this our letter, our word and our ſeale which we haue commaunded to be vnder ſealed. Written in our dominion, in our citie and our palace in the caſtle of Moſco, in the yeare 7060, the ſecond moneth of February.

This letter was written in the Moſcouian tongue, in letters much like to the Greeke letters, very faire written in paper, with a broad ſeale hanging at the ſame, ſealed in paper vpon waxe. This ſeale was much like ye broad ſeale of England, hauing on the one ſide the image of a man on horſeback in complete harneſſe fighting with a dragon. Vnder this letter was another paper written in the Dutch tongue, which was the interpretation of the other written in the Moſcouian letters. Theſe letters were ſent the next yere after the date of king Edwards letters, 1554.

The coines, weights and measures vsed in *Russia*, written by Iohn Hasse, in the yere, 1554.

FOrasmuch as it is most necessary for al marchants which seeke to haue traffique in any strange regions, first to acquaint themselues with the coines of those lands with which they do intend to ioyne in traffique, and how they are called from the valuation of the highest piece to the lowest, and in what sort they make their payments, as also what their common weights and measures be: for these causes I haue thought good to write some thing thereof according to mine owne knowledge and experience, to the end that the marchants of that new aduenture may the better vnderstand how the wealth of that new frequented trade will arise.

No coines of gold in Russia, but all of siluer

First, it is to be noted that the Emperour of Russia hath no other coines then siluer in all his land, which goeth for paiment amongst marchants, yet notwithstanding there is a coine of copper, which serueth for the releefe of the poore in Mosco, & no where els, and that is but only for quasse, water and fruit, as nuts, apples, and such other like. The name of which money is called Pole or Poles, of which Poles there goe to the least of the siluer coines, 18. But I will not stand vpon this, because it is no currant money among merchants.

Of siluer coines there be three sortes of pieces: the least is a Poledenga, the second a Denga, the third, Nowgrote, which is as much to say in English as halfe penie, penie, and twopence, and for other valued money then this, there is none: there are oftentimes there coines of gold, but they come out of forrein countreys, whereof there is no ordinarie valuation, but they passe according to the agreement of marchants.

Their order in summing of money is this: as we say in England, halfpenie, penie, shilling and pound, so say they Poledenga, Denga, Altine and Rubble: There goeth two Poledengas to a Denga, fifty Dengaes to an Altine, and 23 Altines, and two Dengaes to a Rubble.

The weights in Russia,

Concerning the weights of Russia they are these: There are two sorts of pounds in vse amongst them, the one great, & other small: the great pound is iust two small pounds: they call the great weight by the name of Beasemar, and the smal they call the Skalla weight: with this smal weight they weigh their siluer coines, of the which the Emperor hath commanded to put to euery small pound three Rubbles of siluer, and with the same weight they weigh all Grocerie wares, and almost al other wares which come into the land, except those which they weigh by the Pode, as hony, salt, iron, lead, tinne & batrie with diuers others, notwithstanding they vse to weigh batrie many often by the small weight then by the great.

When soeuer you find the prices of your wares rated by the Pode, consider that to be the great weight, and the pound to be the small. Also they diuide the small pound into 48 parts, and they call the eight and fortieth part a Slotnike, by the which Slotnike the retailers sell their wares out of their shops, as Goldsmiths, Grocers, Silkesellers and such other like as we doe vse to retaile by the ounce: and as for their great weight which they cal the Beasemar, they sel by pode, or shippond. The pode doth containe of the great weight, 40 pounds, and of the smal 80: there goe 10 podes to a shippond.

Yet you must consider that their great weight is not full with ours: for I take not their great pound to be full 13 ounces, but aboue 12 I thinke it be. But for your iust proofe, weigh 6 Rubbles of Russia money with our pound weight, and then shal you see what it lacketh of 6 Rubbles of Russia is by the Emperors standerd, the great pound: so that I thinke it the best way to know the iust weight, as well of the great pound as of the small.

The weight of Wardhouse.

There is another weight needfull to be known, which is the weight of Wardhouse, for so much as they weigh all their dry fish by weight, which weight is the Beasemar, as they of Russia doe vse, notwithstanding there is another sorte in it: the names of those weights are these: the marke pound, the great pound, the weie, and the shippond. The marke pound is to be vnderstood as our pound, and their great pound is 24 of their marke pound: the weie is 3 great pound, and 8 weie is a shippound.

The Russia measures.

Now concerning their measures. As they haue two sortes of weights, so they haue also two sortes of measures: wherewith they measure cloth both linnen and wollen: they cal the one an Arethine, and the other a Locut: the Arethine I take to bee as much as the Flanders ell, and their Locut halfe an English yard: with their Arethine they may mete all such sorts of clothes as come into the land, and with the Locut all such cloth both linnen and wollen, as they make themselues. And whereas we vse to giue yard and inch, or yard and handfull, they do giue nothing but bare measure.

The

They haue also a measure wherewith they doe mete their corne, which they cal a Setforth, and the halfe of that an Osmine: this Setforth I take take to bee three bushels of London measure. And for their drie measure, they call it a Spanne, which is much like a bucket, and of that I neuer sew any true rate, but that some was greater then other some. And as for the measures of Wardhouse wherewith they mete their cloth, there is no difference betweene that and the measure of Danske, which is halfe an English ell.

The measure of Wardhouse in cloth, to the measure of Danske.

Touching the tolles & customs of Russia, it was reported to me in Moscouia, that the Turkes and Armenians pay the tenth penie custome of all the wares they bring into the Emperors land, and aboue that they pay for all such goods as they weigh at the Emperours beame, two pence of the Rubble, which y buyer or seller must make report to of the Maister of the beame: they also pay a certaine house toll, which is in diuers places of his Realme foure pence of a horse.

The Turkes and Armenians pay custome.

The Dutch nation are free of this: notwithstanding for certaine offences, they had lost their priuileges which they haue recouered this Summer to their great charge. It was reported to me by a Iudice of that countrey, that they paied for it thirtie thousand Rubbles, and also that Rye, Dorpe and Reuel haue perhaps themselues vnder the gouernment of the Emperour of Russia: whether this was a bragge of the Russes or not, I know not, but thus he sayd, and in deed whiles we were there, there came a great Ambassadour out of Liefland, for the assurance of their priuileges.

The Emperors beame.

The Dutch nation lost their priuileges, & renued them with a great summe.

To speake somewhat of the commodities of this countrey, it is to be vnderstood, that there is a certaine place foure score miles from the Sea called Colmogro: to which place there resorte all the sortes of Wares that are in the North parts, as Oyles, Salt, Stockfish, Salmon, Feathers and Furres, their Salt they make of saltwater by the sea side: their Oyles they make of Seales, whereof they haue great store which is brought out of the Bay where our shippes came in: they make it in the Spring of the yeere, and bring it to Colmogro to sell, and the merchants there carie it to Nouogrode, and so sell it to the Dutch nation. Their Stockefish and Salmon commeth from a place called Mallums, not farre from Wardhouse: their Salmon and their Salt they cartie to Mosco, and their oyle fishe they carrie to Nouogrode, and sell it there to the Liefianders.

The commodities of Russia.

The Furres and Fethers which come to Colmogro, as Sables, Beauers, Minkes, Armine, Lettis, Graies, Woolueringes, and white Fores, with Deere skinnes, they are brought thither, by the men of Penninge, Lampas, and Powstezer, which fetch them from the Samoedes that are counted sauage people: and the merchants that bring these Furres doe vse to trucke with the merchants of Colmogro for Cloth, Tinne, Barre, & such other like, and the merchants of Colmogro carie them to Nouogrode, Vologda, or Mosco, & sell them there. The Fethers which come from Penning they doe little esteeme.

If our merchants do desire to know the meetest place of Russia for the landing house, in mine opinion I take it to be Vologda, which is a great towne standing in the heart of Russia, with many great and good townes about it. There is great plentie of corne, victuals, and of all such wares as are tailed in Rusland, but specially, flaxe, hempe, tallow and bacon: there is also great store of ware, but it commeth from the Mosko.

The towne of Vologda is meetest for our marchants, because it lieth amongest all the best townes of Russia, and there is no towne in Russia but craues with it: also the water is a great commoditie to it. If they plant themselues in Mosco or Nouogrode, their charge will be great and wonderfull, but not so in Vologda: for all things will there be had better cheape by the one half. And for their home, I know no place so meet. It is likely that some will thinke y Mosko to be the meetest by the reason of the court, but by that reason I take it to be worse: for the charge there would be so great by crauers and expenses, that the moitie of the profite would bee wholly consumed, which in the other place will bee saued. And yet notwithstanding our marchants may bee there in the Winter to serue the Emperour and his court. The Emperour is a great marchant himselfe of ware and sables, which with good forsight may bee procured to their hands: as for other commodities there are litle or none in Moscouia, besides those aboue rehearsed: if there bee other, it is brought thither by the Turkes, who will be daintie to buy our clothes considering the charges of cariage ouer land.

Vologda and the flaxe thereof.

The Emperor of Moscouie is a marchant himselfe.

Our marchants may doe well to prouide for the Russes such wares as the Dutch nation doeth serue them of, as Flanders and Holland clothes, which I beleeue, they shal serue better and with lesse charge then they of Rye or Dorpe, or Reuel: for it is no smal aduenture to bring their clothes out of Flanders to either of these places, and their charge not litle to cary them ouer lande to Nouogrode, which is from Rye nine hundred Russian miles.

This Nouogrode is a place wel furniſhed with flaxe, Waxe, Hides, tallow and many other things: the beſt flaxe in Ruſſia is brought thither and there ſold by the hundred bundles, which is done alſo at Vologda, and they that bring the flaxe to Nouogrode, dwell as neere Vologda, as Nouogrode, and when they heare of the vtterance which they may haue with our nation, they will as willingly come to them as goe to other.

Two ſorts of flaxe.

They haue in Ruſſia two ſorts of flaxe, the one is called great flaxe, and the other ſmall: that which they call great flaxe is better by foure rubbles in 100. bundels then the ſmall: It is much longer then the other, and cleaner without wood: and whereas of the ſmall flaxe there goe 27. or 28 bundles to a Shippound, there goeth not of the greater ſort aboue 22. or 24 at the moſt. There are many other trifles in Ruſſia, as ſope, mats, &c. but I thinke there will bee no great account made of them.

The letters of king *Philip* and Queene *Marie* to *Iuan Vaſiliuich* the Emperour of *Ruſsia* written the firſt of April 1555 and in the ſecond voyage.

PHilip and Marie by the grace of God, King and Queene of England, France, Naples, Ieruſalem, and Ireland, defenders of the faith, Princes of Spaine and Sicilie, Archdoukes of Auſtrich, Dukes of Burgundie, Millaine, and Brabant, Counties of Haſpurge, Flanders, and Tiroll: To the right high, right Mightie, and right excellent Prince, garniſhed with all gifts of nature, by Gods grace Iohn Vaſiliuich Emperour of all Ruſſia, great Duke of Volodemer, Moſco, and Nouogrod, King of Cazan, King of Aſtracan, Lord of Pleſco, and great Duke of Smolensko, of Tueria, Iughoria, Permia, Vadska, Bulghoria, and others, Lorde and great Duke of Nouogrod of the lowe Countrey, of Chernigo, Rezan, Polotſkoy, Roſtoue, Yeraſlaue, Bealozera, Liefland, Oudoria, Obdoria, and Condenſa, Commander of all Siberia, and of the North partes, and lord of many other countreys, greeting. Whereas by the conſent and licence of our moſt deare and entirely beloued late brother, King Edward the ſixt, whoſe ſoule God pardon, ſundrie of our ſubiects marchants of the citie of London within this our realme of England did at their owne proper coſts and aduenture furniſh three ſhippes to diſcouer, ſerch, and find lands, Illands, regions, and territories before this aduenture not known, nor commonly haunted and frequented by ſeas. The one of the which three ſhippes, named the Edward Bonauenture, (whereof our right welbeloued Richard Chancelour was then gouernour and great Captaine) chanced by the grace of God, and the good conduct of the ſayd Chancelour to arriue and winter in the North part of your Empire of Ruſſia. Foraſmuch as we be credibly informed by the report of our truſtie and welbeloued ſubiect, that your Maieſtie did not only call him and certaine of his company to your emperiall preſence and ſpeech, entertayned and banqueted them with all humanitie and gentlenes: but alſo being thereunto requeſted partly by the letters of our ſaid brother, & partly by requeſt of the ſayd Richard Chancelour, haue by your letters patents vnder your ſeale among other things granted: That all ſuch marchants as ſhall come forth of anie of our realms of England or Ireland with al maner of wares, if they will traud or occupie within your dominions, The ſame marchants with their marchandiſes in al your lordſhip may freely, & at their libertie trauaile out and in without hinderance or any maner of loſſe: And of your farther ample goodneſſe haue promiſed that our ambaſſadours, if wee ſend any, ſhall with free good will paſſe to and from you without any hinderance or loſſe, with ſuch meſſage as ſhall come vnto you, and to returne the ſame to our kingdomes well anſwered, as by the ſame your letters, written in your lordly Palace and Caſtle of Moſco in the yeere 7063 the moneth of Februarie more at large appeareth. Like as wee cannot but much commend your princely fauour and goodneſſe, and in like manner thanke you for the aboundant grace extended to the ſayd Richard Chancelour, and others our ſubiects marchants: Euen ſo theſe are to pray and requeſt you to continue the ſame benewolence toward them, and other our marchants and ſubiects, which hee or hereafter ſhall reſorte to your countrey: And for the more aſſurance and incouragement to trade and exercile the feate of marchandiſe with your ſubiects and all other marchants within your dominions, that it may pleaſe you at this our contemplation to aſſigne and authoriſe ſuch Commiſſaries as you ſhall thinke meete to trade and conferre with our welbeloued ſubiects and marchants, the ſayd Richard Chancelour, George Killingworth, & Richard Graie, bearers of theſe our letters: who are by vs authoriſed for

for that purpose: and to confirme and graunt such other liberties and priuileges vnto the Gouernour, Consuls, Assistants, and Communaltie of the Fellowship of the saide Marchants, as the said bearers in their name propone and require by you to be granted for their safe conduct, good gouernment, and order to bee erected and continued among them in your saide dominions: And this with such your clemencie and expedition, as wee, vpon the next arriuall of the saide Richard Chancelour may bee enformed of your gracious disposition and answere. Which your benevolences so to bee extended, wee bee minded to requite towards any your subiects Marchants, that shal frequent this our realme at your contemplation therefore to be made. Thus right high, right Excellent, and right mightie, Almightie God the Father, the Sonne and the holy Ghost haue you in his blessed keeping. Giuen vnder our seale at our Palace of Westminster, the first of April, in the yere from the blessed incarnation of our Sauiour Iesus Christ, 1555. and in the first and second yeeres of our reignes.

Articles conceiued and determined for the Commission of the *Marchants of this company resiant in Russia, and at the VVarhouse, for* the second voyage, 1555. the first of May, as followeth.

FIrst, the Gouernour, Consuls, Assistants and whole company assembled this day in open court, committeth and authorizeth Richard Gray and George Killingworth, iointly and seuerally to be Agents, Factors, and Attornies generall and speciall, for the whole body of this companie, to buy, sel, trucke, change and permute al, and euery kind and kindes of wares, marchandizes and goods to the said company appertaining, now laden & shipped in the good ship called the Edward Bonauenture, appointed for Russia, the same to vtter and sell to the best commoditie, profit and aduantage of the said corporation, be it for ready money, wares & marchandises, or truck, presently, or for time, as occasion & benefit of the company shal require: and all such wares as they or either of them shal buy, trucke, or prouide, or cause to be bought for the company to lade thē homeward in good order and condition, as by prudent course of marchandises, shall, and ought to appertaine, which article extendeth also to Iohn Brooke for the Warehouse, as in the 17. and 18. articles of this commission appeareth.

2 Item, it is also committed, as aboue, to the said Agents, to binde & charge the said company by debt for wares vpon credit, as good opportunitie and occasion shal serue, with power to charge and bind the said company, and their successors, for the paiments of such things as shalbe taken vp for credit, and the said Agents to be relieued ab opere satis dandi.

3 Item full authoritie and power is committed to the said first named factors, together with Richard Chancelor grand Pilot of this fleete, to repaire to the Emperors court, there to present the king and Queenes Maiesties letters, written in Greeke, Polish, and Italian, and to giue and exhibite the marchants presents at such time and place as shalbe thought most expedient, they, or one of them to demand, and humbly desire of the Emperour such further grants and priuiledges to be made to this companie, as may be beneficiall for the same, to continue in traffike with his subiects, according to such instructions as bee in this behalfe deuised and deliuered to the Agents whereunto relation is to be had, and some one of these persons to attend vpon the court for the obtaining of the same, as to their discretions shalbe thought good.

4 Item, that all the saide Agents doe well consider, ponder and weigh such articles as bee deliuered to them to know the natures, dispositions, lawes, customes, maners and behauiours of the people of the countries where they shal traffike, as well of the Nobilitie as of the Lawyers, Marchants, Mariners and common people, and to note diligently the subtilties of their bargaining, buying and selling, making as few we debtes as possible may bee, and to bee circumspect, that no lawe neither of religion nor politique bee broken or transgressed by them or any minister vnder them, nor yet by any mariner or other person of our nation, and to foresee that all tolles, customes, and such other rites be so duely paid, that no forfeiture or confiscation may ensue to our goods either outward or inward, and that al things passe with quiet, without breach of the publike peace or common tranquillitie of any of the places where they shall arriue or traffique.

5 Item, that prouision bee made in Mosco or elsewhere, in one or mo good townes, where good trade shall be found for a house or houses for the Agents, and companie to inhabite and dwell at your accustomed diets, with warehouses, sellers, and other houses of offices requisite, and that none of the inferiour ministers of what place or vocation soeuer he be, doe lie out of the house of the Agents without licence to be giuen, and that euery inferiour officer shalbe obedient to the orders

ders, rules and gouernments of the ſaid Agents, and in caſe any diſobient perſon ſhall be found among any of them, then ſuch perſon to be puniſhed for his miſbehauiour, at the diſcretion of the ſaid Agents, or of one of them in the abſence of the other.

6 Item, if any perſon of the ſaid miniſters ſhall be of ſuch pride or obſtinacie, that after one or two honeſt admonitions, hee will not bee reformed nor reconciled from his faultes, then the ſaide Agents to diſplace euery ſuch perſon from the place or roume to him heere committed, and ſome other diſcreete perſon to occupie the ſame, as to the ſaide Agents by their diſcretions ſhal ſeeme meete.

7 Item, if any perſon ſhall bee found ſo arrogant, that he will not be ordered nor reformed by the ſaid Agents or by one of them in the abſence of the other, then the ſayde perſon to bee deliuered to the Iuſtice of the countrey, to receiue ſuch puniſhment, as the lawes of the countrey doe require.

8 Item, that the ſaide Agents and factours ſhall daily one houre in the morning conferre and conſult together what ſhall bee moſt conuenient and beneficiall for the companie, and ſuch orders as they ſhall determine, to bee written by the Secretarie of the companie in a booke to bee prouided for that purpoſe, and no inferiour perſon to infringe or breake any ſuch order or deuiſe, but to obſerue the ſame exactly, vpon ſuch reaſonable paine as the Agents ſhall put him to by diſcretion.

9 Item, that the ſaid Agents ſhall in the ende of euerie weeke, or oftener as occaſion ſhall require, peruſe, ſee and trie, not onely the Caſhers, bookes, reckonings and accounts, firming the ſame with their handes, but alſo ſhall receiue and take weekly the account of euery other officer, as well of the Vendes, as of the empteouis, and alſo of the ſtate of the houſhold expenſes, making thereof a perfect declaration as ſhall appertaine, the ſame accounts alſo to bee firmed by the ſaide Agents handes.

10 Item, that no inferiour miniſter ſhall take vpon him to make any bargaine or ſale of any wares, marchandiſes or goods, but by the Commiſſion and Warrantiſe of the ſayde Agents vnder their handes, and hee not to tranſgreſſe his Commiſſion by any way, pretenſe or colour.

11 Item, that euery inferiour miniſter, that is to vnderſtand, all Clerks and yong merchants being at the order of the ſaide Agents, ſhall ride, goe, ſaile and trauaile to all ſuch place, and places, as they or bee ſhall be appointed vnto by the ſaide Agents, and effectually to follow and do all that which to him or them ſhall be committed, well and truely to the moſt benefite of the company, according to the charge to him or them committed, euen as by their othes, dueties and bondes of their maſters they be bounden and charged to doe.

12 Item, that at euery moneths end, all accounts and reckonings ſhalbe brought into perfect order, into the Ledger or memoriall, and the decrees, orders, and rules of the Agents together with the priuileges, and copies of letters, map and ſhall be well and truely written by the ſecretarie, in ſuch forme as ſhalbe appointed for it, and that copies of all their doings may be ſent home with the ſaid ſhip at her returne.

13 Item, that all the Agents doe diligently learne and obſerue all kinde of wares, as well naturals as forrein, that be beneficiall for this Realme, to be ſold for the benefit of the company, and what kinde of our commodities and other things of theſe Weſt partes bee moſt vendible in thoſe Realmes with profite, giuing a perfect aduiſe of all ſuch things requiſite.

14 Item, if the Emperour will enter into bargain with you for the whole maſſe of your ſtock, and will haue the trade of it to vtter to his owne ſubiects, then debating the matter prudently among your ſelues, ſet ſuch high prices of your commodities, as you may aſſure your ſelues to be gainers in your owne wares, and yet to buy theirs at ſuch baſe prices, as you may here alſo make a commoditie and gaine at home, hauing in your mindes the notable charges that the companie haue diſtrayed in aduancing this voyage: and the great charges that they ſuſtaine dayly in wages, victuals and other things: all which muſt bee requited by the wiſe handling of this voyage, which being the firſt preſident ſhalbe a perpetual preſident for euer: and therefore all circumſpections to be vſed, and to reſeene in this firſt enterpriſe, which God bleſſe and proſper vnder you, to his glorie, and the publike wealth of this Realme, whereof the Queenes Maieſtie, and the Lords of the Councell haue conceiued great hope, whoſe expectations are not to be fruſtrated.

Note.

15 Item, it is to be had in minde, that you vſe all wayes and meanes poſſible to learne howe men may paſſe from Ruſſia, either by land or by ſea to Cathaia, and what may be heard of out other ſhips, and to what knowledge you may come, by conferring with the learned or well trauailed perſons, either naturall or forrein, ſuch as haue trauailed from the North to the South.

Inquirie for the way to Cathaya.

16 Item, it is committed to the ſaid Agents, that if they ſhall be certified credibly, that any of

of our saw first ships be arriued in any place whereunto passage is to be had by water or by land, that then certaine of the company at the discretion of the Agents shall bee appointed to be sent to them, to learne their estate & condition, to visite, refresh, relieue, and furnish them with all necessaries and requisites, at the common charges of the companie, and to imbrace, accept, and intreat them as our deare and welbeloued brethren of this our societie, to their reioycing and comfort, aduertising Syr Hugh Willoughbie and others of our carefulnes of them and their long absence, with our desire to heare of them, with all other things done in their ablence for their commoditie, as if elle then if they had bene present.

17 Item, it is decreed, that when the ships shall arriue at this going foorth at the Wardhouse, that their Agents, with master Chancelor grand pilot, Iohn Brooke merchant, deputed for the Wardhouse, with Iohn Buckland master of the Edward, Iohn Howlet master, and Iohn Robins pilot of the Philip and Marie, shall conferre and consult together, what is most profitable to be done therfore for the benefit of the company, & to consider whether they may bargaine with the captaine of the castle, and the inhabitants in that place, or alongst the coast for a large quantity of fish, drie or wet, killed by the naturals, or to be taken by our men at a price reasonable for trucke of cloth, meale, salt, or beere, and what traine oyle, or other commodity is to be had there at this time, or any other season of the yeere, and whether there will be had or found sufficient lading for both the sayd shippes, to be bought there, and how they may conferre with the naturals for a continuance in hanting the place, if profit wil so arise to the company, and to consider whether the Edward in her returne may receiue at the Wardhouse any kind of lading homeward, and what it may amount vnto, and whether it shall be expedient for the Philip to abide at the Wardhouse the returne of the Edward out of Russia, or getting that she may returne with the first good wind to England, without abiding for the Edward, and so to conclude & accord certainely among themselues vpon their arriuall, that the certaintie may (vpon good deliberation) be so ordered and determined betweene both ships, that the one may be assured of the other, and their determinations to be put in writing duplicate to remaine with ech ship, according to such order as shall be taken betweene them. The Philip and Mary.

18 Item, that Iohn Brooke our marchant for the Wardhouse take good aduise of the rest of our Agents, how to vse himselfe in al affaires, whiles the ship shalbe at the Wardhouse, he to see good order to be kept, make bargains aduisedly, not crediting the people vntill their natures, dispositions & fidelities shal be well tried, make no debts, but to take ware for ware in hand, and rather be trusted then to trust. Note diligently what be the best wares for those parts, and howe the fishe falleth on the coast, and by what meane it is to bee bought at the most aduantage, what kindes and diuersities of sortes in fishes be, and whether it will keepe better in bulke piled, or in caske. Note. Note.

19 Item, he to haue a diligent eye & circumspection to the beere, salt, and other liquid wares, and not to suffer any waste to be made by the companie, and he in all contracts to require aduise, counsel, and consent of the master and pilot, the marchant to be our housewife, as our speciall trust is in him, he to tender that no lawes nor customes of the countrey be broken by any of the company, and to render to the prince, and other officers, all that which to them doth appertaine, the company to be quiet, voide of all quarrelling, fighting, or veration, abstaine from all excesse of drinke ought to apperteine, as much as may bee, and in all to vse and behaue themselues as to quiet marchants doeth, and

20 Item, it is decreed by the companie, that the Edward shall returne home this yeere with as much wares as may be conueniently & profitably prouided, bought, and laden in Russia, and the rest to be taken in at the Wardhouse, as by the Agents shall be accorded. But by all meanes it is to be foreseene and noted, that the Edward returne home, and not to winter in any forrein place, but to come home, and bring with her all the whole aduertisements of the marchants, with such further aduise for the next yeeres prouision, as they shall giue.

21 Item, it is further decreed and ordeined, inuiolably to be obserued, that when the good ships, or either of them (by Gods grace) shall returne home to the coastes of England, that neither of them shall stay or touch in any hauen or Port of England, otherwise then wind and weather shall serue, but shall directly saile and come to the Port of the citie of London, the place of their right discharge, and that no bulke be broken, hatches opened, chest, fardell, trusse, barrel, fat, or whatsoeuer thing it shall be, be brought out of the shippe, vntill the companie shall giue order for the same, and appoint such persons of the companie as shall be thought meet for that purpose, to take view, and consider the shippe and her lading, and shall giue order for the breaking vp of the saide bulke, or giue licence by discretion, for things to be brought to land. And that euery officer shall shew the inuoise of his charge to him first committed, and to examine the wastes and

losses,

losses, and to deliuer the remainder to the vse and benefit of the company, according to such order as shall be appointed in that behalfe.

Note. 22 Item, the company exhorteth, willeth, and requireth, not onely all the said Agents, pilots, masters, marchants, clerkes, boatswaines, stewards, shakemasters, and all other officers and ministers of this present voyage, being put in charge and trust dayly to peruse, reade, and studie such instructions as be made, giuen, & deliuered to them for perfect knowledge of the people of Russia, Moscouia, Wardhouse, and other places, their dispositions, maners customes, vses, tolles, carriages, coines, weights, numbers, measures, wares, merchandises, commodities, and incommodities, the one to be accepted and imbraced, the other to be reiected and vtterly abandoned, to the intent that euery man taking charge, may be so well taught, perfited, and readily instructed in all the premisses, that by ignorance, no losse or preiudice may grow or chance to the company: assuring themselues, that forasmuch as the company hath trauelled and laboured so in these their instructions to them giuen, that euery man may bee perfect, and fully learned to eschew all losses, hurts and damages that may insue by pretense or colour of none knowledge, the company entendeth not to allow, or accept ignorance for any lawfull or iust cause of excuse, in that which shall be misordered by negligence, the burden whereof shall light vpon the negligent offending person, especially vpon such as of their owne heads, or temeritie, will take vpon him or them to doe or to attempt any thing, whereby preiudice may arise, without the commission of the Agents as aboue is mentioned, whereunto relation must be had.

23 Forasmuch as it is not possible to write and indite such prescribed orders, rules and commissions to the Agents and factours, but that occasion, time and place, and the pleasures of the princes, together with the operation or successe of fortune shall change or shift the same, although not in the whole, yet in part, therefore the said company doe commit to you their deare and intire beloued Agents and factors to doe in this behalfe for the commodity and wealth of this company, as by your discretions, vpon good aduised deliberations shalbe thought good and beneficiall. Prouided alwayes, that the honour, good name, fame, credite, and estimation of the same companie be conserued and preserued: which to confirme we beseech the liuing Lord to his glory, the publike benefite of this realme, our common profits, and your praises.

Finally for the seruice, and due accomplishment of all the premisses, euery Agent and minister of and for this voyage, hath not onely giuen a corporall othe vpon the Euangelists to obserue, and cause to be obserued, this commission, and euery part, clause and sentence of the same, as much as in him lyeth, as well for his owne part as for any other person, but also haue bounde themselues and their friendes to the companie in seuerall summes of money, expressed in the actes and records of this societie, for the erection and fidelities of them, for the better, and also manifester testification of the trueth, and of their othes, promises, and bands aforesaid, they haue to this Commission subscribed particularly their seuerall hands, and the company also in confirmation of the same, haue set their seale. Yeuen the day, moneth, and yeeres first aboue mentioned.

The othe ministred to the seruants of the fellowship.

YE sweare by the holy contents of that booke, that ye shal wel, faithfully and truely, and vprightly, and with all your indeuour, serue this right worshipfull company in that order, which by this fellowships Agent or Agents in the dominions of the Emperours of Russia, &c. shall bee vnto you committed, by commission, commandement, or other his direction. And that you shall bee obedient and faithfull to the same our Agent or Agents, and that well, and truely and vprightly according to the commission, charge, commandement, or other direction of the said Agent or Agents to you from time to time giuen and to be giuen, you shall prosecute and doe all that which in you lieth, for the good renowme, commoditie, benefite and profite of the said fellowship: and you shall not directly or indirectly, openly or couertly doe, exercise or vse any trade or feate of marchandizes for your owne priuate account, commodity, gaine or profite, or for the account of or for any other person or persons, without consent or licence of this said fellowship, first obtained in writing. And if you shall know or vnderstand any other person or persons to vse, exercise or doe any trade, traffike or feat of marchandise, to or for his or their own account or accounts, at any time or times hereafter, that then ye shall truely and plainly disclose, open, vtter and reueale, and shew the same vnto this said fellowship, without fraude, colour, couin or delay: So helpe you God, &c.

The

The letter of M. George Killingworth the companies first Agent in Moscouie, touching their interteinement in their second voyage. Anno 1555. the 27. of Nouember in Mosco.

RIght worshipfull, my duetie considered, &c. It may please your worship to vnderstand, that at the making hereof we all be in good health, thanks be to God, saue one Ip William our cooke as we came from Colmogro fell into the riuer out of the boate, and was drowned. And the 12. day of September wee came to Vologda, and there we laide all our wares vp, and sold very little: but one marchant would haue giuen vs 12. robles for a broad cloth, & he said he would haue had them all. and 4. altines for a pound of sugar, but we did refuse it because he was the first, and the marchanes were not come thither, nor would not come before Nouember, trusting to haue more: but I feare it will not be much better. Yet notwithstanding we did for the best. And the house that our wares lie in costs from that day until Easter ten robles. And the 28. day of September we did determine with our selues that it was good for M. Gray, Arthur Edwards, Thomas Hautoy, Christopher Hudson, John Segewicke, Richard Johnson, and Richard Iudde, to tarie at Vologda, and M. Chancelor, Henry Lane, Edward Prise, Robert Best and I should goe to Mosco. And we did lade the Emperours sluger, with part of all sorts of wares to haue had to the Mosco with vs, but the way was so deepe, that we were faine to turne back, and leaue it till at Vologda till the frost. And we went forth with poste horse, & the charge of euery horse being fiue ten in number, comes to 10. s. 7. d. halfe penie, besides the guides. And wee came to the Mosco the 4. day of October, and were lodged that night in a simple house: but the next day we were sent for to the Emperour his secretarie, and he bade vs welcome with a cheerefull countenance and cheerefull words, and wee shewed him that we had a letter from our Queenes grace and cheerefull grace, and then he desired to see them all, and that they might remain with him, to haue them perfect, that the true meaning might be declared to the Emperour, and so we did: and then we were appointed to a better house: and the seuenth day the secretary sent for vs againe, & then he shewed vs that we should haue a better house, for it was the Emperour his will, that we should haue all things that we did lacke, and did send vs meade of two sorts, and two hens, our house free, and euery two dayes to receiue eight hens, seuen altines, and two pence in money, and meade a certaine, and a poore fellow to make cleane our house, & to doe that whereunto we would set him. And we had giuen many rewards before, which you shal perceiue by other, and so we gaue the messengers a reward with thanks: and the ninth day we were sent to make vs readie to speak with the Emperour on the morow. And the letters were sent vs, that wee might deliuer them our selues, we came before him the tenth day: and before we came to his presence we went thorow a great chamber, where stood many small tunnes, pailes, bowles and pots of siluer, I meane, like washing bowles, all parsel gilt: and within that another chamber, wherein sate (I thinke) neere a hundred in cloth of gold, and then into the chamber where his grace sate, & there I thinke were more then in the other chamber also in cloth of gold, and we did our duety, & shewed his grace our Queenes graces letters, with a note of your present which was left in Vologda: and then his grace did aske how our Queenes grace did, calling her cousin, saying that hee was glad that wee were come in health into his Realme, and we went one by one vnto him, and cooke him by the hand, and then his grace did bid vs goe in health, and come to dinner againe, and we dined in his presence, and were serued with our faces towards his grace, & none in the chamber sate with their backes towards him, saue I thinke neere a hundred at dinner then, and all serued with golde, as platters, chargers, standing still on the cupboord, not moued: and diuers times in the [illegible] came his grace sent vs meat and drinke from his owne table, and when we had dined we [illegible] vp to his grace, and receiued a cuppe with drinke at his owne hand, and the same night his grace sent certaine gentlemen vnto vs with diuers sorts of wine and meade, to whome wee gaue a reward. And afterwarde we were by diuers Italians counselled to take heed whom we did trust to make the copie of the priuileges that we would desire to haue, for feare it should not be written in the Russe tongue, as we did meane. So first a Russian did write for vs a priuiledge: but we did not be written in the Russe tongue, as we did desire a stronger priuiledge: when the Secretary saw it, he did deliuer it to his grace, and when we came againe, his grace willed vs to write our minds, and hee would see it, and so we did. And his grace is so troubled with preparations to warres, that as yet we haue had no answere: but I haue byn required of his Secretary, and of the vnder Chancelor, to know what wares we had brought

Queene Maries letters to the Emperour of Russia.

The Italians counsell to our people.

brought into the Realme, and what wares we doe intend to haue, that are, or may bee had in the Realme: and we shewed them, and they shewed the Emperor thereof. And then they said his graces pleasure was, that his best marchants of the Mosco should be spoken to, to meet and talke with vs. And so a day was appointed, and wee mette in the Secretaries his office, and there was the vnder Chancelor, who was not past two yeeres since the Emperors marchant, and not his Chancelour: and then the conclusion of our talke was, that the Chancelour willed vs to bethinke vs, where we would desire to haue a house or houses, that wee might come to them as to our owne house, and for marchandize to be made preparation for vs, and they would know our prises of our wares and fell: and we answered, that for our prices they must see the wares before we could make any price thereof, for the like in goodnesse hath not bene brought into the Realme, and we did looke for an example of all sorts of our wares to come from Vologda, with the first fleeting, and then they should see them, and then we would shew them the prices of them: and likewise we could not tell them what we would giue them iustly, till we did knowe as well their iust weights

The diuersities of weights & measures in Russia.

as their measures: for in all places where we did come, al weights and measures did vary. Then the Secretary (who had made promise vnto vs before) saide, that we should haue all the iust measures vnder seale, & he that was found faulty in the contrary, to buy or sel with any other measure then that, the law was, that he should be punished: he said moreouer, that if it so happē that any of our marchants do promise by couenāt at any time to deliuer you any certain sum of wares in such a place, and of such like goodnesse, at such a day, for such a certaine price, that then because of variance, we should cause it to be writtē, according as the bargain is, before a iustice or the next ruler of the place: if he did not keepe couenant & promise in all points, according to his couenant, that then looke what losse or hinderance we could iustly proue that we haue therby, he should make it good: be he worth so much: and in like case we must do to them: and to that we did agree, saue onely if we were to come ouer the sea, then if any such fortune should bee (as God forbid) that the ship should mischance or be robbed, & the proofe to be made that such kind of wares were laden, the Englishmarchants to beare no losse to the other marchant. Then the Chancelor said, me thinks you shall do best to haue your house at Colmogro, which is but 100. miles frō the right discharge of the ships, and yet I trust the ships shal come neerer hereafter, because the ships may not tary long for their lading, which is 1000. miles from Vologda by water, and all our marchants shall bring all their

Colmogro.

marchandize to Colmogro to you, and so shall our marchants neither go empty nor come empty: for if they lacke lading homeward, there is salt, which is good ware here, that they may come laden againe. So we were very glad to heare that, and did agree to his saying: for we shal neuertheless, if we list, haue a house at Vologda, & at the Mosco, yea, & at Nouogrode, or where we will in Russland: But the three & twentieth of this present we were with the secretary, and then among other talke, we moued, that if we should tary at Colmogro with our wares, and should not come to Vologda, or further to seeke our market, but tary still at Colmogro, and then the marchants of the Mosco and others should not come and bring their wares, and so the ships should come, and not haue their lading ready, that then it were a great losse and hinderance for vs: then saide he againe to vs, that the marchants had beene againe together with him, and had put the like doubt, that if they should come and bring their wares to Colmogro, and that they should not find men there sufficient to serue them, that then they should be at great losse and hinderance, they leaue their other trades to fal to that: and to that we did answere, that after the time that we do agree with them to bring their wares to Colmogro, God willing, they should neuer come thither, but at the beginning of the yere, they should find that our marchants would haue at the least for a time sand robles, although the ships were not come: so that he saide, that then wee must talke further with the marchants: so that as yet I know not, but that we shall haue neede of one house at Colmogro, and another at Vologda, and if that they bring not their wares to Colmogro, then we

Vologda.

shalbe sure to buy some at Vologda, and to be out of bondage.

And thus may we continue three or foure yeeres, and in this space we shall know the countrey and the marchants, and which way to saue our selues best, and where to plant our houses, and where to seeke for wares: for the Mosco is not best for any kind of wares for vs to buy, saue waxe, which we cannot haue vnder seuen pence the Russe pound, and it lacketh two ounces of a pound, neither will it be much better cheape, for I haue bidden 6. pence for a pound. And I haue bought maze, fiue hundred weight of yarne, which stands mee in eight pence farthing the Russe pound one with another. And if wee had receiued any store of money, and were dispatched by Christmas of that we tary for, as I doubt not but we shalbe shortly (you know what I meane) then as soone

Nouogrode.

as we haue made sale, I doe intend to goe to Nouogrode, and to Plesco, whence all the great number of the best toll flaxe commeth, and such wares as are there I trust to buy part. And this you not but we will do that may be done, if God send vs health, desiring you to prepare suits

one ship to be ready in the beginning of Aprill to depart off the coast of England.

Concerning all these things which we haue done in the wares, you shal receiue a perfect note by the next bearer (God willing) for he that carieth these from vs is a marchant of Terwill and is Ivan Mecallawich Weskawate, whom we take to be our very friend. And if it please you to send any letters to Danciske to Robert Elson, or to William Watsons seruant Dunstan Walton to be conueyed to vs, it may please you to inclose ours in a letter sent from you to him, written in Polish, Dutch, Latine or Italian: so inclosed, comming to the Mosco to his hands, he will conuey our letters to vs where soeuer we be. And I haue written to Danciske already to them for the conueyance of letters from thence. The Russian Secretary his name.

And to certifie you of the weather here, men say that these hundred yeres was neuer so warme weather in this countrey at this time of the yeere. But as yesternight wee receiued a letter from Christopher Hudson from a citie called Yeraslaue, who is comming hither with certaine of our wares, but the winter did receiue him, so that he was faine to tarie by the way: and he wrote that the Emperours present was deliuered to a gentleman at Vologda, and the sled did ouerthrow, and the butte of Hollocke was lost, which made vs all very sorry.

I pray you be not offended with these my rude letters for lacke of time: but all done as soone as may be, I will finde the meanes to conuey you a letter with speed: for the way is made so doubtful, that the right messenger is so much in doubt, that he would not haue any letters of any effect sent by any man, if he might, for he knowes not of these: and to say the truth, the way is not for him to trauell in. But I will make another shift before, which I trust shall serue the turne till he come, if sales be made before he be readie, which is and shall be as pleaseth God: who euer preserue your worship, and send vs good sales. Written in haste.

By yours to commaund
GEORGE KILLINGVVORTH
Draper.

A copie of the first Priuileges graunted by the Emperour of *Russia* to the English Marchants in the yeere 1555.

IOhn Vasiliuich, by the grace of God Emperor of Russia, great duke of Nouogrode, Moscouia, &c. To all people that shal see, reade, heare or vnderstand these presents, greeting. Forasmuch as God hath planted al realmes and dominions in the whole world with sundry cõmodities, so as the one hath neede of the amity and commodities of the other, and by meanes therof traffike is led from one to another, and amity thereby increased: and for that as amongst men nothing is more to be desired then amity, without the which no creature being of a naturall good disposition can liue in quietnes, so that it is as troublesome to be vtterly wanting, as it is perceiued to be grieuous to the body to lacke aire, fire, or any other necessaries most requisite for the conseruation and maintenance thereof in health: considering also how needfull marchandize is, which furnisheth men of all that which is conuenient for their liuing and nouriture, for their clothing, trimming, the satisfying of their delights, and all other things conuenient and profitable for them, and that marchandize bringeth the same commodities from diuers quarters in so great abundance, as by meanes thereof nothing is lacking in any part, and that all things be in euery place (where entercourse of marchandizes is receiued and imbraced) generally in such sort, as amity thereby is entred into, and planted to continue, and the inioyers thereof be as men liuing in a golden world: Vpon these respects and other weighty and good considerations, hereunto moouing, and chiefly vpon the contemplation of the gratious letters, directed from the right high, right excellent, and right mighty Queene Mary, by the grace of God Queene of England, France, &c. in the fauour of her subiects, merchants, the gouernour, consuls, assistants, and communaltie of merchants aduenturers for discouery of lands, &c.

Know ye therefore, that we of our grace speciall, meere motion, and certaine knowledge, haue seen and graunted, and by these presents for vs, our heires and successours, do giue and grant as much as in vs is and lieth, vnto Sebastian Cabota Gouernour, Sir George Barnes knight, &c. consuls: Sir Iohn Gresham, &c. Assistants, and to the communaltie of the aforenamed fellowship, and to their successours for euer, and to the successours of euerie of them, these articles,

graunts, immunities, fraunchises, liberties and priuileges, and euery of them hereafter following, expressed and declared. Videlicet:

1 First, we for vs, our heires and successors, do by these presents giue and graunt free licence, faculties, authority and power vnto the said Gouernour, Consuls, Assistants, and communalty of the said fellowship, and to their successors for euer, that all and singular the marchants of the same company, their Agents, factours, doers of their businesse, atturneys, seruants, and ministers, and euery of them may at all times hereafter for euer more surely, freely and safely with their shippes, merchandizes, goods and things whatsoeuer saile, come and enter into all and singular our lands, countreis, dominions, cities, townes, villages, castles, portes, iurisdictions and destraicts by sea, land or fresh waters, and there tary, abide and soiourne, and buy, sell, barter and change all kinde of merchandizes with al maner of marchants and people, of whatsoeuer nation, rite, condition, state or degrees they be, and with the same or other ships, wares, marchandizes, goods & things whatsoeuer they be, vnto other empires, kingdomes, dukedomes, parts, and to any other place or places at their pleasure and liberty by sea, land or fresh waters may depart, and exercise all kinde of merchandizes in our empire and dominions, and euery part thereof freely and quietly without any restraint, impeachment, price, exaction, prest, straight custome, toll, imposition, or subsidie to be demanded, tared or paid, or at any time hereafter to be demãded, tared, set, leuied or inferred vpon them or any of them, or vpon their goods, ships, wares, marchandizes and things, of, for or vpon any part or parcell thereof, or vpon the goods, ships, wares, merchandizes, and things of any of them, so that they shall not need any other safe conduct or licence generall, ne speciall of vs, our heires or successours, neither shall be bound to aske any safe conduct or licence in any of the aforesaid places subiect vnto vs.

2 Item, we giue and graunt to the said marchants this power and liberty, that they, ne any of them, ne their goods, wares, marchandizes or things, ne any part thereof, shal be by any meanes within our dominions, landes, countreyes, castles, townes, villages, or other place or places of our iurisdiction, at any time heereafter attached, staied, arrested ne disturbed for anie debt, duetie or other thing, for the which they be not principall debters or sureties, ne also for any offence or trespasse committed, or that shall be committed, but onely for such as they or any of them shall actually commit, and the same offences (if any such happen,) shall bee by vs onely heard, and determined.

3 Item, we giue and graunt, that the said Marchants shal and may haue free libertie, power, and authoritie to name, choose and assigne brokers, shippers, packers, weighers, measurers, wagoners, and all other meet and necessary labourers for to serue them in their feat of marchandise, and minister and giue vnto them and euery of them a corporall othe, to serue them well and truely in their offices, and finding them or any of them doing contrary to his or their othe, may punish and dismisse them, and from time to time choose, sweare and admit other in their place or places, without contradiction, let, veration or disturbance, either of vs, our heires or successors, or of any other our Iustices, officers, ministers or subiects whatsoeuer.

4 Item, we giue and graunt vnto the saide Marchants and their successours, that such person as is, or shalbe commended vnto vs, our heires or successors by the Gouernour, Consuls and assistants of the said fellowship resiant within the citie of London within the realme of England, to be their chiefe Factor within this our empire and dominions, may and shal haue ful power and authoritie to gouerne and rule all Englishmen that haue had, or shall haue accesse, or repaire or to this said Empire and iurisdictions, or any part thereof, and shal and may minister vnto them and euery of them good iustice in all their causes, plaints, quarrels, and disorders betweene them moued, and to be moued, and assemble, deliberate, consule, conclude, define, determine and make such actes, and ordinances, as he so commended with his Assistants shall thinke good and meet for the good order, gouernment and rule of the said Marchants, and all other Englishmen repairing to this our saide empire and dominions, or any part thereof, and to set and leuie vpon all, and euery Englishmen, offender or offenders, of such their acts and ordinances made, and to be made, penalties and mulcts by fine or imprisonment.

5 Item, if it happen that any of the saide Marchants, or other Englishman, as one or more doe rebell against such chiefe Factor or Factors, or his or their deputies, and will not dispose him or themselues to obey them and euery of them as shall appertaine, if the saide Rebels or disobedients doe come, and bee founde in our saide Empire and iurisdictions, or any part or place thereof, then wee promise and graunt, that all and euery our officers, ministers, and subiects shall effectually ayde and assist the saide chiefe Factour or Factours, and their deputies and for their power shall really woorke, to bring such rebell or disobedient rebels, or disobedients to due obedience: And to that intent shall lende vnto the same Factour or Factours, and their depute

deputies vpon request therefore to be made, prisons, and instruments for punishments from time to time.

6 Item, we promise vnto the saide Marchants, and their successours vpon their request to exhibite and doe vnto them good, exact and fauourable iustice, with expedition in all their causes, and that when they or any of them shall haue accesse, or come to or before any of our Iustices, for any their plaints mooued, and to bee mooued betweene any our subiects or other stranger, and them, or any of them, that then they shalbe first and forthwith heard, as soon as the party which they shall find before our Iustices shalbe depeached, which party being heard forthwith, and assoone as may be, the said English marchants shall be ridde and dispatched: And if any action shall be moued by or against any of the said Marchants being absent out of our saide empire and dominions, then such Marchants may substitute an Atturney in all and singular his causes to be followed as need shall require, and as shall seeme to him expedient.

7 Item, wee graunt and promise to the saide Marchants, and to their successours, that if the same Marchants or any of them shall bee wounded, or (which God forbid) slaine in any part or place of our Empire or dominions, then good information thereof giuen, Wee and our Iustices and other officers shall execute due correction and punishment without delay, according to the exigence of the case: so that it shall bee an example to all other not to commit the like. And if it shall chaunce the factors, seruants, or ministers of the saide Marchants or any of them to trespasse or offende, whereby they or any of them shall incurre the danger of death or punishment, the goods, wares, marchandizes, and things of their Maisters shall not thereforre bee forfaited, confiscated, spoiled ne seised by any meanes by vs, our heires or successours, or by any our officers, ministers or subiects, but shall remaine to their vse, franke, free, and discharged from all punishment and losse.

8 Item, we graunt that if any of the English nation be arrested for any debt, he shal not be laid in prison, so farre as he can put in sufficient suretie and pawne: neither shall any sergeant, or officers, or their deputies shalbe sureties, or lying in pawne for such arrested: then the officers shal release the partie, and shall set him or them at libertie.

9 Moreouer, wee giue, graunt and promise to the saide Marchants, that if any of their ships or other vessels shall bee spoyled, robbed, or damnified in sayling, anchoring or returning to or from our saide Empires and Dominions, or any part thereof, by any Pirats, Marchants, or other person, whatsoeuer hee or they bee, that then and in such case wee will doe all that in vs is to cause restitution, reparation, and satisfaction to bee duely made to the saide English marchants by our letters and otherwise, as shall stand with our honour, and be conformant to equitie and iustice.

10 Item, for vs, our heires and successours, wee doe promise and graunt to performe, maintaine, corroborate, autenticate, and obserue all and singular the aforesaide liberties, franchises, and priuileges, like as presently we firmely doe intend, and will corroborate, autenticke and perfourme the same by all meane and way that we can, as much as may be to the commoditie and profite of the said English Marchants, and their successours for euer.

And to the intent that all and singuler the saide giftes, graunts and promises, may bee inuiolably obserued and performed, we the said Iohn Vasiliuich by the grace of God Emperor of Russia, and Duke of Nouogrode, Mosco, &c. for vs, our heires and successors, by our Imperiall and princely word in stead of an othe, haue and doe promise by these presents, inuiolably to maintayne and obserue, and cause to be inuiolably obserued and maintained all and singuler the aforesayde liberties, graunts and promises from time to time, and at all and euery time and times hereafter. And for the more corroboration hereof haue caused our Signet hereunto to be put: Dated in our Castle of Mosco the 20. day of in the yeere.

The Charter of the Marchants of *Russia*, graunted vpon the discouerie of the saide Countrey, by King *Philip* and Queene *Marie*.

PHilip and Marie, by the grace of God King and Queene, &c. To all manner of officers, true Iurie men, ministers and subiects, and to all other people as well within this our Realme or elsewhere vnder our obeysance, iurisdiction, and rule, or otherwise vnto whome these our letters shall bee shewed, seene, or read, greeting.

Whereas wee be credibly informed, that our right trustie, right faithfull,

and welbeloued Counſailors, William Marques of Winchester Lord high Treaſurer of this our Realme of England, Henrie Earle of Arundel Lord Steward of our houſholde, Iohn Earle of Bedford Lord keeper of our priuie Seale, William Earle of Pembroke, William Lord Howard of Effingham Lorde high Admirall of our ſaide Realme of England, &c. Haue at their owne aduenture, coſts and charges, prouided, rigged, and tackled certaine ſhips, pinneſſes, and other meete veſſels, and the ſame furniſhed with all things neceſſary haue aduanced and ſet forward, for to diſcouer, deſcrie, and finde Iles, landes, territories, Dominions, and Seigniories vnknowen, and by our ſubiects before this not commonly by ſea frequented, which by the ſufferance and grace of Almightie God, it ſhall chaunce them ſailing Northwards, Northeaſtwards, and Northweſtwards, or any partes thereof, in that race or courſe which other Chriſtian Princes (being with vs in league and amitie) haue not heeretofore by Seas trafficqued, haunted, or frequented, to finde and attaine by their ſaid aduenture, as well for the glorie of God, as for the illuſtrating of our honour and dignitie royall, in the increaſe of the reuenues of our Crowne, and generall wealth of this and other our Realmes and Dominions, and of our ſubiects of the ſame: And to this intent our ſubiects aboue ſpecified and named, haue moſt humbly beſeeched vs, that our abundant grace, fauour and clemencie may be gratiouſly extended vnto them in this behalfe. Whereupon wee inclined to the petition of the foreſaide our Counſailours, ſubiects and marchants, and willing to animate, aduance, further and nouriſh them in their ſaid godlie, honeſt, and good purpoſe, and, as we hope, profitable aduenture, and that they may the more willingly, and readily atchieue the ſame, Of our eſpeciall grace, certaine knowledge and meere motion, haue graunted, and by theſe preſents doe graunt, for vs, our heires and ſucceſſours, vnto our ſaid right truſtie, and right faithfull, and right welbeloued Counſailours, and the other before named perſons, that they by the name of marchants aduenturers of England, for the diſcouery of landes, territories, Iles, Dominions, and Seigniories vnknowen, and not before that late aduenture or enterpriſe by ſea or Nauigation, commonly frequented as aforeſaid, ſhalbe from henceforth one bodie and perpetuall fellowſhip and communaltie of themſelues, both in deede and in name, and them, by the names of Marchants aduenturers for the diſcouerie of landes, territories, Iles & Seigniories vnknowen, and not by the ſeas, and Nauigations, before their ſaide late aduenture or enterpriſe by ſea or Nauigation commonly frequented, We doe incorporate, name, and declare by theſe preſents, and that the ſame fellowſhip or communalty from henceforth ſhalbe, and may haue one Gouernour of the ſaide fellowſhip, and communaltie of Marchants aduenturers.

The diſcouerie principally intended for Gods glorie.

And in conſideration that one Sebaſtian Cabota hath bin the chiefeſt ſetter forth of this iourney or voyage, therefore we make, ordeine, and conſtitute him the ſaid Sebaſtian to be the firſt and preſent gouernour of the ſame fellowſhip and communaltie, by theſe preſents. To haue and enioy the ſaid office of Gouernour, to him the ſaid Sebaſtian Cabota during his naturall life, without anoying or diminiſhing from the ſame roome.

Sebaſtian Cabota firſt gouernour of the Myſcouie companie.

And furthermore, we graunt vnto the ſame fellowſhip and communaltie and their ſucceſſors, that they the ſaide fellowſhip and communaltie, and their ſucceſſors after the deceaſe of the ſaid Sebaſtian Cabota, ſhall, and may freely and lawfully in places conuenient and honeſt, aſſemble themſelues together, or ſo many of them as will or can aſſemble together, as well within our Citie of London, or elſewhere, as it ſhall pleaſe them, in ſuch ſort and maner, as other worſhipfull corporations of our ſaide citie haue vſed to aſſemble, and there yeerely name, elect and chooſe one Gouernour or two, of themſelues, and their liberties, and alſo as well yeerely during the naturall life of the ſaid Sebaſtian Cabota now Gouernour, as alſo at the election of ſuch ſaide Gouernour or gouernours before his deceaſe, to chooſe, name and appoint eight and twenty of the moſt diſcreete, and honeſt perſons of the ſaide fellowſhip, and communaltie of Marchant aduenturers as is aboue ſpecified, and 4. of the moſt expert and skilfull perſons of the ſame 28. to be named and called Conſuls, and 24. of the reſidue, to be named and called Aſſiſtants to the ſaide Gouernour or gouernours, and Conſuls for the time being, which ſhal remaine and ſtand in their authorities for one whole yeere then next following. And if it ſhall fortune the ſaide Gouernour, Conſuls, or aſſiſtants, or any of them ſo to be elected, and choſen as is aforeſaid, to die within the yeere next after his or their election, that then and ſo often, it ſhall and may be lawfull to and for the ſaid fellowſhip, and communalty, to elect and chooſe of themſelues other Gouernour or gouernours, Conſuls and aſſiſtants, in the place and ſtead of ſuch as ſo ſhall happen to die, to ſerue out the reſt of the yeere.

Sir George Barnes, William Garret, Anthony Huſie, Iohn Suthcot, the firſt 4. Conſuls.

And further we do make, ordeine, and conſtitute George Barnes knight and Alderman of the Citie of London, William Garret Alderman of our ſaide Citie, Athonie Huſie, and Iohn Suthcot, to be the firſt and preſent 4. Conſuls of the ſaid fellowſhip and communalty by theſe preſents to haue and enioy the ſaid offices of Conſuls to them the ſaid George Barnes, William Garret,

Anthon

Anthony Huſie, & Iohn Suthcot, for terme of one whole yere next after ỳ date of theſe our letters patents: And we doe likewiſe make, ordeine and conſtitute Sir Iohn Greſham knight, Sir Andrew Iudde knight, Sir Thomas White knight, Sir Iohn Yorke knight, Thomas Offley the elder, Thomas Lodge, Henry Herdſon, Iohn Hopkins, William Watſon, Will. Clifton, Richard Pointer, Richard Chamberlaine, William Mallorie, Thomas Pallie the elder, William Allen, Henry Becher, Geffrey Walkenden, Richard Fowles, Rowland Heyward, George Eaton, Iohn Elliot, Iohn Sparke, Blaſe Sanders, & Miles Mording, to be the firſt and preſent 24. Aſſiſtants to the ſaide Gouernour or gouernours, and Conſuls, and to the ſaid fellowſhip and communaltie by theſe preſents, to haue and enioy the ſaid offices of aſſiſtants to them for terme of one whole yere, next after the date of theſe our letters patents. And further, we for vs, our heires and ſucceſſors, as much as in vs is, will & graunt by theſe preſents vnto the ſaide Gouernour, Conſuls, aſſiſtans, fellowſhip & company of Marchants aduenturers aforeſaid, & to their ſucceſſors, that the ſaid gouernour or gouernours, 4. Conſuls, & aſſiſtants, that now by theſe patents are nominated and appointed, or that hereafter by the ſaide fellowſhip & communaltie of marchants aduenturers, or the more part of them, which ſhalbe then preſent, ſo from time to time to be choſen, ſo that there be 15. at the leaſt wholy agreed therof, the ſaid Gouernour or gouernors, or one of them, and 2. of the ſaid Conſuls ſhalbe there, and 12. of the reſidue of the ſaid number of 15. ſhall be of the ſaide aſſiſtants, and in the abſence of ſuch Gouernour, that then 3. of the ſaid Conſuls, and 12. of the ſaide aſſiſtants at the leaſt for the time being ſhal & may haue, vſe and exerciſe ful power and authority to rule and gouerne all and ſinguler the Marchants of the ſaid fellowſhip and communaltie, and to execute and doe full and ſpeedie iuſtice to them, and euery of them, in all their cauſes, differences, variances, controuerſies, quarrels, and complaints, within any our realmes, dominions & iuriſdictions onely moued, and to be moued touching their marchandiſe, traffikes, and occupiers aforeſaid, or the good order or rule of them or any of them.

Alſo wee for vs, our heires and ſucceſſours, ſo much as in vs is, doe likewiſe by theſe preſents graunt, that the ſaid Gouernour, Conſuls, aſſiſtants, fellowſhip and communaltie, and their ſucceſſors ſhall and may haue perpetuall ſucceſſion, and a common Seale which ſhall perpetually ſerue for the affaires and buſineſſe of the ſaide fellowſhip and communaltie. And that they and their ſucceſſours, ſhall and may bee for euer able perſons, and capar in the lawe, for to purchaſe and poſſeſſe in fee and perpetuitie, and for terme of life or liues, or for terme of yeeres or otherwiſe, lands, tenements, rents, reuerſions, and other poſſeſſions, and hereditaments whatſoeuer they bee, by the name of the Gouernour, Conſuls, aſſiſtants, fellowſhip and communaltie of the Marchants aduenturers by Seas and Nauigations for the diſcouerie of landes, territories, Iles, Dominions, and Seigniories vnknowen, and before the ſaide laſt aduenture or enterpriſe by ſeas not frequented, as before is ſpecified, and by the ſame names ſhall and may lawfully alien, graunt, let and ſet the ſame or any part thereof to any perſon or perſons able in the lawe to take and receiue the ſame. So that they doe not graunt nor alien the ſame, or any part thereof into mortmaine, without ſpeciall licence of vs, our heires or ſucceſſours, firſt had and obtained.

Alſo wee for vs, our heires and ſucceſſours haue graunted, and by theſe preſents doe graunt vnto the ſaide Gouernours, Conſuls, aſſiſtants, fellowſhip and communaltie of the ſaide Marchants and to their ſucceſſours, that they and their ſucceſſours, ſhall and may lawfully purchaſe vnto them and their ſucceſſors for euer, landes, tenements and hereditaments whatſoeuer, of the cleare yeerely value of threeſcore ſixe pounds, thirteene ſhillings & foure pence of lawful money of England and not aboue, as well of ſuch lands, tenements and hereditaments, as bee holden or ſhall be holden of vs, our heires or ſucceſſours, as of any other perſon or perſons, the ſtatutes prouided againſt alienations into mortmaine, or any of them, or any other lawe, cuſtome, ſtatute or prouiſion to the contrary in any wiſe notwithſtanding. And that they by the name of the Gouernour, Conſuls, aſſiſtants, fellowſhip and communaltie of Marchants aduenturers, for the diſcouerie of lands territories, Iles, dominions and Seigniories vnknowen by the Seas and Nauigations, and not before the ſaid late aduenture or enterpriſe by ſeas frequented as aforeſaid, ſhall and may be able in the lawe to implead, and be impleaded, to anſwere, and to be anſwered, to defende, and to be defended before whatſoeuer Iudge or Iuſtice, temporall or ſpirituall, or other perſons whatſoeuer, in whatſoeuer court, courts, and in all actions perſonall, reall, and mixt, and in euery of them, and in all plaints of nodel diſſeiſon, and alſo in all plaints, ſuites, quarels, affaires, buſineſſes and demaunds whatſoeuer they bee, touching and concerning the ſaide fellowſhip and communaltie, and the affaires and buſineſſe of the ſame onely, in as ample manner and forme, as any other corporation of this our realme may doe.

Moreouer, wee for vs, our heires and successours, haue giuen and graunted, and by these presents doe giue and graunt vnto the said Gouernour, Consuls, assistants, fellowshippe, and communaltie of Marchants aduenturers aforesaide, and to their successours, that the saide Gouernour, or Gouernours, Consuls and assistants, and their successors, in maner, forme, and number aforesaid rehearsed, shall haue full power and authoritie from time to time hereafter, to make, ordein, establish and erect all such statutes, actes and ordinances, for the gouernement, good condition, and laudable rule of the saide fellowship and communaltie of Marchants aduenturers aforesaid, as to them shall bee thought good, meete, conuenient and necessarie, and also to admit vnto the saide Corporation and fellowship to be free of the same, such and as many persons, as to them shal bee thought good, meete, conuenient and necessarie. And that euery such person or persons, as shall fortune hereafter to bee admitted into the saide fellowshippe, communaltie and corporation, shal from the time of his or their admittance, be free of the same. And also wee will, and by these presents graunt for vs, our heires and successours, vnto the saide Gouernours, Consuls, assistants, fellowship, communaltie of Marchants aduenturers aforesaid, and to their successours, that the Gouernour, or gouernors, Consuls and assistants of the same, in maner, forme, and number aforesaid rehearsed, and their successours for the time being, shall, and may haue full power and authoritie by these presents from time to time, as to them shal seeme good, to limite, set, ordeine and make, mulcts, and penalties by fines, forfeitures, & imprisonments, or any of them vpon any offender of the saide fellowship and communaltie, for any offence touching the same fellowship and communaltie, and also that all acts and ordinances by them or their successours to bee made, which time shall thinke not necessarie or preiudiciall to the saide fellowship or communaltie, at all times to reuoke, breake, frustrate, annihilate, repeale and dissolue at their pleasure and liberty. And further, wee will, that if any of the saide fellowship and communaltie shalbe found contrarious, rebellious, or disobedient to the saide Gouernour or gouernors, Consuls, and the said assistants for the time being, or to any statutes, acts or ordinances by them made or to be made, that then the saide Gouernour or gouernors, Consuls, and the saide assistants, in maner, forme, and number aboue specified, for the time being, shall and may by vertue of these presents, mulct, and punish euery such offender or offenders, as the quality of the offence requireth, according to their good discretions.

And further, we will that none of the saide offender or offenders shall decline from the power of the saide Gouernour, or gouernours, Consuls and assistants, in maner, forme, and number aboue saide for the time being: so alwayes, that the saide actes, statutes and ordinances, doe only touch and concerne the saide Gouernour or gouernors, Consuls, assistants, and the saide fellowship and communaltie of our before named Marchants aduenturers, or the men of the same fellowship and communaltie, and none other; And so alwayes, that such their acts, statutes and ordinances bee not against our prerogatiue, lawes, statutes, and customes of our realmes and Dominions, nor contrary to the seuerall duetie of any our subiects towards vs, our heires and successours, nor contrarie to any compacts, treaties or leagues, by vs or any our progenitours heretofore had or made, or hereafter by vs, our heires and successours to bee made, to or with any forreine Prince or potentate, nor also to the preiudice of the corporation of the Maior, communalties and Citizens of our Citie of London, nor to the preiudice of any person or persons, bodie politique, or corporate, or incorporate, iustly pretending, clayming, or hauing any liberties, franchises, priuiledges, rights or preheminences, by vertue or pretext of any graunt, gift, or Letters patents, by vs, or any our Progenitours, heeretofore giuen, granted, or made.

Moreouer, we for vs, our heires, and successours, will, and by these presents, doe graunt vnto the said Gouernors, Consuls, assistants, fellowship and communaltie of our Marchants aforesaid, that their said Gouernour or gouernours, Consuls and assistants, and their successors for the time being, in maner, forme and number aboue rehearsed, shal haue full power and authority to assigne, constitute and ordaine one officer, or diuers officers as well within our aforesaide Citie of London, as also in any other place or places of this our Realme of England, or elsewhere within our dominions, which officer or officers, wee will to be named and called by the name of Sergeant or Sergeants to the fellowship or communalty of the said marchants, and that the said Sergeant or sergeents, shall and may haue full power and authoritie by these presents, to take, leuy and gather all maner fines, forfeitures, penalties and mulcts of euery person and persons, of the saide fellowship and communaltie conuict, and that shalbe conuicted, vpon or for breaking of any statutes, acts, ordinances, to bee made by the saide Gouernour or gouernours, Consuls and assistants for the time being.

And further, wee will and also graunt for vs, our heires and successours, that the saide office

or officers shall haue further power and authoritie for the default of payment, or for disobedience in this behalfe (if neede be) to set hands and arrest as well the bodie and bodies, as the goods and chattels of such offender, and offenders, & transgressers, in euery place and places not franchised. And if it shall fortune any such offender or offenders, their goods and chattels or any part thereof, to be in any citie, borough, towne incorporate, or other place franchised or priuiledged, where the said officer or officers may not lawfully intromit or intermeddle, that then the Maior, shiriffes, baylifes, and other head officers, or ministers, within euery such citie, borough, towne incorporate, or place or places franchised, vpon a precept to them, or any of them, to be directed from the gouernour or gouernours, Consuls and assistants of the said fellowship, in number and forme aforesaid, vnder the common seale of the said fellowship and communaltie for the time being, shall and may attach & arrest the body or bodies of such offender or offenders, as also take, and seise the goods and chattels of all and euery such offender or offenders, being within any such place or places franchised, and the same body and bodies, goods and chattels of all and euery such offender and offenders, being within any such place or places franchised, and euery part therof so attached and seazed, shall according to the tenor and purport of the said precept, returne, and deliuer vnto the said officer or officers of the aforesaid fellowship, and communaltie.

And further, we will and grant for vs, our heires and successours by these presents, that all, and euery such Maior, shiriffe, baylife, or other head officers or ministers of any citie, borough, towne incorporate, or other places franchised, shall not be impeached, molested, vexed or sued in any our court or courts, for executing or putting in execution of any of the said precept or precepts.

And furthermore, we of our ample and abundant grace, meere motion, & certaine knowledge, for vs, our heires, and successors, as much as in vs is, haue giuen and granted, and by these presents doe giue and grant vnto the said gouernour, Consuls, assistants, fellowship, and comminalty of Marchants aduenturers, and to their successors, and to the Factor and Factors, assigne and assignes of euery of them, full and free authoritie, libertie, faculte and licence, and power to saile to all portes, regions, dominions, territories, landes, Iles, Illands, and coastes of the sea, whersoeuer before their late aduenture or enterprise vnknowen, or by our Marchants and subiects by the seas not heretofore commonly frequented, vnder our banner, standerd, flags and enlignes, with their shippe, ships, barke, pinnelles, and all other vessels of whatsoeuer portage, bulke, quantitie or qualitie they may be, and with any Mariners, and men as they will leade with them in such shippe or shippes, or other vessels at their owne and proper costs and expences, for to traffique, discerne, discouer and finde, whatsoeuer Ile, Illands, countreis, regions, prouinces, creekes, armes of the sea, riuers & streames, as wel of Gentiles, as of any other Emperor, king, prince, gouernor or Lord whatsoeuer he or they shalbe, and in whatsoeuer part of the world they be situated, being before the said late aduenture or enterprise vnknowen, and by our Marchants and subiects not commonly frequented: and to enter and land in the same, without any maner of denying, paine, penaltie or forfeiture to be had or taken by anie our lawes, customes or statutes to our vse, or to the vse of our heires or successors for the same.

Mr Philip and Mary here by no diminution Pope Alexanders diuision.

And we haue also granted, and by these presents, for vs, our heires and successors, doe graunt vnto the said Gouernours, Consuls, assistants, fellowship and comminalty, and to their successours, and to their Factors and assignes, and to euery of them, licence for to reare, plant, erect, and fasten our banners, standards, flags, and Enlignes, in whatsoeuer citie, towne, village, castle, Ille, or maine lande, which shall be by them newly found, without any the penalties, forfeitures, or dangers aforesayde, and that the said fellowship and comminalty, and their successors, Factors & assignes and euery of them shall and may subdue, possesse and occupie, all maner cities, townes, Iles, and maine lands of infidelitie, which is or shall be by them, or any of them newly founde or descried, as our vassals and subiects, and for to acquire and get the Dominion, title, and iurisdiction of the same Cities, Townes, Castles, Villages, Iles, and maine landes, which shall bee by them, or any of them newly discouered or found vnto vs, our heires and successours for euer.

Conquest permitted.

And furthermore, whereas by the voyage of our subiects in this last ‖ yeere attempted by Nauigation, towards the discouerie and disclosure of vnknowen places, Realmes, Illandes, and Dominions by the seas not frequented, it hath pleased Almighty God to cause one of the three shippes by them set foorth for the voyage, and purpose aboue mentioned, named the Edward Bonauenture, to arriue, abide, and winter within the Empire and dominions of the high and mightie Prince our cousin and brother, Lord Iohn Basiliwich Emperour of all Russia, Volodomer, great duke of Moscouie, &c. Who, of his clemencie, for our loue and Princely presence, but also receiued and intertained them very graciously, and honourably,

Anno 1554.

granting

The Moſcouites priuiledges vnto the Engliſh.

granting vnto them by his letters addreſſed vnto vs, franke acceſſe into all his Seigniories and dominions, with licence freely to traffique in and out with all his Subiects in all kinde of Marchandiſe, with diuers other gracious priuiledges, liberties and immunities ſpecified in his ſayde letters vnder his Signet: Know yee therefore that wee of our further royall fauour and munificence, of our meere motion, certaine knowledge, and ſpeciall grace, for vs our heires and ſucceſſours, haue giuen and graunted, and by theſe preſents doe giue and grant vnto the ſame Gouernours, Conſuls, aſſiſtants, fellowſhip, and comunalty aboue named, and to their ſucceſſours, as much as in vs is, that all the mayne landes, Iſles, portes, hauens, creekes, and riuers of the ſaid mighty Emperour of all Ruſſia, and great duke of Moſco, &c. And all and ſinguler other lands, dominions, territories, Iſles, portes, hauens, creekes, riuers, armes of the ſea, of al and euery other Emperor, king, prince, ruler and gouernor, whatſoeuer he or they before the ſaid late aduenture or enterpriſe not knowen, or by our foreſayd marchants and ſubiects by the ſeas, not commonly frequented, nor by any part nor parcell thereof lying Northwards, Northeaſtwards, Northweſtwards, as is aforeſayd, by ſea ſhall not be viſited, frequented nor hanted by any our ſubiects, other then of the ſayd company and felowſhip, and their ſucceſſours without expreſſe licence, agreement and conſent of the Gouernour, Conſuls, and Aſſiſtants of the ſaid felowſhip and communaltie aboue named, or the more part of them, in manner and number aforeſayd, for the time being, vpon paine of forfeiture and loſſe, as well of the ſhippe and ſhippes, with the appurtenances, as alſo of all the goods, marchandiſes, and things whatſoeuer they be, of thoſe our ſubiects, not being of the ſayd felowſhip and communalty, which ſhall attempt or preſume to ſaile to any of thoſe places, which bee, or hereafter ſhall happen to bee found, and traffiken vnto: the one halfe of the ſame forfeiture to be to the vſe of vs, our heires and ſucceſſors, and the other halfe to be to the vſe of the ſayd fellowſhip and communaltie. And if it ſhall fortune any ſtranger or ſtrangers, for to attempt to hurt, hinder, or endamage the ſame marchants, their factors, deputies or aſſignes, or any of them in ſailing, going or returning at any time in the ſayd aduenture, or for to ſaile or trade to or from any thoſe places, landes or coaſtes, which by the ſayd marchants, their factors, deputies and aſſignes haue bene, or ſhall bee deſcried, diſcouered and found, or frequented, aſwell within the coaſtes and limites of gentility, as within the dominions and Seigniories of the ſayd mighty Emperour and Duke, and of all and euery other Emperour, King, Prince, Ruler and gouernour whatſoeuer he or they be, before the ſayd late aduenture or enterpriſe not knowen by any our ſaid marchants and ſubiects, by the ſeas not commonly frequented, and lying Northwards, Northweſtwards or Northeaſtwards as aforeſaid, then we will and grant, and by theſe preſents doe licence, and authoriſe for vs, our heires and ſucceſſors, the ſaid marchants, their factors, deputies, and aſſignes, and euery of them to doe their beſt in their defence, to reſiſt the ſame their enterpriſes and attempts. Willing therefore, and ſtraightly commanding and charging al and ſinguler our Officers, Maiors, Sherifes, Eſcheators, Conſtables, Bailifes, and all and ſinguler other our miniſters and liege men, and ſubiects whatſoeuer, to be aiding, fauouring, helping & aſſiſting vnto the ſayd gouernour or gouernours, Conſuls, aſſiſtants, fellowſhip and communalty, and to their ſucceſſors and deputies, factors, ſeruants, and aſſignes, and to the deputies, factors and aſſignes of euery of them, in executing and enioying the premiſes, as well on land as in the ſea, from time to time, and at all times when you or any of you ſhall be thereto required. In witneſſe whereof, &c.

The largeneſs of the priuiledge of the Moſcouite companie.

Anno 1555.

Apud Weſtmonaſterium, 6 die Feb. Annis regnorum noſtrorum, primo & ſecundo.

Certaine inſtructions deliuered in the third voyage, Anno 1556. for *Ruſſia*, to euery Purſer and the reſt of the ſeruants, taken for the voyage, which may ſerue as good and neceſſary directions, to all other like aduenturers.

1 FIrſt you ſhall before the ſhip doth begin to lade, goe aboord, and ſhall then take, and write one inuentorie, by the aduiſe of the Maſter, or of ſome other principall officer there aboord, of all the tackle, apparell, cables, ankers, ordinance, chambers, ſhot, powder, artillerie, and of all other neceſſaries whatſoeuer doth belong to the ſayd ſhip: and the ſame iuſtly taken, you ſhall write in a booke, making the ſayd Maſter, or ſuch officer priuie of that which you haue ſo written, ſo that the ſame may not be denied, when they ſhall call accompt thereof: that done, you ſhall write a copie of the ſame with your owne hand, which you ſhall deliuer before the ſhippe

ſhippe ſhall depart, for the voyage to the companies booke keeper here to be kept to their behalfe, to the ende that they may be iuſtly anſwered the ſame, when time ſhall require: and this order to be ſeene and kept euery voyage orderly, by the Purſers of the companies owne ſhip, in any wiſe.

2 Alſo when the ſhippe beginneth to lade, you ſhall be ready a boord with your booke, to enter ſuch goods as ſhall be brought aboord, to be laden for the company, packed, or vnpacked, taking the markes and numbers of euery packe, farvell, truſſe, or packet, corouopa, cheſt, facte, butte, pipe, puncheon, whole barrell, halfe barrell, firken, or other caſke, maunde, or baſket, or any other thing, which may, or ſhall be packed by any other manner of waies or deuiſe. And firſt, all ſuch packes, or truſſes, &c. as ſhal be brought aboord to be laden, not marked by the companies marke, you ſhall doe the beſt to let that the ſame be not laden, and to enquire diligently to know the owners thereof, if you can, and what commoditie the ſame is, that is ſo brought aboord to be laden: if you can not know the owners of ſuch goods, learne what you can thereof, as well making a note in your booke, as alſo to ſend or bring word thereof to the Agent, and to ſome one of the foure Marchants with him adioined ſo ſpeedily as you can, if it be here laden or to be laden in this riuer, being not marked with the companies marke, as is aforeſaid: and when the ſayd ſhippe hath receiued in all that the companies Agent will haue laden, you ſhal make a iuſt copie of that which is laden, reciting the parcels, the markes and numbers of euery thing plainely, which you ſhall likewiſe deliuer to the ſayd bookekeeper to the vſe aforeſayd.

3 Alſo when the ſhip is ready to depart, you ſhall come for your cockets and letters to the Agent, and ſhall ſhew him all ſuch letters as you haue receiued of any perſon or perſons priuately or openly, to be deliuered to any perſon or perſons in Ruſſia or elſewhere, and alſo to declare if you know any other that ſhall paſſe in the ſhip either maſter or mariner that hath receiued any letters to be priuily deliuered to any there, directed frō any perſon or perſons, other then from the Agent here to the Agent there: which letters ſo by you receiued, you ſhall not carie with you, without you be licenced ſo to doe by the Agent here, and ſome of the foure merchants, as is aforeſayd: and ſuch others as do paſſe, hauing receiued any priuie letters to be deliuered, you ſhal all that in you lieth, let the deliuerie of them at your arriuing in Ruſſia: and alſo if you haue or do receiue, or ſhal know any other that doth or hath receiued any goods or ready money to be imployed in Ruſſia, or to bee deliuered there to any perſon or perſons from any perſon or perſons, other then ſuch as bee the companies goods, and that vnder their marke, you ſhall before the ſhip doeth depart, declare the ſame truely to the ſayd Agent, and to ſome of the other merchants to him adioyned, as it is before declared.

4 Alſo when the ſhippe is ready to depart, and hath the maſter and the whole company aboord, you ſhall diligently foreſee and take heede, that there paſſe not any priuie perſon or perſons, other then ſuch as be authorized to paſſe in the ſaid ſhip, without the licence and warrant of one of the Gouernours and of the aſſiſtants, for the ſame his paſſage, to be firſt ſhewed. And if there be any ſuch perſon or perſons that is ſo paſſe and will paſſe without ſhewing the ſame warrant, you ſhall let the paſſage of any ſuch to the vttermoſt of your power: And for that there may no ſuch priuie perſon paſſe vnder the cloke and colour of ſome mariner, you ſhall vpon the weying of your ſhips anker, call the maſter and the mariners within boord by their names and that by your bookes, to the ende that you may ſee that you haue neither more nor leſſe, but iuſt the number for the voyage.

5 Alſo you muſt haue in remembrance, that if it ſhall chance the ſhippe to bee put into any harbour in this coaſt by contrary windes or otherwiſe in making the voyage, to ſend word thereof from time to time as the caſe ſhall require, by your letters in this maner. To maſter I.B. Agent for the company of the Newtrades in S. in London: If you doe hier any to bring your letters, write that whichbe muſt haue for the portage. And for your better knowledge and learning, you ſhall do very well to keepe a dayly note of the voyage both outwards and homewards.

6 And principally ſee that you forget not dayly in all the voiage both morning and euening, to call the company within boord to prayer, in which doing you ſhall preſe God, and the voiage will haue the better ſucceſſe thereby, and the company proſper the better.

7 Alſo in calme weather and at other times when you ſhall fortune to come to anker in the ſeas during the voyage, you ſhall for the companies profite, and for the good husbanding of the victuals aboord, call vpon the Boateſwaine and other of the company to vſe ſuch hookes and other engines as they haue aboord to take fiſh with, that ſuch fiſh ſo taken may bee eaten for the cauſe aforeſayd: and if there bee no ſuch engines aboord, then to prouide ſome before you goe from thence.

8 And when God ſhall ſend you in ſafetie into the Bay of S. Nicholas at an anker, you ſhall goe a ſhore with the firſt boate that ſhall depart from the ſhip, taking with you ſuch letters as you

haue

haue to deliuer to the Agent there: and if he be not there at your comming a land, then ſend the companies letters to Colmogro to him by ſome ſure mariner or otherwiſe, as the maſter and you ſhall thinke beſt, but goe not your ſelfe at any hand, nor yet from aboord the ſhip, vnleſſe it bee a ſhore to treate with the Agent for the lading of the ſhip that you be appointed in, which you ſhall applie diligently to haue done ſo ſpeedily as may be. And for the diſcharging of the goods therein in the Bay, to be carried from thence, ſee that you doe looke well to the vnlading thereof, that there be none other goods ſent a ſhore then the companies, and accoording to the notes entred in your booke as is aforeſaid: if there be, inquire diligently for whom they bee, and what goods they be, noting who is the receiuer of the ſayd goods, in ſuch ſort that the company may haue the true knowledge thereof at your comming home.

9 Alſo there a ſhore, and likewiſe aboord, you ſhall ſpie and ſearch as ſecretly as you may, to learne and know what bargaining, buying and ſelling there is with the maſter and the mariners of the ſhippe and the Ruſſes, or with the companies ſeruants there: and that which you ſhall perceiue and learne, you ſhall keepe a note thereof in your booke ſecretly to your ſelfe, which you ſhall open and diſcloſe at your comming home to the gouernours and aſſiſtants, in ſuch ſorte as the trueth of their ſecret trades and occuppings may be reuealed and knowen. You ſhal need alwayes to haue Argos eyes, to ſpie their ſecret packing and conueyance, aſwell on land as aboord the ſhippe, of and for ſuch furres and other commodities, as yeerely they doe vſe to buy, packe and conuey hither. If you will bee vigilant and ſecrete in this article, you cannot miſſe to ſpie their priuie packing one with another, either on ſhore or aboord the ſhippe: worke herein wiſely, and you ſhall deſerue great thanks of the whole company.

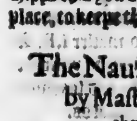
10 Alſo at the lading againe of the ſhippe, you ſhall continue and abide aboord, to the ende that you may note and write in your booke all ſuch goods and marchandiſes as ſhall be brought and laden, which you ſhall orderly note in all ſortes as heretofore, as in the ſecond article partly it is touched: and in any wiſe put the Maſter and the company in remembrance, to looke and foreſee ſubſtantially to the roomaging of the ſhippe, by faire meanes or threats, as you ſhall ſee occaſion thinke will ſerue for the beſt.

11 Thus when the ſhippe is full laden againe, and all things aboord in good order, and that you doe fortune to goe a ſhore to the Agent for your letters, and diſpatch away: you ſhall demand whether all the goods be laden that were brought thither, and to know the trueth thereof, you ſhal repaire to the companies ſtorehouſe there at S. Nicholas, to ſee if there be any goods left in the ſayd ſtorehouſe: if there be, you ſhal demand why they be not laden, and note what kinde of goods they be that be ſo left: and ſeeing any of the ſhippes there not fully laden, you ſhall put the Agent in remembrance to lade thoſe goods ſo left, if any ſuch be to be laden, as is aforeſayd. And then God ſending you a faire wind, to make ſpeede and away.

12 Finally, when God ſhall ſend you to arriue againe vpon this coaſt in ſafetie, either at Harwich, or elſe where, goe not you aland, if you may poſſiblie, to the ende that when you begone a ſhore, there may no goods be ſent priuily ahore to be ſolde, or elſe to be ſolde aboord the ſhip in your abſence, but keepe you ſtill aboord, if you can by any meanes, for the cauſes aforeſaid, and write the company a letter from the ſhippe of your good arriuall, which you may conuey to them by land by ſome boy or mariner of the ſhippe, or otherwiſe as you ſhall thinke beſt: and likewiſe when God ſhall ſend you and the ſhippe into the riuer here, doe not in any wiſe depart out of the ſhippe that you be in, vntil the company doe ſend ſome other aboord the ſhippe, in your ſtede and place, to keepe the ſhippe in your abſence.

The Nauigation and diſcouerie toward the riuer of *Ob*, made by Maſter *Steuen Burrough*, Maſter of the Pinneſſe called the Serchthrift, with diuers things worth the noting, paſſed in the yere 1556.

April 23. 27



Departed from Ratcliffe to Blackewall the 23 of April. Saturday being S. Markes day, we departed from Blackewall to Grays.

The 27 being Sunday, the right Worſhipfull Sebaſtian Cabota came aboord our Pinneſſe at Graueſende, accompanied with diuers Gentlemen, and Gentlewomen, who after that they had viewed our Pinneſſe, and taſted of ſuch cheere as we could make them aboord, they went on ſhore, giuing to our mariners right liberall rewards: and the good olde Gentleman Maſter Cabota gaue to the poore moſt liberall almes, wiſhing them to pray for the good fortune, and proſperous ſucceſſe of the Serchthrift, our Pinneſſe. And then at the ſigne of the Chriſtopher, hee and his friends banketted, and made me, and them that were in the company great cheere: and for very ioy that he had

to ſee the towardnes of our intended diſcouery, he entred into the dance himſelfe, amongſt the reſt of the young and luſty company: which being ended, hee and his friends departed moſt gently, commending vs to the gouernance of almighty God.

Tueſday we rode ſtill at Grauеſend, making proviſion for ſuch things as we wanted.

Wedneſday in the morning we departed from Grauеſende, the winde being at Southweſt, that night we came to an anker thwart our Lady of Hollands. 28

Thurſday at three of the clocke in the morning we weyed, and by eight of the clocke, we were at an anker in Orwell wanes, and then incontinent I went aboord the Edward Bonauenture, where the worſhipfull company of marchants appointed me to be, vntill the ſayd good ſhip arriued at Wardhouſe. Then I returned againe into the pinneſſe. 29

Friday the 15 of May we were within 7 leagues of the ſhore, on the coaſt of Norway: the latitude at a South ſunne, 58 degrees and a halfe, where we ſaw three ſailes, beſide our owne company: and thus we followed the ſhoare or land, which lieth Northnorthweſt, North and by Weſt, and Northweſt and by North, as it doth appeare by the plat. 30

Note May 15.

Saturday at an Eaſt ſunne we came to S. Dunſtans Iſland, which Iſland I ſo named. It was off vs Eaſt two leagues and a halfe, the wind being at Southeaſt: the latitude this day at a South ſunne 59 degrees, 42 minutes. Alſo the high round mountaine bare Eaſt of vs, at a ſouth ſunne: and when this hill is Eaſt of you, and being bound to the Northward, the land lyeth North and halfe a point Weſterly, from this ſayd South ſunne, vnto a North ſunne twenty leagues Northweſt alongſt the ſhoare. 16

Upon Sunday at fiue of the clocke in the morning, the fartheſt land that we could ſee that lay Northnorthweſt, was Eaſt of vs three leagues, and then it trended to the Northwards, and to the Eaſtwards of the North, which headland I iudged to be Scouеſneſſe. At ſeuen of the clocke we changed our courſe and went North, the wind being at Southſoutheaſt, and it waxed very thick and miſtie, and when it cleered, we went Northnortheaſt. At a South ſunne we loſt ſight of the Serchthrift, becauſe of the miſt, making our way North. And when we loſt ſight of the pinneſſe, we were within two leagues & a halfe of the ſhoare: the laſt land that we ſaw when this miſt came vpon vs, which is to the Northwards of Scowеſneſſe, lay Northnortheaſt, and Southſouthweſt, and we made our way North vntill a weſt ſunne fiue leagues. 17

From that vntill Munday three a clocke in the morning ten leagues Northnortheaſt: and then we went North and by Eaſt, becauſe the winde came at the Weſtſouthweſt with thicke miſte: the latitude this day at a South ſunne ſixtie three degrees and a halfe truely taken: at this ſeaſon we had ſight of our Pinneſſe againe. 18

From that vntill Tueſday a South ſunne Northnortheaſt fortie foure leagues, and then Northeaſt. From a South ſunne vntill eight of the clocke, fifteene leagues Northeaſt. 19

From that vntill Wedneſday a South ſunne Northnortheaſt, except the firſt watch Northeaſt: then had we the latitude in ſixtie ſeuen degrees, thirtie nine minutes. From that vnto a Northweſt ſunne eighteen leagues Northeaſt, & then we were within two leagues off the ſhoare, and ſaw the high land to the Southwards of Lowfoot breake out through the miſt, and then we went North and by eaſt. 20

From the ſayd Northweſt ſunne vntill foure of the clocke in the morning North and by Eaſt ten leagues and a halfe: and then Northnortheaſt vntill a South ſunne, the latitude being ſixtie nine degrees, and a halfe. From that vntill halfe an houre paſt ſeuen of the clocke, Northnortheaſt eleuen leagues and a halfe, and then we went Northeaſt ten leagues. From that 3 leagues and a halfe Eaſtnortheaſt, and then we ſawe the land through the cloudes and hazie thwart on the broad ſide of vs the winde being then at Southſouthweſt. 21

From that vntill Saturday, at eight of the clocke in the morning Eaſtnortheaſt, and to the Northwards fortie eight leagues, and then the wind came vp at North, wee being aboord the ſhoare, and thwart of the Chappel, which I ſuppoſe is called Kedilwike: then we caſt the ſhippes head to the ſeawards, becauſe the winde was verie ſcant: and then I cauſed the Pinneſſe to beare in with the ſhoare, to ſee whether ſhe might find an harborough for the ſhips or not, and that ſhe found and ſaw two roaders ride in the ſound: and alſo they ſawe houſes. But notwithſtanding, God be praiſed, the winde enlarged vpon vs, that we had not occaſion to goe into the harborough: and then the Pinneſſe bare her Myſſen maſt our boord with flagge and all, and loſt the flagge: with the maſt there fell two men ouer boord, but God be praiſed, they were ſaued: the flagge was a token, whereby we might vnderſtand whether there were a good harbour there or not. 22

Kedelwike chappell. 23

At a North ſunne the North cape (which I ſo named the firſt voyage) was thwart of vs, which is nine leagues to the Eaſtwards of the ſayd Chappel from the Eaſtermoſt point of it.

The North cape ſo named by Steuen Burrowe.

Iune.

7 The Sunday we weied in Corpus Christi Bay, at a Northeast and by East sunne: the Bay is almost halfe a league deepe: the headland which is Corpus Christi point, lyeth Southeast and by East, one league from the head of the Bay, where we had a great tyde, like a race ouer the flood: the Bay is at the least two leagues ouer: so doe I imagine from the fayre foreland to Corpus Christi poynt ten leagues Southeast and by East: It floweth in this Bay, at a South and by West moone full sea. From that we went vntill seuen a clocke at afeer noone twentie leagues Southeast and by South: and then we tooke in all our sailes, because it was then very milkie, and also we met with much ice that ran out of the Bay, and then wee went Southsoutheast with our forefayle: at eight of the clocke, we heard a piece of ordinance, which was out of the Edward, which bade vs farewell, and then we shot off another piece, and bade her farewell: wee could not one see the other, because of the thicke milke: at a Northwest sunne it began somewhat to cleere, and then we sawe a head lande, and the shoare trended to the Southwestward, which I iudged to be about Trolle Island: it was off vs at a Northnorthwest sunne, Westsouthwest.

8 From this Northnorthwest sunne, vntill Munday, we went Southeast, and this morning we came at anker among the shoales that lie off of point Looke out, at a Northeast and by East sunne, the wind being at Eastsoutheast, At this poynt Looke out, a south Moone maketh a full sea. Cape good fortune lyeth from the Ile of Crosles Southeast, and betweene them is tenne leagues: point Looke out lieth from Cape Good fortune Eastsoutheast, and betweene them are fiue leagues. S. Edmonds point lieth from point Looke out Eastsoutheast, and halfe a poynt to the Southwards, and betweene them are fiue leagues. There is betweene these two points, a Bay that is halfe a league deepe, and is full of shoales and dangers. At a Southeast sunne we weyed, and turned to the windwards, the winde being at Eastsoutheast: and at a Southeast sunne, we came to an anker, being then a full sea, in fiue fadoms and a halfe water. It lieth in this place where we roade, and also at point Looke out, foure fadome water. At a Westnorthwest sunne we weyed, and driued to the windewards, vntill Tuesday, a Northnortheast sunne, and then being a high water, we came to an anker open of the riuer Cola, in eight fadome water. Cape S. Bernard lyeth from S. Edmonds point, Southeast and by South, and betwixt them are fiue leagues, and also betwixt them is the Riuer Cola, into which Riuer wee went this euening.

9

10 Wednesday we roade still in the sayd riuer, the winde being at the north: we sent our shifte a land to be dyelled: the latitude of the mouth of the riuer Cola is sixtie fiue degrees, foztie and eight minutes.

The latitude of Cola.

11 Thursday at 6 of the clocke in the morning, there came aboord of vs one of the Russe Lodias, rowing with twentie oares, and there were foure and twenty men in her. The master of the boate presented me with a great loafe of bread, and fiue ringes of bread, which they call Calathes, and foure dyed pikes, and a pecke of fine otemeale, and I gaue vnto the Master of the boate, a combe, and a small glasse: and he declared vnto me, that he was bound to Pechora, and after that, I made them to drinke, the tide being somewhat broken, they gently departed. The Masters name was Pheodor.

A Russe Lodia.

Whereas the tenth day I sent our Pinnesse on shoare to be mended, because she was leake, and weake, with the Carpenter and three men more to helpe him, the weather chanced so, that it was Sunday before they could get aboord our shippe. All that time they were without prouision of victuals, but onely a little bread, which they spent by Thursday at night, thinking to haue come aboord when they had listed, but winde and weather denied them: insomuch that they were faine to eate grasse, and such weedes as they could finde then aboue grounde, but fresh water they had plentie, but the meate with some of them could scant frame by reason of their queasie stomackes.

14 From Thursday at afternoone, vntill Sunday in the morning, our barke did ride such a road sted that it was to be marueiled, without the helpe of God, how she was able to abide it.

In the bight of the Southeast shoare of the riuer Cola, there is a good roade in fiue fadome, foure fadome and a halfe, at a lowe water: but you shall haue no land Northnortheast of you then. I proued with our pinnesse, that the depth goeth on the Southeast shoare.

18 Thursday we weyed our ankers in the Riuer Cola, and went into the Sea seuen or eight leagues, where we met with the winde farre Northerly, that of force it constrained vs to goe a gaine backe into the sayd riuer, where came aboord of vs sundry of their Boates, whith declare

vve vvho vve that they vvere also bound to the northwards, a fishing for Horse, and Salmon, and
gaue vs liberally of their white and wheaten bread.

As we roade in this riuer, vvee saw dayly comming downe the riuer many of their Lodias, and they that had least, had foure and twenty men in them, and at the last they grew to thirtie saile of them: and amongst the rest, there was one of them whose name was Gabriel, who shewed me very much friendshippe, and he declared vnto mee, that all they were bound to Pechora, a fishing for Salmons, and Horses: insomuch that hee shewed mee by demonstrations, that with a faire winde vver had seuen or eight dayes sailing to the Riuer Pechora, so that I was glad of their company. This Gabriel promised to giue mee warning of shoales, as hee did indeede.

Lodias hauing 24 men a peece

From Cola to Pechora is but 7 or 8 dayes sailing.

Sunday being the one and twentieth day, Gabriel gaue me a barrell of beere, and one of his speciall friends gaue me a barrell of Meade, and one of his 21

Munday we departed from the riuer Cola, with all the rest of the said Lodias, but sailing before the wind, they were all a good for vs: but according to promise, this Gabriel and his friend 22

The curtesie of one Gabriel.

vvho often strike their sayles, and taried for vs forsaking their owne company.

Tuesday at an East northeast sunne we were thwart of Cape S. John. It is to be vnderstood, 23

A good note.

that from the Cape S. John vnto the riuer or bay that goeth to Mezen, it is all sunke land, and full of shoales and dangers, you shall haue scant two fadome water, and see no land. And this present day wee came to an anker thwart of a creeke, which is 4 or 5 leagues to the Northwards of the said Cape, into which creeke Gabriel and his fellow rowed, but we could not get in: and before the night there were aboue 20 saile that went into the said creeke, the wind being at the North-east. We had indifferent good landfang.

This afternoone Gabriel came aboord with his skiffe, and then I rewarded him for the good company that he kept with vs ouer the shoales with two small ivory combes, and a steele glasse, with two or three trifles more, for which he was not vngratefull. But notwithstanding, his first company had gotten further to the Northwards.

Wednesday being Midsummer day, we sent our skiffe aland to sound the creeke, where they found it almost dry at a low water. And all the Lodais within were on ground.

Although the harborough were euil, yet the stormie multitude of Northerly winds tempted vs to set our sayles, & we let slip a cable and an anker, and bare with the harborough, for it was then neere a high water: and as alwaies in such tournets varieties do chance, when we came vpon the barre in the entrance of the creeke, the wind did shrink so suddenly vpon vs, that we were not able to lead it in, and before we could haue slatted the shippe before the winde, we should haue bene on ground on the lee shore, so that we were constrained to let fall an anker vnder our sailes, and rode in a very high reach, thinking to haue warpt in. Gabriel came out with his skiffe, and so did sundry others also, shewing their good will to helpe vs, but all to no purpose, for they were likely to haue bene driuen for their labour, in so much that I desired Gabriel to lend me his anker, because our owne ankers were two big for our skiffe to lay out, who sent me his owne, and borrowed another also and sent it vs. Then we layd out one of those ankers, with a hawser which he had of 140 fadome long, thinking to haue warpt in, but it would not be: for as we shotted vpon the said warpe the anker came home, so that we were faine to beare the end of the warpe, that we rushed in vpon the other small anker that Gabriel sent aboord, and layd that anker to seawards: and then betweene these two ankers we trauersed the ships head to seawards: and then betweene and when the barke had way, we cut the hawser, and so gate the sea to our friend, and tryed out all that day with our maine coyle. 24

The Thursday we went roome with Cape S. John, where we found indifferent good rode for a Northeast winde, and for a neede, for a North and by West winde.

Friday at afternoone we weyed, and departed from thence, the wether being meetly faire, & the winde at East southeast, and plied for the place where we left our cable and anker, and our hawser: 25

as soone as we were at an anker, the foresaid Gabriel came aboord of vs, with 3 or foure more of their small boats, and brought with them of their Aquauitæ & Meade, protesting vnto me very much friendship, and reioiced to see vs againe, declaring that they earnestly thought that we had bene lost. This Gabriel declared vnto me, that they had saued both the ankers and our hawser, and 26

that we had thus communed, I caused 4 or 5 of them to goe into my cabbin, where I gaue them drinke, and made them such cheere as I could. While I was thus banketing of the, there came another of their skiffes aboord with one who was a Merril, whose name after words I learned, & that he dwelt in Colmogro, & Gabriel dwelled in the towne of Cola, which is not far from the riuers mouth. This foresaid Merril said vnto me that one of the ankers which I borowed was his, I gaue him thanks for the lone of it, thinking it had bene sufficient. And as I continued in one accustomed

manner, that if the present which they brought were worth entertainment, they had it accordingly, he brought nothing with him, & therfore I regarded him but little. And thus we ended, & they took their leaue and went a shore. At their comming a shore, Gabriel and Keril were at vnconuenient words, and by the eares, as I vnderstand: the cause was because the one had better entertainment then the other: but you shal vnderstand that Gabriel was not able to make his party good, because there were 17 lodias of the Kerils company who tooke his part, and but 2 of Gabriels company.

Twentie eight Lodias belonging to Cola.

The next high water Gabriel and his company departed from thence, and rowed to their summer company and neighbours, which were in number 28 at the least, and all of them belonging to the riuer Cola.

27

And as I vnderstood Keril made reckoning that the hawser which was fast in his anker should haue been his owne, and at first would not deliuer it to our boat, insomuch that I sent him word that I would [illegible] vpon him, whereupon he deliuered the hawser to my company.

The next day being Saturday, I sent our boat on shore to fetch fresh water and wood, and at their comming on shore this Keril welcomed our men most gently, and also banketed them: and in the meane time caused some of his men to fill our buttes with water, and to help our men to bring wood into their boat: and then he put on his best like coate, and his coller of pearles, and came aboord againe, & brought his present with him: and thus hauing more respect vnto his present then to his person, because I perceiued him to be vainglorious, I bade him welcome, and gaue him a bib of figs: and then he declared vnto me that his father was a gentleman, and that he was able to shew me pleasure, and not Gabriel, who was but a pikes sonne.

28

After their departure from vs we weied, and plyed all the ebbe to the windewards, the wind being Northerly, & towards night it waxed very stormie, so that of force we were constrained to go roome with Cape S. Iohn againe, in which storme wee lost our skiffe at our sterne, that we bought at Wardhouse, and there we rode vntil the fourth of Iuly. The latitude of Cape S. Iohn is 66 degrees 50 minutes. And it is to be noted, that the land of Cape S. Iohn is of height from the full sea marke, as I iudge, 10 fadomes, being cleane without any trees growing, & also without stones or rockes, and consists onely of blacke earth, which is so rotten, that if any of it fall into the sea, it will swimme as though it were a piece of wood. In which place, about three leagues from the shore you shall not haue about 9 fadom water, and clay ground.

The latitude of Cape S. Iohn 66 degrees 50 minutes.

Earth swimming about water like wood.

Iulie.

4 Saturday at a Northnorthwest sunne the wind came at Eastnortheast, & then we weied, and plyed to the Northwards, and as we were two leagues shot past the Cape, we saw a house standing in a valley, which is mainly to be seene in those parts, and by and by I saw three men on the top of the hil. Then I iudged them, as it afterwards proued, that they were men which came from some other place to set traps to take vermin for their furres, which trappes we did perceiue very thick alongst the shore as we went.

5 Sunday at an East sunne we were thwart off the creeke where the Russes lay, and there came to an anker, and perceiuing the most part of the Lodias to be gone we thought it not good to lie any longer there, but weyed and spent all the ebbe, plying to the windewards.

6 Munday at a South sunne it was high water. All alongst the coast it floweth little, onely a South moone makes a full sea: and as we were a weying we espied the Russe Lodias, which we first lost. They came out of a creeke amongst the sandy hilles, which hilles beginne 15 leagues Northnortheast from Cape S. Iohn.

7 Plying this ebbe to an end, we came to an anker 6 leagues Northnortheast frō the place where we saw the Russes come out: and there the Russes harboured themselues within a sconke hard, but there was not water enough for vs.

The latitude 68 degrees and a halfe.

At a North sunne we weyed and plied to the Northwards, the land lying Northnortheast, and Southsouthwest, vntill a South sunne, and then we were in the latitude of 68 degrees & a halfe: and in this latitude ende those sandy hilles, and the land beginneth to lie North and by West, South and by East, and Northnorthwest, and to the Westwards, and there the water beginneth to ware deepe.

At a Northwest sunne we came to an anker within halfe a league of the shore, where [illegible] good plenty of fish, both Haddocks and Cods, riding in 10 fadom water.

8 Wednesday we weyed, and plyed neere the headland, which is called Caninoz, the wind being at East and by North.

9 Thursday the wind being scant we turned to windwards the ebbe, to get about Caninoz: the latitude this d[illegible] noone was 68 degrees 40 minutes.

Friday

Friday we turned to the windward of the ebbe, but to no purpose: and as we rode at an anker, we saw the similitude of a storme rising at Northnorthwest, & could not tell where to get rode nor succor for that winde, and harborough we knew none: & that land which we rode vnder with that winde was a lee shore. And as I was musing what was best to be done, I saw a saile come out of a creeke vnder the foresayd Caninoz, which was my friend Gabriel, who forsooke his harborough and company, and came as neere vs as he might, and pointed vs to the Eastwards, & then we weyed and followed him, and went East and by South, the wind being at Westnorthwest, and very misty. 10

Saturday we went Eastsoutheast & followed Gabriel, and he brought vs into an harborough called Morgiouets, which is 30 leagues from Caninoz, & we had vpon the barre going in thy fadome and a fourth part: and after we were past in ouer the barre, it waxed deeper, for 5 fadoms, 4 and a half, and 3 fadom &c. Our barke being moyed, I sent some of our men to shoare to prouide wood, where they had plenty of drift wood, but none growing: and in this place we found plenty of young foule, as Gulles, Scorpies, and others, whereof the Russes would eate none, whereof we were nothing sory, for there came the more to our part. 11 Morgiouets an harbour. Drift wood.

Sunday our men cut wood on shoare, and brought it aboord, and wee balasted our shippe with stones. 12

This morning Gabriel saw a smoke on y^e^ way, who rowed vnto it with his skiffe, which smoke was two leagues from the place where we road: and at a Northwest sunne he came aboord again, and brought with him a Samoed, which was but a young man: his apparell was then strange vnto vs, and he presented me with three young wild geese, and one young barnacle. A Samoed.

Munday I sent a man to the maine in Gabriels boat, and he brought vs aboord 8 barricoes of fresh water: the latitude of the said Morgiouets is sixtie eight degrees and a terce. It floweth there at a Southsouthwest moone full sea, and lyeth two fadome and a halfe water. 13

At a Westnorthwest sunne we departed from this place, and went East 25 leagues, and then saw an Iland North and by West of vs eight leagues, which Iland is called Dolgoieue: and from the Easternmost part of this Iland, there lyeth a land East and by South 7 leagues long. 14 Dolgoieue an Iland.

Wednesday at a North and by East sunne Swetinoz was South of vs 5 leagues. This day at afternoone we went in ouer the dangerous barre of Pechora, and had vpon the barre but one fadome water. 15 Pechora.

Thursday we road still. 16

Friday I went on shoare and obserued the variation of the Compasse, which was three degrees and a halfe from the North to the West: the latitude this day was sixtie nine degrees ten minutes. 17 The variation of the Compas

From two or three leagues to the Eastward of Swetinoz, vntill the entering of the riuer Pechora, it is all sandy hilles, and towards Pechora the sandie hilles are very low.

It highet^h^ on the barre of Pechora foure foote water, & it floweth there at a Southwest moone full sea.

Sunday at a North & by East sunne, we weyed, and came out ouer the sayd dangerous barre, where wee had but fiue foote water, insomuch that wee found a foote lesse water comming out then wee did going in. I thinke the reason was, because when we went in the winde was off the sea, which caused the sands to breake on either side of vs, and wee kept in the smoothest betweene the breaches, which we durst not haue done, except we had seene the Russes to haue gone in before vs: and at our comming out the winde was off the shoare, and fayre weather, and then the sands did not appeare with breaches as at our going in: we thanke God that our ship did draw so little water. 20

When we were a seaboord the barre the wind scanted vpon vs, and was at Eastsoutheast, insomuch that we stopped the ebbes, and plyed all the floods to the windewards, and made our way Eastnortheast.

Tuesday at a Northwest sunne we thought that we had seen land at East, or East & by North vs: which afterwards prooued to be a monstrous heape of ice. 21

Within a little more then halfe an houre after, we first saw this ice, we were inclosed within it as as nie^r^ as we could doe to keepe our shippe aloofe from one heape of ice, and beare roomer from another, with as much wind as we might beare a coarse. And when we had past from the danger of this ice, we lay to the Eastwards close by the wind. &c.

The next day we were againe troubled with the ice.

Thursday being calme, we plyed to the windwards, the winde being Northerly. We had the latitude this day at noone in 70 degrees 11 minutes. 22 23 The lat. 70 degrees 11 min.

We had not runne paſt two houres Northweſt, the wind being at Northnortheaſt and Northeaſt and by North a good gale, but we met againe with another heape of ice: we wethered the head of it, and lay a time to the ſeawards, and made way Weſt 6 leagues.

24 Friday at a Southeaſt ſunne we caſt about to the Eaſtwards, the wind being at Northnortheaſt: the latitude this day at noone was 70 degrees 15 minutes.

25 On S. Iames his day bolting to the windwardes, we had the latitude at noone in ſeuenty degrees twentie minutes. The ſame day at a Southweſt ſunne, there was a monſtrous Whale aboord of vs, ſo neere to our ſide that we might haue thruſt a ſworde or any other weapon in him, which we durſt not doe for feare hee ſhould haue ouerthrowen our ſhippe: and then I called my company together, and all of vs ſhouted, & with the crie that we made he departed from vs: there was as much aboue water of his backe as the breadth of our pinneſſe, and at his falling downe, he made ſuch a terrible noyſe in the water, that a man would greatly haue marueiled, except hee had knowen the cauſe of it: but God be thanked, we were quietly deliuered of him. And a little after we ſpied certaine Iſlands, with which we bare, and found good harbor in 15 or 18 fadome, and blacke ooze: we came to an anker at a Northeaſt ſunne, & named the Iſland S. Iames his Iſland, where we found freſh water.

S. Iames Iſland.

26 Sunday, much wind blowing we rode ſtill.

27 Munday I went on ſhoare and tooke the latitude, which was 70 degrees 42 minutes: the variation of the compaſſe was 7 degrees and a halfe from the North to the Weſt.

The variation of the Compas 7 degrees and a halfe.

28 Tueſday we plyed to the Weſtwards alongſt the ſhoare, the wind being at Northweſt, and as I was about to come to anker, we ſaw a ſayle comming about the point, wherunder we thought to haue ankered. Then I ſent a ſkiffe aboord of him, and at their comming aboord, they tooke acquaintance of them, and the chiefe man ſaid hee had bene in our company in the riuer Cola, and alſo declared vnto them that we were paſt the way which ſhould bring vs to the Ob. This land, ſayd he, is called Noua Zembla, that is to ſay, the New land: and then he came aboord himſelfe with his ſkiffe, and at his comming aboord he told mee the like, and ſayd further, that in this Noua Zembla is the higheſt mountaine in the worlde, as he thought, & that Camen Bolſhay, which is on the maine of Pechora, is not to be compared to this mountaine, but I ſaw it not: he made me alſo certaine demonſtrations of the way to the Ob, and ſeemed to make haſte on his owne way, being very lothe to tarie, becauſe the yeere was farre paſt, and his neighbour had fet Pechora, and not he: ſo I gaue him a ſteele glaſſe, two pewter ſpoones, and a paire of veluet ſheathed knifes, and then he ſeemed ſomewhat the more willing to tary, and ſhewed me as much as he knew for our purpoſe: he alſo gaue me 17 wilde geeſe, and ſhewed me that foure of their lodias were driuen perforce from Caninoze to this Noua Zembla. This mans name was Loſhak.

The relation of Loſhak.

The way to the riuer of Ob.

A mighty hill in Noua Zembla.

Loſhak.

29 Wedneſday, as we plied to the Eaſtwards, we eſpied another ſaile, which was one of this Loſhaks company, and we bare roome, and ſpake with him, who in like ſort tolde vs of the Ob, as the other had done.

30 Thurſday, we plied to the Eaſtwards, the winde being at Eaſtnortheaſt.

31 Friday, the gale of winde began to increaſe, and came Weſterly withall, ſo that by a Northweſt ſunne we were at an anker among the Iſlands of Vaigats, where we ſaw two ſmall lodias, the one of them came aboord of vs, and preſented me with a great loafe of bread: and they told me that they were all of Colmogro, except one man that dwelt at Pechora, who ſeemed to be the cheefeſt among them in killing of the Morſe.

The Iſlands of Vagats.

There were ſome of their company on ſhoare, which did chaſe a white beare ouer the high cliffe into the water, which beare the lodia that was aboord of vs killed in our ſight.

This day there was a great gale of wind at North, and we ſaw ſo much ice driuing a ſeabord, that it was then no going to ſea.

Auguſt.

1 Saturday I went aſhore, and there I ſaw three morſes that they had killed: they held one tuch of a Morſe, which was not great, at a noble, and one white beare ſkin at three nobles & two nobles: they further tolde me, that there were people called Samoeds on the great Iſland, and that they would not abide them nor vs, who haue no houſes, but onely couerings made of Deers ſkins ſet ouer them with ſtakes: they are men expert in ſhooting, and haue great plenty of Deere.

Samoeds.

This night there fell a cruell ſtorme, the wind being at Weſt.

2 Sunday we had very much winde, with plenty of ſnow, and we rode with two ankers a hea

3 Munday we weyed and went roome with another Iſland, which was fiue leagues Eaſtnorth eaſt from vs: and there I met againe with Loſhak, and went on ſhoare with him, and hee brought

meto a heap of the Samoeds idols, which were in number aboue 300, the worst and the most vnartificiall worke that euer I saw: the eyes and mouthes of sundrie of them were bloodie, they had the shape of men, women and children, very grossly wrought, & that which they had made for other parts, was also sprinckled with blood. Some of their idols were an olde sticke with two or three notches, made with a knife in it. I saw much of the footing of the sayd Samoeds, and of the sleds that they ride in. There was one of their sleds broken, and lay by the heape of idols, & there I saw a deers skinne which the foules had spoyled: and before certaine of their idols blocks were made as high as their mouthes, being all bloody. I thought that to be the table wheron they offered their sacrifice: I saw also the instruments, whereupen they had roasted flesh, and as farre as I could perceiue, they make their fire directly vnter the spit. The maners of the Samoeds.

Loshak being there present tolde me that these Samoeds were not so hurtful as they of Ob are, and that they haue no houses, as inde ede I saw none, but onely tents made of Deers skins, which they vnderpropp with stakes and poles: their boates are made of Deers skins, and when they come on shoare they carry their boates with them vpon their backes: for their carriages they haue no other beastes to serue them, but Deere only. As for bread and corne they haue none, except the Russes bring it to them: their knowledge is very base, for they know no letter. The Samoeds of the Ob very hurtfull and shrewd people.

Tuesday we turned for the harborough where Loshaks barke lay, whereas before we road vnder an Iland. And there he came aboord of vs and said vnto me: if God sende winde and weather to serue, I will goe to the Ob with you, because the Pilots were scant at these Islands of Vaigats: but if he could not get to the riuer of Ob, then he sayd hee would goe to the riuer of Naramzay, where the people were not altogether so sauage as the Samoyds of the Ob are: hee shewed me that they will shoot at all men to the vttermost of their power, that cannot speake their speech. 4 Naramzay.

Wednesday we saw a terrible heape of ice approch neere vnto vs, and therefore wee thought good with al speed possible to depart from thence, and so I returned to the Westwards againe, to the Iland where we were the 31 of July. 5

Thursday I went a shoare, and tooke the latitude, which was 70 degrees 25 minutes: and the variation of the compasse was 8 degrees from the North to the West. 6 The latitude. The variation of the compas.

Loshak and the two small Lodias of Pechora departed from this Iland, while I was on shoare taking the latitude, and went to the Southwards: I maruailed why he departed so suddenly, and went ouer the shoales amongst the Illands where it was impossible for vs to follow them. But after I perceiued them to be weatherwise.

Friday we road still, the winde being at Northnortheast, with a cruell storme. The ice came in so abundantly about vs at both ends of the Iland that we road vnder, that it was a fearefull sight to behold: the storme continued with snow, raine, and hayle plenty. 7

Saturday we road still also, the storme being somewhat abated, but it was altogether misty, that we were not able to see a cables length about vs, the winde being at Northeast and by East. 8

Sunday at foure of the clocke in the morning we departed from this Iland, the winde being at Southeast, and as we were cleere a sea boord the small Illandes and shoales, it came so thick with mistes, that we could not see a base shotte from vs. Then we tooke in all our sailes to make little way. 9

At a Southeast sunne it waxed cleere, and then we set our sayles, and lay close by the wind to the Southwards alongst the Illands of Vaigats. At a West sunne we tooke in our sayle againe because of the great mist and raine. Wee sounded at this place, and had fiue and twenty fadomes water, and soft blacke ooze, being three leagues from the shoare, the winde being at South and by East, but still misty.

Sunday at an East sunne we sounded, and had 40 fadomes, and ooze, still misty: at noone wee sounded againe, and had 36 fadome, still misty. 10

Tuesday at an Eastnortheast sunne we let fall our anker in three and twenty fadome, the mist still continuing.

Wednesday at three of the clocke in the morning the mist brake vp, the wind being at North east & by East, and then we saw part of the Illands of Vaigats, which we bare with hall, and went Eastsoutheast close by the winde: at a West sunne we were at an anker vnder the Southwest part of the said Vaigats, and then I sent our skiffe to shoare with three men in her, to see if they might speake with any of the Samoeds, but could not: all that day was rainie, but not windie. 11 12 They land by on Vaigats.

Thursday the wind came Westerly, so that we were faine to seeke vs another place to ride in, because the wind came a sea boord land, and although it were misty, yet wee followed the shoare our lead: and as we brought land in the winde of vs, we let fall our anker. At a West sunne 10

the mist brake vp, so that we might see about vs, and then we might perceiue that we were entred into a sound.

This afternoone we tooke in two or three shiffes lading of stones to balast our shippe withall,

14 It lyeth here foure foot water, and floweth by fits, vncertaine to be iudged.

The vncertainty of ebbing & flowing. Friday we road still in the sound, the wind at Southwest, with very much raine, and at the end of the raine it wared againe mistie.

15 Saturday there was much winde at West, and much raine, and then againe mistie.

16 Sunday was very mistie, and much winde.

17 Munday very mistie, the winde at Westnorthwest.

18 Tuesday was also mistie, except at noone: then the sunne brake out through the mist, so that we had the latitude in 70 degrees 10 minutes: the afternoone was misty againe, the wind being at Westnorthwest.

19 Wednesday at three of the clocke afternoone the mist brake vp, & the wind came at Eastnortheast, and then we weyed, and went South & by East, vntil seuen of the clocke, eight leagues, thinking to haue had sight of the sandie hilles that are to the Eastwards of the riuer Pechora. At a Northwest sunne we took in our maine saile, because the wind increased, & went with a foresaile Westnorthwest, the wind being at Eastnortheast: at night there grewe so terrible a stormе, that we saw not the like, although we had indured many stormes since we came out of England. It was wonderfull that our barke was able to brooke such monstrous & terrible seas, without the great helpe of God, who neuer fayleth them at neede, that put their sure trust in him.

20 Thursday at a Southsouthwest sunne, thanks be to God, the storme was at the highest, & then the winde began to slake, and came Northerly withall, & then I reckoned the Westermost point of the riuer Pechora to be South of vs 15 leagues. At a Westsouthwest sunne we set our maine saple, and lay close by the winde, the winde being at Northwest and by North, making but little way, because the billow went so high: at midnight wee cast about, and the shippe caped Northnortheast, making little way.

They were within 15 leagues of Pechora

21 Friday at noone we had the latitude in 70 degrees 8 minutes, and we sounded, and had 29 fadomes sand, and in maner stremy ground. At a West sunne we cast about to the Westwards, and a little after the wind came vp at West.

22 Saturday was calme: the latitude this day at noone was 70 degrees and a terce, we sounded heere, and had nine and forty fadomes and oze, which oze signified that we drew towards Noua Zembla.

And thus we being out of all hope to discouer any more to the Eastward this yeere, wee thought it best to returne, and that for three causes.

They returne the 22 of August. The first, the continuall Northeast and Northerly winds, which haue more power after a man is past to the Eastwards of Canonoze, then in any place that I doe know in these Northerly regions.

Second, because of great and terrible abundance of ice which we saw with our eies, and we doubt greater store abideth in those parts: I aduentured already some what too farre in it, but I thanke God for my sake deliuerance from it.

Third, because the nights waxed darke, and the winter began to draw on with his stormes: and therefore I resolued to take the first best wind that God should send, and plie towards the bay of S. Nicholas, and to see if we might do any good there, if God would permitt it.

This present Saturday we saw very much ice, and were within two or three leagues of it: it shewed vnto vs as though it had beene a firme land as farre as we might see from Northwest of vs to the Eastwards: and this afternoone the Lord sent vs a little gale of wind at South, so that we bare cleere off the Westermost part of it, thanks be to God. And then against night it waxed

24 calme againe, and the winde was at Southwest: we made our way vntill Sunday noone Northwest and by West, and then we had the latitude in 70 degrees and a halfe, the winde at Southwest: there was a billow, so that we could not discerne to take the latitude exactly, but by a reasonable gesse.

25 Sunday there was a prettie gale of wind at South, so that wee went West and by South, the latitude this day at noone was 70 degrees 10 minutes: wee had little winde all day: at a Westnorthwest sunne we sounded, and had 29 fadoms blacke sandie oze, & then we were Northeast 5 leagues from the Northeast part of the Island Colgoieue.

26 Tuesday the wind all Westerly we plyed to the wind wards.

27 Wednesday the wind was all Westerly, and calme: wee had the latitude this day in 70 degrees 10 minutes, we being within three leagues of the North part of the Island Colgoieue.

28 Thursday, we went roome about the Westermost part of the Island, seeking where we might

finde

finde a place to riue in for a Northwest wind, but could find none, and then we cast about againe to the seawards, and the winde came at West southwest, and this morning we had plenty of snow.

Friday, the winde being at Southwest and by West, we plied to the windewards. 29

Saturday, the winde being at South, we plyed to the Westwards, and at afternoone the mist brake vp, and then we might see the land seuen or eight leagues to the Eastwards of Canin: we sounded a little before and had 35. fadoms and oze. And a while after wee sounded againe, and had 19. fadome and sand: then we were within three leagues and a halfe of the shore, and towards night there came downe so much winde, that we were faine to bring our ship a trie, and laide her head to the Westwards.

Sunday, the winde became more calme, and then it waxed verie mistie: At noone wee cast about to the Eastwards, the winde beeing at South, and ranne eight houres on that boorde, and then we cast about and caped West southwest: we sounded and had 32. fathomes, and tough oaze like clay. 30

Munday, we doubled about Caninoze, and came at an anker there, to the intent that we might kill some fish if God would permit it, and there we gate a great Muse, which Mules were there so plentie, that they would scarcely suffer any other fish to come neere the hookes: the said Mules carried away sundrie of our hookes and leads. 31

A little after at a West Sunne, the winde began to blow stormie at West southwest, so that we were faine to wey and forsake our fishing ground, and went close by the winde Southwest, and Southwest and by West, making our way South southwest.

September.

Tuesday at a West Sunne we sounded and had 20. fathoms, and broken Wilkeshels: I reckoned Canonize to be 24. leagues Northnortheast from vs. 1

The eleuenth day we arriued at Colmogro, and there we wintered, expecting the approch of the next Sommer to proceede farther in our intended discouerie for the Ob: which (by reason of our imploiments to Wardhouse the next spring for the search of some English ships) was not accomplished. 11

Certaine notes vnperfectly written by *Richard Iohnson* seruant to Master *Richard Chancelour*, which was in the discouerie of *Vaigatz* and *Noua Zembla*, with *Stephen Burrowe* in the Serchthrift 1556, and afterwarde among the Samoedes, whose deuilish rites hee describeth. 1556

FIrst, after we departed out of England we fell with Norway, and on that coste lieth Northbern or Northbergen, and this people are vnder the King of Denmarke: But they differ in their speech from the Danes, for they speake North. Norway.

And North of Northbern lie the Iles of Roste and Lofoot, and these Ilands pertaine vnto Finmarke, and they keepe the lawes and speake the language of the Islanders. And at the Eastermost part of that land is a castle which is called the Ward house, and the King of Denmarke doeth fortifie it with men of warre: and the Rusles may not goe to the Westward of that castle. And East Southeast from that castle is a lande called Lappia: in which lande be two maner of people, that is to say, the Lappians, and the Scrickfinnes, which Scrickfinnes are a wilde people which neither know God, nor yet good order: and these people liue in tents made of Deares skinnes: and they haue no certaine habitations, but continue in heards and companies by one hundred and two hundreds. And they are a people of small stature, and are clothed in Deares skinnes, and drinke nothing but water, and eate no bread but flesh all raw. And the Lappians bee a people adioyning to them & be much like to them in all conditions: but the Emperour of Russia hath of late ouercome many of them, and they are in subiection to him. And this people will say that they beleeue in the Rusles God. And they liue in tents as the other doe. And Southeast and by South from Lappia lyeth a prouince called Corelia, and these people are called Kerilli. And South southeast from Corelia lyeth a country called Nouogardia. And these three nations are vnder the Emperour of Russia, and the Rusles keepe the Lawe of the Greekes in their Churches, and write somewhat like as the Greekes write, and they speake their owne language, and they abhorre the Latine tongue, neither haue they to doe with the Pope of Rome, and they holde it not good to worshippe any carued Image, but they will worshippe painted Images on tables or boordes. And in Russia their Churches, Roste & Lofoot. Finmarke. Wardhouse. Lappia. The Scrickfinnes. The Lappians. Corelia. Nouogardia. The Rusles.

Tartaria.

ches, steeples, and houses are all of wood: and their shippes that they haue are sowed with withes and haue no nayles. The Kerilles, Russians and Moscouians bee much alike in all conditions. And South from the Moscouians lye the Tartarians, which bee Mahumetans, and liue in tentes and wagons, and keepe in heardes and companies: and they holde it not good to abide long in one place, for they will say, when they will curse any of their children, I woulde thou mightest tary so long in a place that thou mightest smell thine owne dung, as the Christians doe: and this is the greatest curse that they haue. And East Northeast of Russia lieth Lampas, which is a place where the Russes, Tartars and Samoeds meete twise a yeere, and make the faire to barter wares for wares. And Northeast from Lampas lieth the country of the Samoeds, which be about the riuer of Pechere, and these Samoeds bee in subiection to the Emperour of Russia, and they lie in tentes made of Deere skinnes, and they vse much witchcraft, and shoot well in bowes. And Northeast from the riuer Pechere lieth Vaygatz, and there are the wilde Samoeds which will not suffer the Russes to land out of the Sea, but they will kill them and eate them, as wee are tolde by the Russes: and they liue in heards, and haue all their carriages with deere, for they haue no horses. Beyond Vaygatz lyeth a lande called Noua Zembla, which is a great lande, but wee sawe no people, and there wee had foule inough, and there wee sawe white Fores and white Beares. And the sayde Samoeds which are about the bankes of Pechere, which are in subiection to the Emperour of Russia, when they will remoue from one place to another, then they will make sacrifices in manner following. Euerie kinred doeth sacrifice in their owne tent, and hee that is most auncient is their Priest. And first the Priest doeth beginne to playe vpon a thing like to a great sieue, with a skinne on the one ende like a drumme: and the sticke that he playeth with is about a spanne long, and one ende is round like a ball, couered with the skinne of an Harte. Also the Priest hath vpon his head a thing of white like a garlande, and his face is couered with a piece of a shirt of maile, with manie small ribbes, and teeth of fishes, and wilde beastes hanging on the same maile. Then hee singeth as wee vse heere in Englande to hallow, whope, or showte at houndes, and the rest of the company answere him with this Owtis, Igha, Igha, Igha, and then the Priest replieth againe with his voyces. And they answere him with the selfe same wordes so manie times, that in the ende he becommeth as it were madde, and falling downe as hee were dead, hauing nothing on him but a shirt, lying vpon his backe I might perceiue him to breathe. I asked them why hee lay so, and they answered mee, Nowe doeth our God tell him what wee shall doe, and whither wee shall goe. And when he had lyen still a litle while, they cried thus three times together, Oghao, Oghao, Oghao, and as they vse these three calles, hee riseth with his head and lieth downe againe, and then hee rose vp and sang with like voyces as hee did before: and his audience answered him, Igha, Igha, Igha. Then hee commaunded them to kill fiue Olens or great Deere, and continued singing still both hee and they as before. Then hee tooke a swoorde of a cubite and a spanne long, (I did mete it my selfe) and put it into his bellie halfe way and sometime lesse, but no wounde was to bee seene, (they continuing in their sweete song still) Then he put the swoorde into the fire till it was warme, and so thrust it into the slitte of his shirte and thrust it through his bodie, as I thought, in at his nauill and out at his fundament: the poynt beeing out of his shirt behinde, I layde my finger vpon it, then hee pulled out the swoorde and sate downe. This beeing done, they set a kettle of water ouer the fire to heate, and when the water doeth seethe, the Priest beginneth to sing againe they answering him, for so long as the water was in heating, they sate and sang not. Then they made a thing being foure square, and in height and squarenesse of a chaire, and couered with a gown very close the forepart therof, for the hinder part stood to the tents side. Their tents are rounde and are called Chome in their language. The water still seething on the fire, and this square seate being ready, the Priest put off his shirt, and the thing like a garland which was on his head, with those things which couered his face, & he had on yet all this while a paire of hosen of deeres skins with the haire on, which came vp to his buttocks. So he went into the square seat, and sate down like a tailour and sang with a strong voyce or halowing. Then they tooke a small line made of deeres skinnes of foure fathoms long, and with a smal knotte the Priest made it fast about his necke, and vnder his left arme, and gaue it vnto two men standing on both sides of him, which held the ends together. Then the kettle of hote water was set before him in the square seat, al this time the square seat was not couered, and then it was couered vp with a gown of broad cloth without lining, such as the Russes do weare. Then the 2. men which did hold the ends of the line still standing there, began to draw, & drew til they had drawn the ends of the line stiffe and together, and then I heard a thing fall into the kettle of water which was before him in the tent. Thereupon I asked them that sate by me what it was that fell into the water that stoode before him. And they answered me, that it was his head, his shoulder and left arme, which the line had cut

Lampas a mart or faire of the Russes, Tartars and Samoeds.

The Samoeds countrey.

Pi, Pechora, Vaygatz.

Noua Zembla. Store of foule. White Fores. White beares.

The maner of the Samoeds sacrifices, about the riuer of Pechere.

cut off, I meane the knot which I sawe afterwarde drawen hard together. Then I rose vp and would haue looked whether it were so or not, but they laid hold on me, and said, that if they should see him with their bodily eyes, they should liue no longer. And the most part of them can speake the Russe tongue to bee vnderstood: and they tooke me to be a Russian. Then they began to hallow with these wordes, Oghaoo, Oghaoo, Oghaoo, many times together. And as they were thus singing & out calling, I sawe a thing like a finger of a man two times together thrust through the gowne from the Priest. I asked them that sate next to me what it was that I sawe, and they saide, not his finger; for he was yet dead: and that which I saw appeare through the gowne was a beast, but what beast they knew not nor would not tell. And I looked vpon the gowne, and there was no hole to bee seene: and then at the last the Priest lifted vp his head with his shoulder and arme, and all his bodie, and came forth to the fire. Thus farre of their seruice which I sawe during the space of certaine houres: but how they doe worship their Idoles that I saw not: for they put vp their stuffe for to remoue from that place where they lay. And I went to him that serued the Priest, and asked him what their God saide to him when he lay as dead. Hee answered, that his owne people doeth not know, neither is it for them to know: for they must doe as he commanded. This I saw the fift day of Januarie in the yere of our Lord 1556, after the English account.

A discourse of the honourable receiuing into England of the first Ambassador from the Emperor of Russia, in the yeere of Christ 1556, and in the third yeere of the raigne of Queene *Marie*, seruing for the third voyage to *Moscoue*. Registred by Master *Iohn Incent* Protonotarie.

IT is here recorded by writing and autenticall testimonie, partly for memorie of things done, and partly for the veritie to be known to posteritie in time to come, that whereas the most high and mightie Iuan Vasiliuich Emperour of all Russia, great Duke of Volodemer, Moscouia and Nouogrode, Emperor of Cassan, and of Astrachan, Lord of Pleskie, and great Duke of Smolenskie, Tuerskie, Yowgoriskie, Permskie, Viatskie, Bolgarskie, and Sibierskie, Emperour and great Duke of many others, as Nouogrode in the nether countries, Chernigoskie, Rezanskie, Polodskie, Rezewskie, Bielskie, Rostoskie, Yeraslaueskie, Bealozarskie, Oudarskie, Obdorskie, Condenskie, and manie other countries, and lord ouer all those partes, in the yeere of our Lord God, following the account of ỹ Latin church, 1556. sent by the sea from the port of S. Nicholas in Russia, his right honorable ambassador surnamed Osep Napea, his high officer in the towne and countrey of Vologda, to the most famous and excellent princes, Philip and Mary by the grace of God, king and Queene of England, Spaine, France and Ireland, defenders of the faith, Archdukes of Austria, dukes of Burgundie, Millaine, & Brabant, counties of Haspurge, Flanders and Tyroll, his ambassador & Orator with certaine letters tenderly conceiued, together with certain presents and gifts mentioned in the foot of this memorial, as a manifest argument and token of a mutual amity and friendship to be made and continued betweene their maiesties & subiects respectiuely, for the commoditie and benefit of both the realmes and people: which Orator was the 20. day of July imbarked and shipped in, and vpon a good English ship named the Edward Bonauenture, belonging to the Gouernor, Consuls and company of English marchants, Richard Chancelor being grand Pilot, and Iohn Buckland master of the said ship. In which was laden at the aduēture of the foresaid Ambassador, and marchants at seuerall accounts, goods & merchandizes, viz. in ware, trane oyle, tallow, furres, felts, yarne and such like, to the summe of 20000. li. sterling, together with 16. Russies attendant vpon the person of the said Ambassador. Ouer and aboue ten other Russies shipped within the said Bay of S. Nicholas, in one other good ship to the said company also belonging called the Bona Speranza, with goods of the said Orators & marchants to the value of 6000. lib. sterling, as by the inuoises and letters of lading of the said seuerall ships (whereunto relation is to be had) particularly appeareth. Which good ships comming in good order into the seas, & trauerling the same in their iourney towards the coast of England, were by contrary windes and extreme tempests of weather seuered the one from the other, that is to say, the saide Bona Speranza with two other English ships also appertainning to the saide company, the one surnamed the Philip and Mary, the other the Confidentia, were driuen on the coast of Norway, into Drenton water, where the said Confidentia was seene to perish on a Rocke, and the other, videlicet, the Bona Speranza, with her whole company, being to the number of foure and twentie persons seemed to winter there, whereof no certaintie at this present day is knowen. The third, videlicet, the Philip and Mary arriued in the Thames nigh London the eighteenth day of Aprill, in the yeere of our

Foure ships.

Lord,

The Edward Bonauenture arriued in Scotland, in the Bay of Pettisiego, Nouemb. 7. 1556.

Lord one thousand fiue hundred fiftie and seuen. The Edward Bonauenture trauersing the seas foure moneths, finally the tenth day of Nouember of the aforesaide yeere of our Lorde one thousand fiue hundred, fiftie and fiue, arriued within the Scottish coast in a Bay named Pettisiego, where by outragious tempests, and extreme stormes, the said ship being beaten from her grounde tackles, was driuen vpon the rockes on shore, where she brake and split in pieces in such sort, as the grand Pilot vsing all carefulnesse for the safetie of the bodie of the sayde Ambassadour and his traine, taking the boat of the said ship, trusting to attaine the shore, and so to saue and preserue the bodie, and seuen of the companie or attendants of the saide Ambassadour, the same boat by rigorous waues of the seas, was by darke night ouerwhelmed and drowned, wherein perished not only the bodie of the said grand Pilot, with seuen Rusles, but also diuers of the Mariners of the sayd ship: the noble personage of the saide Ambassadour with a fewe others (by Gods preseruation and speciall fauour) onely with much difficultie saued. In which shipwracke not onely the saide shippe was broken, but also the whole masse and bodie of the goods laden in her, was by the rude and rauenous people of the Countrey thereunto adioyning, rifled, spoyled and caried away, to the manifest losse and vtter destruction of all the lading of the said ship, and together with the ship, apparell, ordinance and furniture belonging to the companie, in value of one thousand pounds, of all which was not restored toward the costs and charges to the summe of fiue hundred pound sterling.

Rich. Chancelor drowned.

As soone as by letters addressed to the said companie, and in London deliuered the first of December last past, it was to them certainely knowen of the losse of their Pilote, men, goods and ship, the same merchants with all celeritie and expedition, obteined not onely the Queenes maiesties most gracious and fauourable letters to the Ladie Dowager, and lordes of the Councell of Scotland for the gentle comfortment and entertainment of the saide Ambassadour, his traine and companie, with preseruation and restitution of his goods, as in such miserable cases, to Christian pitie, princely honour and meere Iustice appertaineth, but also addressed two Gentlemen of good learning, grauitie and estimation, videlicet, Master Lawrence Hussie Doctor of Ciuill Lawe, and George Gilpin with money and other requisites into the Realme of Scotland, to comfort, ayde, assist, and relieue him and his there, and also to conduct the Ambassadour into England, sending with them by posse a Talmach or Speachman for the better furniture of the seruice of the sayde Ambassadour, trusting thereby to haue the more ample and speedie redresse of restitution: which personages vsing diligence, arriued at Edenborough (where the Queenes court was) the three and twentieth day of the saide moneth of December, who first visiting the saide Ambassadour, declaring the causes of their comming and Commission, shewing the letters addressed in his fauour, the order giuen them for his solace and furniture of all such things as hee would haue, together with their daily and readie seruice to attend vpon his person and affaires, repaired consequently vnto the Dowager Queene, deliuering the letters.

Whereupon they receiued gentle answeres, with hope and comfort of speedie restitution of the goods, apparell, iewels and letters: for the more apparance whereof, the Queene sent first certaine Commissioners with an Harold of armes to Pettisiego, the place of the Shipwracke, commaunding by Proclamation and other Edictes, all such persons (no degree excepted) as had any part of such goods as were spoyled and taken out or from the ship to bring them in, and to restore the same with such further order as her grace by aduise of her Councel thought expedient: by reason whereof not without great labours, paines and charges (after long time) diuers small parcels of Ware, and other small trifling things of no value, were by the poore sort of the Scottes brought to the Commissioners, but the Iewels, rich apparell, presents, gold, siluer, costly furres, and such like, were conueyed away, concealed and vtterly embezelled. Whereupon, the Queene at the request of the said Ambassadour, caused diuers persons to the number of 180. or moe, to be called personally before her princely presence, to answer to ꝑ said spoile, & really to exhibit and bring in all such things as were spoiled and violently taken, & caried out of the same, whereof not onely good testimonie by writing was shewed, but also the things themselues found in the hands of the Scottish subiects, who by subtile and craftie dealings, by conniuence of the commissioners, so vsed or rather abused themselues towards the same Orator & his attendants, that no effectuall restitution was made: but he fatigated with daily attendance and charges, the 14. day of Februarie next ensuing, distrusting any reall and effectual rendring of the saide goods and marchandizes and other the premisses, vpon leaue obtained of the saide Queene, departed towards England, hauing attending vpon him the said two English Gentlemen and others (leauing neuertheless in Scotland three Englishmen to pursue the deliuerie of such things as were collected to haue bene sent by ship to him in England: which being in Aprill next, and not before

His departure from Scotland towards England.

before imbarked for London, was not at this present day here arriued) came the 18. day of Fe-
bruarie to Barwike within the dominion and realme of England, where he was by the Queenes
maiesties letters and commandement honourably receiued, vsed and intertained by the right ho-
nourable lord Wharton, lord Warden of the East marches, with goodly conducting from place
to place, as the dayly iourneys done ordinarily did lie, in such order, maner and forme, as to a perso-
nage of such estate appertaineth. He prosecuting his voyage vntil the 27. of Februarie approched 1557. Feb. 27.
to the citie of London within twelue English miles, where he was receiued with fourscore mer-
chants with chaines of gold and goodly apparell, as wel in order of men seruants in one vniforme
liuerie, as also in and vpon good horses and geldings, who conducting him to a marchants house
foure miles from London, receiued there a quantitie of gold, veluet and silke, with all furniture
thereunto requisite, where with he made him a riding garment, reposing himselfe that night. The
next day being Saturday and the last day of Februarie, he was by the merchants aduenturing for
Russia, to the number of one hundred and fortie persons, and so many or more seruants in one li-
uerie, as aboue said, conducted towards the citie of London, where by the way he had not onely
the hunting of the Fore and such like sport shewed him, but also by the Queenes maiesties com-
mandement was receiued and embraced by the right honourable Viscount Montague, sent by
her grace for his entertainment: he being accompanied with diuers lustie knights, esquiers, gen- His honorable receiuing into the citie of London.
tlemen and yeomen to the number of three hundred horses led him to the North parties of the Ci-
tie of London, where by foure notable merchants richly apparelled was presented to him a right
faire and large gelding richly trapped, together with a footcloth of Orient crimson veluet, enri-
ched with gold laces, all furnished in most glorious fashion, of the present, and gift of the sayde
merchants: where vpon the Ambassadour at instant desire mounted, riding on the way to-
wards Smithfield barres, the first limites of the liberties of the Citie of London. The Lord
Maior accompanied with all the Aldermen in their skarlet did receiue him, and so riding through
the Citie of London in the middle, betweene the Lord Maior and Viscount Montague, a great
number of merchants and notable personages riding before, and a large troupe of seruants and
apprentises following, was conducted through the Citie of London (with great admiration and
plausibilitie of the people running plentifully on all sides, and replenishing all streets in such sort
as no man without difficultie might passe) into his lodging situate in Fant church streete, where
were prouided for him two chambers richly hanged and decked, ouer and aboue the gallant furni-
ture of the whole house, together with an ample and rich cupboord of plate of all sortes, to furnish
and serue him at all meales, and other seruices during his abode in London, which was, as is vn-
derwritten, vntil the third day of May: during which time daily diuers Aldermen and the graue-
personages of the said companie did visite him, prouiding all kind of victuals for his table and his
seruants, with al sorts of Officers to attend vpon him in good sort and condition, as to such an am-
bassadour of honour doeth and ought to appertaine.

It is also to be remembred that at his first entrance into his chamber, there was presented vnto
him on the Queenes Maiesties behalfe for a gift and present, and his better furniture in apparel,
one rich piece of cloth of tissue, a piece of cloth of golde, another piece of cloth of golde raised with
crimosin veluet, a piece of crimosin veluet in graine, a piece of purple veluet, a piece of Damaske
purpled, a piece of crimosin damaske, which he most thankfully accepted. In this beautifull lod-
ging refreshing and preparing himselfe and his traine with things requisite he abode, expecting
the kings maiesties repaire out of Flanders into England, whose highnesse arriuing the one and
twentie of March, the same Ambassadour the fine and twentieth of March being the Annunciati-
on of our Ladie (the day e weluemoneth he tooke his leaue from the Emperour his master) was
most honourably brought to the King and Queenes maiesties court at Westminster, where ac-
companied first with the said Viscount and other notable personages, and the merchants, hee ar-
riuing at Westminster bridge, was there receiued with fiue lords, conducted into a stately cham-
ber, where by the lords, Chancellor, Treasurer, Priuie seale, Admirall, bishop of Elie, and other
Counsellers, hee was visited and saluted: and consequently was brought vnto the Kings and
Queenes maiesties presence, sitting vnder a stately cloth of honour, the chamber most richly
decked and furnished, and most honourably presented. Where, after that hee had deliuered his
letters, made his Oration, giuen two timber of Sables, and the report of the same made both
in English and Spanish, in most louing maner embraced, was with much honour and high enter
tainement, in sight of a great confluence of people, Lordes and Ladies of loones remitted by wa-
ter to his former lodging, to the which, within two dayes after by the assignement of the King and
Queenes maiesties, repaired and conferred with him secretly two graue Counsellers, that is, the
right Bishop of Elie, and Sir William Peter Knight, chiefe Secretary to their Highnesse, who
after diuers secret talkes and conferences, reported to their highnesse their proceedings, the gra-

uitie,

uitie, wisedome, and stately behauiour of the sayd Ambassadour, in such sort as was much to their maiesties contentations.

A league and articles of amitie concluded and confirmed vnder the great seale of England.

Finally concluding vpon such treaties and articles of amitie, as the letters of the Kings and Queenes maiesties most graciously vnder the great seale of England to him by the sayd counsellers deliuered, doth appeare.

The three and twentieth of Aprill, being the feast of S. George, wherein was celebrated the solemnitie of the Noble order of the Garter at Westminster, the same lord ambassadour was eftsoones required to haue audience: and there fore conducted from the sayd lodging to the court by the right Noble the lords Talbot and Lumley to their maiesties presence: where, after his Oration made, and thanks both giuen and receiued, hee most honourably tooke his leaue with commendations to the Emperour. Which being done, he was with special honour led into the chappell, where before the Kings and Queens maiesties, in the sight of the whole Order of the Garter, was prepared for him a stately seate, wherein he accompanied with the Duke of Norfolke, the lords last aboue mentioned, and many other honorable personages, was present at the whole seruice, in ceremonies which were to him most acceptable: the diuine seruice ended, he eftsoones was remitted and reduced to his barge, and so repaires to his lodging, in like order and gratulation of the people vniuersally, as before.

Foure goodly ships of the merchants promised for Russia, 1557.

The time of the peere halling the profection and departure of the Ambassador, the merchants hauing prepared foure goodly and well trimmed shippes laden with all kinds of merchandises ap for Russia, the same Ambassadour making prouision for such things as him pleased, the same ships in good order valed downe the Riuer of Thames, from London to Grauesend, where the same Ambassadour with his traine and furniture was imbarked towards his voyage homeward, which God prosper in all felicitie.

It is also to be remembred, that during the whole abode of the sayd Ambassadour in England, the Agents of the sayde marchants did not onely prosecute and pursue the matter of restitution in Scotland, and caused such things to be laden in an English shippe hired purposly to conuey the Ambassadours goods to London, there to be deliuered to him, but also during his abode in London, did both inuite him to the Maior, and diuers worshipfull mens houses, feasting and banquetting him right friendly, shewing vnto him the most notable and commendable sights of London, as the kings palace and house, the Churches of Westminster and Powles, the Tower and Guild hall of London, and such like memorable spectacles. And also the said 29 day of Aprill, the said merchants assembling themselues together in the house of the Drapers hall of London, exhibited and gaue vnto the said Ambassador, a notable supper garnished with musicke, Enterludes and bankets: in the which a cup of wine being drunke to him in the name and fauor of the whole companie, it was signified to him that the whole company with most liberal and friendly hearts, did frankly giue to him and his all maner of costs and charges in victuals riding from Scotland to London during his abode there, and vntill setting of saile aboord the ship, requesting him to accept the same in good part as a testimonie and witnes of their good hearts, zeale and tenderncsse towards him and his country.

It is to be considered that of the Bona Sperantza no word nor knowledge was had at this present day, nor yet of the arriuall of the ships or goods from Scotland.

The third of May the Ambassadour departed from London to Grauesend, accompanied with diuers Aldermen and merchants, who in good gard set him aboord the noble shippe, the Primrose Admiral to the Fleete, where leaue was taken on both sides and parts, after many imbracements and diuers farewels not without expressing of teares.

The King and Queens letters to the Emperour of Russia.

Memorandum, that the first day of May the Counsellers, videlicet, the Bishop of Elye, and Sir William Peter on the behalfe of the Kings and Queenes Maesties repairing to the lord Ambassadour did not onely deliuer vnto him their highnes letters of recommendations vnder the great seale of England to the Emperour, very tenderly and friendly written, but also on their maiesties behalfe gaue and deliuered certaine notable presents to the Emperours person, and also gifts for the lord Ambassadours proper vse and behoofe, as by the particulars vnder written appeareth, with such further good wordes and commendations, as the more friendly haue not in heard, whereby it appeareth how well affected their honours be to haue and continue amitie and traffique betweene their honours and their subiects: which thing as the kings and Queenes maesties haue shewed of their princely munificences & liberalities, so haue likewise the merchants and fellowship of the Aduenturers, for and to Russia, manifested to the world their good willes, mindes and zeales borne to this new commenced voyage, as by the discourse aboue mentioned, and other the notable acts ouer long to be recited in this present memorial, doeth and may more clearely

clearely appeare, the like whereof is not in any president or historie to bee shewed.

Forasmuch as it may bee doubted how the ship named the Edward Bonauenture suffered shipwracke, what became of the goods, howe much they were spoiled and detained, how little restored, what charges and expenses ensued, what personages were drowned, how the rest of the ships either arriued or perished, or howe the disposition of almightie God hath wrought his pleasure in them, how the same ambassadour hath bene after the miserable case of shipwracke in Scotland vnreuerently abused, and consequently into England receiued and conducted, there intertained, vsed, honoured, and finally in good safetie towards his returne, and repaire furnished, and with much liberalitie and franke handling friendly dismissed, to the intent that the truethy of the premisses may bee to the most mightie Emperour of Russia sincerely signified in eschewmene of all euents and misfortunes that may chance in this voyage (which God defend) to the Ambassadours person, traine, and goods, this present memoriall is written, and autentikely made, and by the sayde Ambassadour his seruants, whose names be vnderwritten, and autentike in presence of the Notarie, and witnesses vndernamed, recognized, and acknowledged. Giuen the day, moneth, and yeere vnderwritten, of which instrument into euery of the sayde Shippes one testimoniall is deliuered, and the first remaineth with the sayde Companie in London.

Giftes sent to the King and Queenes Maiesties of England by the Emperour of Russia, by the report of the Ambassadour, and spoyled by the Scots after the Shipwracke.

1 First, fiue timber of Sables rich in colour and haire.
2 Item, twentie entire Sables exceeding beautifull with teeth, eares and clawes.
3 Item, foure liuing Sables with chaines and collars.
4 Item, thirtie Lusarnes large and beautifull.
5 Item, fiue large and great skinnes very rich and rare, worne onely by the Emperour for worthinesse.
6 Item, a large and faire white Jerfalcon for the wilde Swanne, Crane, Goose, and other great Fowles, together with a drumme of siluer, the hoopes gilt, vsed for a lure to call the sayd Hawke.

Giftes sent to the Emperour of Russia by the King and Queenes Maiesties of England.

1 First, two rich pieces of cloth of Tissue.
2 Item, one fine piece of Scarlet.
3 Item, one fine Violet in graine.
4 Item, one fine Azur cloth.
5 Item, a notable paire of Vyganwines with a Murrian couered with Crimson velvet and gilt nailes.
6 Item, a Male and Female Lions.

Giftes giuen to the Ambassadour at his departure, ouer and aboue such as were deliuered vnto him at his first arriuall.

1 First, a chaine of golde of one hundred pound.
2 Item, a large Bason and Ewer, siluer and gilt.
3 Item, a paire of pottle pots gilt.
4 Item, a paire of flaggons gilt.

The names of all ſuch Ruſsies as were attendant vpon the Ambaſſadour, at and before his departure out of England.

- Iſaak Fweſſcheneke.
- Demetre.
- Gorbolones.
- Symonde.
- Yeroffia.
- Stephen.
- Lowca.
- Andria.
- Foma.

Memorandum, the day and yeere of our Lord aboue mentioned, in the houſe of the worſhipfull Iohn Dimmocke Citizen and Draper of London, ſituate within the famous Citie of London in the Realme of England, the aboue named honourable Oſep Gregorywich Napea Ambaſſadour and Orator aboue mentioned, perſonally conſtituted and preſent, hauing declared vnto him by the mouth of the right worſhipfull maſter Anthonie Huſſie Eſquire, the effect of the cauſes and contents, of, and in this booke, at the interpretation of Robert Beſt his interpreter ſworne, recognized, and knowledged in preſence of me the Notarie & perſonages vnderwritten, the contents of this booke to be true, as well for his owne perſon as for his ſeruants aboue named, who did not ſubſcribe their names as is aboue mentioned, but onely recognized the ſame. In witneſſe whereof, I Iohn Incent Notarie Publike, at the requeſt of the ſaid Maſter Anthonie Huſſie, and other of the Marchants haue to theſe preſents vnderwritten ſet my accuſtomed ſigne, with the Subſcription of my name, the day and yeere aboue written, being preſent the right Worſhipfull,

- Andrew Iudde. (Knights.)
- George Barne. (Knights.)
- William Cheſter. (Knights.) — Aldermen of London.
- Rafe Greeneaway. (Knights.) — Aldermen of London.
- Iohn Merſh Eſquier.
- Iohn Dimmock.
- Blaſe Sanders.
- Hubert Huſſie, and
- Robert Beſt aboue mentioned.

The voyage of the foreſaid M. Stephen Burrough, An. 1557. from Colmogro to Wardhouſe, which was ſent to ſeeke the Bona Eſperanza, the Bona Confidentia, and the Philip and Mary, which were not heard of the yeere before.

May.

23 Vpon Sunday the 23. of May, I departed with the Searchebyrke from Colmogro, the latitude whereof is 64. degrees, 25. minutes, and the variation of the compaſſe, 5. degrees, 10. minutes from the North to the Eaſt.

26 Wednesday we came to the Iſland called Pozanka, which Iſland is within foure leagues of the barre Berozoua. It floweth here at an Eaſt and by South Moone full ſea.

29 Saturday in the morning we departed from Pozanka, and plied to the barre of Berozoua Gooba, whereupon wee came to anker at a lowe water, and ſounded the ſaid Barre with our two Skiffes, and found in the beſt vpon the ſhoaldeſt of the barre 13. foote water by the rule. It highet vpon this barre, in ſpring ſtreames 3. foote water: and an Eaſt Moone maketh a full ſea vpon this barre.

30 Sunday in the morning wee departed from the barre of Berozoua, and plied along by the ſhoalds in fiue fadome, vntill I had ſight of S. Nicholas roade, and then wee caſt about to the Coia Reca. Northwards, and went with a hommocke, which is halfe a mile to the Eaſtwards of Coya Reca which hommocke and S. Nicholas abbey lye Southſouthweſt, and Northnortheaſt, and

twεene them are 11. leagues. Cola Reca is halfe a mile to the East wards of Colcaynos. Colcaynos & the mides of the Iland called Mondeustona ostroue, which is thwart of the barre of Berozoua lieth South and by East, North and by West, and betweene them are 4. leagues, or as you may say from the Seaboord part of the barre to Colcaynos are 3. leagues and a halfe. Colcaynos.

Sunday at a Northeast and by East sunne we were thwart of Colcaynos.

Dogs nose lieth from Colcaynos Northnorthwest, and betweene them are eighe leagues: and Dogs nose sheweth like a Gurnerds head, if you be inwardly on both sides of it: on the lowe point of Dogs nose there standeth a crosse alone.

Iune.

FRom Dogs nose to Forenose are three leagues, North and by West.

The 2. day of June I went on shoare 2. miles to the Northwards of Dogs nose, and had the latitude of that place in 65. degrees, 47. minutes. It floweth a shoare at this place, at an East Woone full sea, and the shippe lay thwart to wende a flood, in the off, at a Southsoutheast moone. So that it is to be vnderstoode, that when it is a full sea on the shoare, it is two poines to ebbe, before it be a lowe water in the off. The variation of the Compasse at this place is 4. degrees from the North to the East. 1 2

This day the Northnorthwest winde put vs backe againe with Dogs nose, where a ship may ride thwart of a sale house, in 4. fadome, or 4. fadome and a halfe of water, and haue Landfange for a North and by West winde: which Salt house is halfe a mile to the Southwards of Dogs nose. Dogs nose. The variation of the Compasse 4. degrees.

Friday at a Southsouthwest Sunne, wee departed from this Salt house. It is to be noted that foure miles to the Northwards of Dogs nose there growe no trees on the banke by the water side: and the bankes consist of fullers earth. Ouer the cliffes there growe some trees: so scene in all that Countrey. 3

A head of Fore nose a league from the shoare there are 15. fadome: betwixt Fore nose and Zolatirsa there are 6. leagues, I meane the Southerly part of Fore nose. Fore nose.

Sunday I sounded the barre of Zolatirsa, which the Russes told me was a good harborow, but in the best of it I found but 4. foote water. 4

Munday. I had the latitude in 66. degrees, and then was point Pentecost fiue leagues South 4. minutes. 6

Wednesday I went on land at Crosse Iland, and tooke the latitude, which was 66. degrees 7

We being one league Northeast of Crosse Iland, I sawe the land on the Eastside, which I Poynt Pentecost.

ay ged to be Cape good fortune, and it was then Eastsoutheast of vs 9. leagues. 9 Crosse Iland.

Cape grace is 7. leagues and a halfe Northeast from Crosse Iland. Cape good fortune.

There are 2. Ilands 5. leagues Northnortheast from Cape grace, the Southermost of them a little long Iland almost a mile long, and the Northermost a little round Iland, and they are both hard aboord the shore. Cape grace.

Cape Race is from the Southermost Iland North and by West, and betweene them are two leagues, and from that and halfe a league Northnorthwest, there is another poynt. Betweene which poynt and Cape Race, the Russes haue a Stanauish or harborow for their Lodias: and to the Westwards of the said poynt, there is a shoale bay. Cape Race.

Three leagues and a halfe to Northwards of Cape Race, we had the latitude on the 10. day of this moneth in 67. degrees 10. minutes. Riding within half a league of the shoare in this latitude I found it to be a full sea at a North and by East moone. I had where we roade two and twentie fadoome, and the tallow which is taken vp is full of great broken shels, and some stones withall turned into small sand congealed together. 10

From a South sunne that wee weyed, the winde being at North and by East, wee driued to windwards halfe the ebbe, with the ships head to the Eastwards. And then when we cast about head to the Westwards, we sounded, and had 22. fadome broken shels, and gray sand; this night was very misty, with frost on the shrowds as the mist fell.

Friday in the morning at an East sunne, the mist brake vp a little, the winde being at North by West a stiffe gale, our shrowdes and ropes ouer head being couered with frost, and likely to be a storme: I thought it good to seeke an harborow, and so plied roome with the Islands which were two leagues to the Southwards of Cape Race, and within these Ilands (thankes bee to God) we found harborow for vs. It lyeth at these Ilands two fadome water: it floweth in the Frost in June.

harborow at this place at a Southsoutheast moone full sea: and a sea boord it floweth at a Southsouthwest moone a full sea. The Russes call this Iland, Tri Ostroue.

Tri Ostroue.

You may come in betweene the little Iland and the great Iland, and keepe you in the midst of the Sound, and if you borrowe on any side, let it bee on the greatest Iland, and you shall haue at a low water, foure fadome, and three fadome and a halfe, and three fadome, vntill that you be shot so farre in as the narrowest, which is betweene the Northermost point of the greatest Iland, and the Southerne point of the maine which is right against it, and then hale to the Northwards with the crosse which standeth in the maine, and you shall haue at a lowe water 10. foote water, and faire sand. And if you be disposed to goe through the Sound to the Southwards, keepe the Northwest shoare aboord, for on the Iland side after you be shotte so farre in as the crosse, it is a shoale of rockes halfe the sound ouer: which rockes do last vnto the Southerly part of the great Iland, and rather to the Southwards. And if you be constrained to seeke a harborough for Northerly windes, when you come out of the sea, hale in with the Southerly part of the great Iland, giuing the Iland a faire birth, and as you shoote towards the maine, you shall finde roome for all Northerly windes, in foure fadome, fiue, sixe and seuen fadome, at a lowe water.

Also within this great Iland (if neede bee) you may haue a good place to ground a ship in: the great Iland is almost a mile long and a quarter of a mile ouer.

16 This storme of Northerly winde lasted vntill the 16. of this moneth, and then the winde came Southerly, but we could not get out for Ice. I went on shore at the crosse, and tooke the latitude, which is 66. degrees, 58. minutes, 30. seconds: the variation of the Compasse 3. degrees and a halfe from the North to the East.

Ice.

The variation.

17 Thursday being faire weather, and the winde at North we plied to the winde-wards with sailes and oares: wee stopped the flood this day three leagues to the Northwards of Cape Race, two miles from the shoare, and had twentie fadome water, faire gray and blacke sand, and broken shels. And when the ebbe came wee waped and made aboord to the shoare-wards, and had

18 within two cables length of the shoare, eighteene fadomes faire gray and blacke sand: a man may finde roade there for a North winde, and so to the Westwards.

Two leagues to the Southward of Corpus Christi poynt, you may haue Landfang in a North and by East winde, and from that to the Westwards in 23. fadome almost a mile from shoare, and faire sand, and amongst the sand little pong small limpets, or such like as growe vpon muscles: and within two cables length and lesse of the shoare are eighteene fadomes, and the sounding aforesaid, but the pong limpets more plentifull. It was a full sea where we roade, almost a mile from shoare, at a South and by West moone: two leagues to the Southwards of Corpus Christi point is the vttermost land, which land and Cape Race lyeth South and halfe a point to Westwards, and North and halfe a point to the Eastwards, and betweene them are fiue leagues. Riding this day fiue leagues to the Northwards of Cape Race, the winde at North-

19 northwest, with mist and frost, at noone the sunne appeared through the mist, so that I had the latitude in 67. degrees, 29. minutes.

21 Sunday we were thwart of Corpus Christi point, two leagues and a halfe from shoare, yet

Corpus Christi poynt.

ther more, where we sounded, and had 36. fadoms, and broken cocle shels, with brannie sand, but the broken shels very thicke.

22 Tuesday in the morning we were shotte ahead of Cape gallant, which the Russes call Sok-

Caye Gallant.

noz. And as we were shot almost halfe a league betwixt it, and Cape comfort, the winde came vp at the Northwest, and after to the Northwards, so that we were faine to beare roome to seeke a harbour, where we found good harbour for all windes, and the least 7. fadome water betweene S. Iohns Ilands, and the maine.

After that we came to an ancre, we tooke the latitude, which was 68. degrees 1. minute, about noone, the winde at North with plentie of snowe.

At a West sunne there came aboord vs certaine Lappians in a boate, to the number of fifteene persons, and amongst them there were two wenches, and some of them could speake the Russe tongue: I asked them where their abiding was, and they tolde mee that there was a company or heard of them, to the number of 100. men, besides women and children, but a little from in the riuer Iekonga.

They tolde me that they had bene to seeke meate among the rockes, saying, If wee get no meate, wee eate none. I sawe them eate rocke weedes as hungerly, as a cowe doeth grasse when shee is hungrie. I sawe them also eate foules egges rawe, and the pong birdes also that were in the egges.

Iobsen

I obſerued certaine wordes of their language, which *I thought good to ſet downe for their vſe, that hereafter* ſhall haue occaſion to continue this voyage.

COwghtie coteat, what call you this.
Poddythecke, come hither.
Auanchythocke, get the hence.
Anna, farewell.
Teyrue, good morrowe.
Iomme iemauſes, I thanke you.
Paſſeuellie, a friend.
Olmuelke, a man.
Captella, a woman.
Alke, a ſonne.
Neit, a daughter, or yong wench.
Oyuie, a head.
Cyelme, an eye.
Nenna, a noſe.
Nealma, a mouth.
Pannes, teeth.
Neughtema, a tongue.
Seaman, a beard.
Peallee, an eare.
Teappar, the necke.
Voapt, the haire.
Keat, a hand.
Soarme, fingers.
Iowlkie, a legge.
Peelkie, the thombe, or great toe.
Sarke, woollen cloth.
Lein, linnen cloth.
Payte, a ſhirt.
Tol, fire.
Keatſe, water.
Murr, wood.
Vannace, a boate.
Aries, an oare.
Nurr, a roape.
Peyue, a nap.
Hyr, a night.
Peyuezea, the Sunne.
Manna, the Moone.
Laſſe, ſtarres.
Cozam volka, whither goe you.
Ouapp, ſleepe.
Tallye, that.
Keiedde pieue, a weeke.
Iſckie, a yeere.
Keſſe, Sommer.
Talue, Winter.
Iowkſam, colde.
Parox, warme.
Abrye, raine.
Youghang, yce.
Keatykye, a ſtone.
Sellowpe, ſiluer.
Solda, golde.
Tennae, tinnne.
Veskue, copper.
Rowadt, yron.
Neybx, a knife.
Axſhe, a hatchet.
Leabee, bread.
Ieauegoat, meale.
Pencka, the winde.
Iowte, a platter.
Kemnie, a kettle.
Keeſtes, gloues.
Sapege, ſhoes.
Conde, a wilde Deare.
Poatſa, the labouring Deare.

Their wordes of number are theſe as followeth.

OFte, Noumpte,	1.
Colme,	2.
Nellye,	3.
Vitte,	4.
Cowte,	5.
Keydeem,	6.
Kaſſis,	7.
Owghchte,	8.
Locke,	9.
Oſtretumbelocke,	10.
Cowghtnumbelocke,	11.
Colmenonbelocke,	12.
Nellynombelocke,	13.
Vittie nombelocke,	14.
Cowtenombelocke,	15.
Keydemnombelocke,	16.
Kaſis nombelocke,	17.
Owght nombelocke,	18.
Coffteylocke,	19.
Colmelocke,	20.
Nelly locke,	30.
Vitte locke,	40.
Cowtelocke,	50.
Keydemlocke,	60.
Kaffitelocke,	70.
Oughcheteloke,	80.
Tewet,	90.
	100.

Friday in the morning we departed from Saint Iohns Iſland: to the Weſtwards thereof, ...ie from the ſhoare, we ſounded, and had 36. fadoms, and oazie ſand.

Iuana Creos. Iuana Creos is from Cape gallant Weſtnorthweſt, and halfe a point to the Northwards, and betweene them is 7. leagues. The point of the Iſland, which is Cape comfort, lyeth from Iuana Creos, Northweſt and by North, and almoſt the 3. part of a point to the Weſtwards, and betweene them are 3. leagues.

S. Georges Iſlands. The Eaſtermoſt of S. Georges Iſlands, or the 7. Iſlands, lyeth from Iuana Creos Northweſt, & halfe a point to the Northwards, and betweene them are 14. leagues & a halfe. The vttermoſt of the 7. Iſlands, & Cape comfort lieth Northweſt, & by North, Southeaſt, and by South.

Cape comfort. Vnder the Southermoſt Iſland you ſhall finde good roade for all Northerly windes from the Northweſt to the Northeaſt. From the Southeaſt part of the 7. Iſlands, vnto the Northweſt part of them, are 3. leagues and a halfe.

S. Peters Iſlands. From the Northweſt part of the Iſlands aforeſaid, vnto S. Peters Iſlands, are 11. leagues Northweſt.

26 S. Peters Iſlands riſe an indifferent low point, not ſeeming to be an Iſland, and as if it had a caſtle vpon it.

S. Pauls Iſlands. S. Pauls Iſlands lie from S. Peters Iſlands Northweſt and to the Weſtwards, and betweene them are 6. leagues. Within theſe Iſlands there is a faire ſandy bay, and there may be found good roade for Northerly windes.

Cape Sower beere. Cape Sower beere lyeth from S. Pauls Iſlands Northweſt and by Weſt, and betweene them are 5. leagues.

Kildins. Cape comfort, which is the Iſland of Kildins, lieth from Cape Sower beere, 6. leagues Weſtnorthweſt, and it is altogether a bay betweene them ſeeming many Iſlands in it.

Cape Bonauenture. From Cape Bonauenture, to Chebe Nauoloche are 10. leagues Northweſt, and a little to the Weſtwards. Chebe Nauoloche is a faire point, wheron ſtandeth a certaine blacke, like an empty butte ſtanding a head.

From Chebe Nauoloch to Kegor, is 9. leagues and a halfe Northweſt, and halfe a point to the Weſtwards. Kegor riſeth as you come from the Eaſtwards like 2. round homocks ſtanding together, and a faire ſaddle betweene them.

Kegor.

27 It flowed where we road this Sunday to the Eaſtwards of Kegor, at a Southeaſt and by Eaſt moone, a full ſea: we roade in 15. fadome water within halfe a mile of the ſhoare: at Northweſt Sunne the miſt came downe ſo thicke, that we were faine to come to an anere within leſſe then a mile of the point that turneth to Doms haff, where we had 33. fadome, and the ſounding like to the ſkurfe of a ſkalde head.

Domhaff.

Wardhouſe. 28 Sunday at afternoone, wee came into the Sound of Wardhouſe, although it were very miſtie. Then I ſent a man a ſhoare to know ſo[illegible] newes, and to ſee whether they could heare any thing of our ‖ ſhips.

‖ Which were the Bona Eſperanza, the Bona confidentia and the Philip and Marie. Where of the two firſt were loſt. 29 Tueſday I went on ſhoare, and dined with the Captaines deputie, who made mee great cheere: the Captaine himſelfe was not as yet come from Bergen: they looked for him euery houre, and they ſaid that he would bring newes with him.

At a Northweſt and by North ſunne we departed from Wardhouſe, toward Colmogro.

30 Wedneſday we came to Kegor, where we met with the winde at Eaſt Southeaſt, ſo that we were faine to go in to a bay to the Weſtwards of the point Kegor, where a man may moare 100. ſmall ſhips, that ſhall not draw paſt 11. or 12. foote water, for all windes, an Eaſt Northeaſt winde is the worſt. It is a ledge of rocks, that defendeth the Northerly winds frō the place where they moare. When we came into the bay we ſaw there a barke which was of ‖ Dronton, & three or foure Norway peaghes, belonging to Northberne: ſo when I came a ſhoare, I met firſt with the Dutchmen, amongſt whom was the Borrow-maſters ſonne of Dronton, who tolde me that the Philip and Mary wintered at Dronton, and departed from thence for England in March: and withall he ſhewed me that the Confidence was loſt, and that he had bought her ſailes for his ſhip. Then the Dutch-men caried me to their Boothe, and made me good cheere, where I ſawe the Lappians chepen of the ſaid Dutchmen, both ſiluer platters and dishes, ſpoones, girdle rings, ornaments for girdles of ſiluer & gilt, and certaine things made to hang about the necke, with ſiluer chaines belonging to them.

‖ Or, Dronton.

The Philip and Marie. The bona Confidentia caſt away.

The Dutchmen bring hither mightie ſtrong beere, I am certaine that our Engliſh double beere would not be liked of the Kerils and Lappians, as long as that would laſt.

Here I ſawe the Dutchmen alſo haue courſe cloth, both blew, greene and reede, and ſad roſie flesh colour. And hither they bring alſo Otters cafes and fore cafes, both blacke and reede: the Engliſh fore cafes are but counterfaits vnto them.

They would not let me vnderſtand any of their pryſes, but as I otherwiſe vnderſtood they bartered a load of ſiluer for 100 of ſtockfiſh, and a loade is a daller. And the Dutchmen told me, that they

they had made a notable good yeere this preſent yeere 1557. They tolde me that they ſhould be faine to goe to Wardhouſe with one lading, and lay it on land there, and ſo come againe and fetch another. The Boyrolwmaſters ſomme told me, that he would go to Amſterdam with his lading of ſtockfiſh, who gaue me a barrell of ſtrong beere, and brought it in aboord our ſhip himſelfe.

After this I went among the Ruſſes and Kerils, who offered me fiſh to ſell, and likewiſe the Lappians deſired me to looke vpon their fiſh. I made them anſwere, that I had nowe no wares nor money to barter with them, and ſaid that I came only to ſee if I might meete with our Engliſh ſhips. Then they deſired me that I would come thither the next yeere: I ſaid to them, If I ſhould come the next yeere, I thinke here would not be fiſh ynough to ſerue the Dutchmen and vs alſo. They anſwered me, that if more ſhips did reſort thither, there would more people labour to kill and make fiſh: and further they ſaid, that ſome of them came thither a fiſhing 8. weekes iourney with Deere, which Deere will trauaile more ſpeedily then horſes will.

A gainefull trade of fiſhing at Kegor.

As I was thus in talke with the Kerils and Lappians, the Emperour of Ruſſia his deputie (who was there to gather the tribute of the Lappians) ſent for me to come to his tent, who after familiar ſalutations, made me good cheere. He demaunded of me, why none of our ſhips came thither. I anſwered him, becauſe we knew not the place before now, neither yet heard of any faire fiſh, I thinke it good (ſaid he) that you make a beginning. I tolde him, that by the grace of God the next yeere, one Engliſh ſhip ſhould come thither.

Becauſe I ſawe the ſeruants of the king of Denmarke there alſo gathering the tribute, I aſked Vaſilie Pheodorouich the Ruſſie deputie, whether the Denmarks would not be a let to vs, if we ſhould come to this Kegor. And he ſaid, no, they ſhould not: for this land is my kings, and therefore be bolde to come hither.

The Kerils and the Lappians ſolde no fiſh, vntill the ſaid deputie had looked vpon it, and had giuen them leaue to ſell. I aſked him what wares were beſt for vs to bring thither, and he ſaid, ſiluer, pearles, cloth, ble we, red, and greene, meale, ſtrong beere, wine, pewter, fore cales, and gold.

Commodities fit for Kegor.

The Lappians pay tribute to the Emperour of Ruſſia, to the king of Denmarke, and to the king of Sweden. He tolde me that the Riuer Cola is little more then 20. leagues to the Southwards of Kegor, where we ſhould haue great plentie of ſalmon, if corne were any thing cheape in Ruſſia: for then poore men would reſorte thither to kill ſalmon.

The Dutchmen tolde me that they had made a good yeere of this, but the Kerils complained of it, becauſe they could not ſell all their fiſh, and that which they ſold was as pleaſed the Dutchmen, and at their own price. I aſked the Kerils at what price they ſold their fiſh to the Ruſſes, & they ſaid good cheape: wee ſell 24. fiſhes for 4. altines. I thinke they ſolde little aboue 20. pence, the 25. fiſhes this yeere.

The Dutchmen tolde me that the beſt ſtockfiſh is made at Kegor. I ſawe at Vaſilies tent 7. or 8. iauelins, and halfe a dozen of bowes bent, with their budgets of arrowes, & likewiſe ſwords with other weapons: Otherwiſe I ſawe no weapons there.

I was alſo conueyed to their lodgings, which gathered tribute for the king of Denmarke, where I ſawe a paire of bilbowes: and I aſked whether they were for the Lappians (if neede were,) and they ſaid no, but onely for their owne company if they ſhould chance to be vnruly.

The Kerils and the Lappians are not to be truſted, for they will ſteale as well as the Ruſſes, if they may conueniently come by any thing.

Concerning my voyage, becauſe the winde was ſcant to goe backe againe to Colmogro, I tarried to the Eaſtwards of the poynt Kegor, and ſent to land, and baked two batches of bread in the ouens that the Kerils haue for their proviſion.

Inſtructions giuen to the Maſters and Mariners to be obſerued in *and about this Fleete, paſſing this yeere 1577. toward the Bay of S. Nicolas in* Ruſſia, for this preſent Race to be made & returne of the ſame by Gods grace to the port of London, the place of their right diſcharge, as in the Articles enſuing is deduced.

FIrſt, it is accorded and agreed betweene the ſeuerall proprietaries and owners, maſters and companies of the foure ſhips, ſurnamed the Primroſe, the Iohn Euangeliſt, the Anne and the Trinitie, and the Lieutenant, Conſuls, aſſiſtants and companie of the Marchant aduenturers, that the aboue named foure ſhips ſhall in good order and conduct, ſaile, paſſe, and trauaile together in one fleete, ioyning, and conſerue of ſocietie, to be kept indiſſolubly and not to be ſeuered, but within continuall ſight, ſo farre foorth as (by winde & weather) by poſſibilitie ſhall or may

be

be without any ſeparation or departure of one from the other.

2 Item, it is agreed that the good ſhip named the Primeroſe, ſhalbe Admirall of this flote, and that Anthonie Ienkinſon Gentleman, ſhalbe captaine thereof: and that all other the 3. ſhips ſhall enſue and folow her in all courſes, and that no courſe nor waying (in harborough eſpecially) ſhall be made without aduice, conſent and agreement of the ſayd Captaine, the Maſter, his mate, and two other officers of the ſaid ſhip, or three of them at the leaſt.

3 Item, that the ſaid Anthonie is and ſhalbe reputed & taken for Captaine general of the ſaid flote together with all ſuch orders, preeminences, priuiledges and preferments as by the order of ſeas is due and accuſtomed to a Captaine during his abode and exerciſe of the ſame.

4 It is alſo ordeined, that if any one or moe of the ſaid 3. ſhips ſhalbe out of ſight either before or behinde the Admirall, that then the reſt of the ſhips ſhall tacke or take off their ſailes in ſuch ſort as they may meete and come together, in as good order as may be, to the intent to keepe the conſortment exactly in all poynts.

5 It is conſtituted, that if any ſhips ſhalbe ſeuered by miſt or darke weather, in ſuch ſort as the one cannot haue ſight of the other, then and in ſuch caſe the Admiral ſhall make ſound and noiſe by drumme, trumpet, horne, gunne or otherwiſe or meanes, that the ſhips may come as nigh together, as by ſafetie and good order they may.

6 It is alſo to be obſerued, that euery day once the other three ſhippes ſhall ſend and come aboord the Admirall, and there conſult and determine of ſuch matter and things as ſhall be for the aſſurance of their Nauigation, and moſt expedition of the ſame.

7 Item, that notes & entries be daily made of their Nauigations put in writing & memory, and that the yong Mariners and apprentices may be taught & cauſed to learne and obſerue the ſame.

8 It is accorded that the ſaid Captaine ſhall haue the principall rule and gouernement of the apprentices: And that not onely they, but alſo all other the ſailers, ſhalbe attendant and obedient to him, as of duetie and reaſon appertaineth.

9 Alſo that no beere nor broth, or other liquor be ſpilt vpon the balaſt, or other place of the ſhip, whereby any anoyance, ſtinke, or other vnſauorineſſe ſhall growe in the ſhippe to the infection or hurt of the perſons in the ſame.

10 Item, that the Captaine by diſcretion ſhall from time to time diſſhip any artificer or Engliſh ſeruingman or apprentice out of the Primroſe into any of the other three ſhips, and in lieu of him or them, take any ſuch apprentice as he ſhall thinke conuenient and moſt meete to ſerue the benefite of the companie.

11 Item, that great reſpect be had to the Gunners and Cookes roomes, that all danger and perill of powder and fire may be eſchewed and auoyded.

12 Item, that ſingular care and reſpect be had to the ports of the ſhip, aſwell in Nauigation as in harborow, and eſpecially in lading and vnlading of the ſhippes, that nothing be lacking or ſurcharged: and that the bookes may oftentimes be conferred and made to agree in eſchuement of ſuch loſſes, as may enſue.

13 Special foreſight is to be had, that at the Wardhouſe no treacherie, inuaſion, or other peril of moleſtation be done or procured to be attempted to our ſhips by any kings, princes, or companies, that do miſlike this new found trade by ſeas to Ruſſia, or would let & hinder the ſame; whereof no ſmall boaſt hath bene made: which giueth occaſion of more circumſpection and diligence.

14 If the winde and weather will ſerue, it is thought good rather to goe by the Wardhouſe then to come in and ancre there, leſt any male engine, or danger may be the rather attempted againſt vs, our goods and ſhips as aboue.

15 It is thought good that Richard Iohnſon, late ſeruant to M. Chanceler, ſhall be ſent home in this nert returne, to inſtruct the company of the ſtate of the Countrey, and of ſuch queſtions as may be demanded of him, for our better aduertiſements and reſolutions, in ſuch doubts as ſhall ariſe here: and that he ſhall haue the roome of the Captaine in ſuch ſort, as Maſter Ienkinſon is in this preſent cocket aſſigned vnto. And if Iohnſon can not, may not, nor will not returne and occupie the ſaid place, then any other perſon to be preferred thereunto, as by the diſcretion of our ſaid Captaine, with conſent of our Agents, ſhall be thought meete and apt to ſupply the ſame.

16 Prouided alway, that the ſhips returning be not diſfurniſhed of one ſuch able man, as ſhall occupie the Captainſhip in like order, as is, and hath bene in ſuch caſe appoynted, as reaſon and good order requireth.

17 Item that all other former orders, rules, and deuiſes, made and prouided for the good order of our ſhips, wares, and goods, being not repugnant, contrary or diuerſe, to theſe articles, and the contents of the ſame, ſhall be, and ſtand in full force and effect, to be in all reſpects obſerued and kept of all and euery perſon and perſons, whom the ſame doth or ſhall touch or concerne.

In

In witnesse of the premisses faithfully to be obserued and kept, the owners and Maisters of the said foure ships, together with the said Captaine, to these seuenteene articles, contained in two sheetes of paper, haue subscribed their hands. Giuen in London, the third of May, in the yeere of our Lord God 1557.

¶ Owners of the Primerose.
Andrewe Iudde.
William Chester.
Anthony Hickman.
Edward Casteline.
¶ Owners of the Iohn Euangelist.
Andrew Iudde.
William Chester.
¶ Owner of the Anne.
Iohn Dimocke.
¶ Owner of the Trinitie.
R. T.

A letter of the Company of the Marchants aduenturers to *Russia vnto George Killingworth, Richard Gray, and Henry Lane* their Agents there, to be deliuered in Colmogro or els where: sent in the Iohn Euangelist.

AFter our heartie commendations vnto you and to either of you: your generall letter and other particular letters with two bookes of the sale and remainders of our goods, and the buying of ware there with you, we receiued about the ende of Nouember out of the Edward, with heautie newes of the losse of the sayde good shippe and goods at Petslego in Scotland, with the death of Richard Chanceler and his Boy, with certaine of the Embassadours seruants, and he himselfe with nine of his seruants escaped very hardly onely by the power of God: but all his goods and ours in maner were lost and pilfered away by the Scots, and that that is saued is not yet come to our hands, but we looke for it daily, and it will skant pay the charges for the recouering of it. No remedy but patience: and to pray to God to send vs better fortune hereafter. As touching the receiuing and entertaining of the Embassadour and his retinewe since his comming to England at the kings and Queenes Maiesties handes, with the Counsell & Lords of this Realme, and the Marchants that be free in Russia with feasting and beneuolence giuen him, wee referre it to his report and others. The like we thinke haue not bene seene nor shewed here of a long time to any Ambassadour. The Philip and Marie arriued here tenne dayes past: shee wintered in Norway. The Confidence is lost there. And as for the Bona Esperanza, as yet we haue no newes of her. We feare it is wrong with her. By your billes of lading receiued in your generall letters we perceiue what wares are laden in them both. Your letters haue no date nor mention where they were made, which were written by Henry Lane, and signed by you George Killingworth and Richard Gray: both it and the other Letters and Bookes came so sore spoyled and broken with water that we cannot make our reckoning by them. You shall vnderstand we haue fraighted for the parts of Russia foure good shippes to be laden there by you & your order: That is to say, The Primerose of the burthen of 240. Tunnes, Master vnder God Iohn Buckland: The Iohn Euangelist of 170. Tunnes, Master vnder God Laurence Roundal: The Anne of London of the burthen of 160. tunnes, Master vnder God Dauid Philly, and the Trinitie of London of the burthen of 140. Tunnes, Master vnder God Iohn Robins, as by their Charter parties may appeare: which you may require to see for diuers causes. You shall receiue, God willing, out of the said good ships, God sending them in safety for the vse of the Company, these kinds of wares following, all marked with the general marke of the Company as followeth. 25. fardels containing 207. sorting clothes, one fine violet in graine, and one skarlet, and 40. cottons for wrappers, beginning with number 1. and ending with number 52. The sorting clothes may cost the first penny 5.li.9.s. the cloth, one with the other. The fine violet 18.li.6.s.6.d. The skarlet 17.li.13.s.6.d. the cottons at 9.li.10.s. the packe, accompting 7. cottons for a packe. more 500. pieces of Hampshire kersies, that is 400. watchets, 43. blewes, 53. reds, 15. greenes, 5. ginger colours, and 2. yellowes which cost the first penny 4.li.6.s. the piece, & 3. packes containing 21. cottons at 9.li.10.s. the packe: and part of the clothes is measured by Archines. More 9. barrels of Pewter of Thomas Hasels making, &c. Also the wares bee packed and laden as is afore sayde, as by Inuoyce in euery Shippe more plainely may appeare. So that when it shall please God

1557.

Wares sent into Russia out of England.

The Archine is a Russia measure.

God to ſend the ſaid good ſhips to you in ſafetie, you are to receiue our ſaid goods, and to procure the ſales to our moſt aduantage either for ready money, time or barter: hauing conſideration that you doe make good debts, and giue ſuch time, if you giue any, as you may employ and returne the ſame againſt the next voyage; and alſo foreſeeing that you barter to a profit, and for ſuch wares as be here moſt vendible, as were, tallowe, traine oyle, hempe and flaxe. Of furres we deſire no great plentie, becauſe they be dead wares. And as for Felts, we will in no wiſe you ſend any. And whereas you haue prouided tarre, and as as we ſuppoſe, ſome hempe ready bought, our aduiſe is, that in no wiſe you ſend any of them hither vnwrought, becauſe our fraight is 4.li. a tunne or little leſſe: which is ſo deare, as it would not beare the charges: and therefore we haue ſent you 7. ropemakers, as by the copies of their couenants here incloſed ſhall appeare, Whom we will you ſet to worke with al expedition in making of cables & ropes of al ſorts, from the ſmalleſt rope to xii. inches: And that ſuch tarre and hempe as is already brought to the water ſide, they may there make it out, and after that you ſettle their worke in Vologhda or Colmogro as you ſhall thinke good, where their ſtuffe may be neereſt to them: at which place and places you doe aſſigne them a principall ouerſeer aſwell to ſee the deliuerie of the ſtuffe vnwrought, as alſo to take charge of the ſtuffe wrought, & to foreſee that neither the yarne be burnt in tarring, nor the hempe rotted in the watering; and alſo to furniſh them ſo with labourers, workemen and ſtuffe, as hereafter when theſe workmen ſhall come away, we be not deſtitute of good workmen, and that theſe may diſpatch as much as poſſibly they may, doing it ſubſtancially: for we eſteeme it a principal commoditie, and that the Counſel of England doth well allowe. Let all diligence be vſed, that at the returne of theſe ſhippes we may ſee ſamples of all ropes & cables if it be poſſible, and ſo after to continue in worke, that we may haue good ſtore againſt the next yeere. Therefore they haue neede to haue a place to worke in, in the winter: and at any hand let them haue helpe enough to ſpinne their ſtuffe: for ſeeing you haue great plentie of hempe there, and at a reaſonable price, we truſt we ſhalbe able to bring as good ſtuffe from thence, and better cheape then out of Danske: if it be diligently vſed, and haue a good ouerſeer.

7. Ropemakers ſent into Ruſſia.

Cables and Ropes a principall commoditie.

Danske the old cheefe place for Cables.

Let the chiefeſt lading of theſe foure ſhippes be principally in were, flaxe, tallowe and traine oyle. And if there be any more wares then theſe ſhips be able to take in, then leaue that which is leaſt in valew and groſſeſt in ſtouage vntill the next ſhipping: for wee doe purpoſe to ground our ſelues chiefly vpon theſe commodities, as were, cables and ropes, traine oyle, flaxe and ſome linen yarne. As for Malts, Tarre, Hempe, Feathers, or any ſuch other like, they would not beare the charges to haue any, conſidering our deere fraight. We haue ſent you a Skinner to be there at our charges for meate, drinke and lodging, to viewe and ſee ſuch furres as you ſhall cheape or buye, not minding neuertheleſſe, that you ſhall charge your ſelues with many, except thoſe which bee moſt vendible, as good marterns, minuers, otherwiſe called Letts, and Wynkes. Of theſe you may ſend vs plentie, finding them good and at a reaſonable price. As for Sables and other rich Furres, they bee not euery mans money: therefore you may ſend the fewer, vſing partly the diſcretion of the ſkinner in that behalfe.

Commodities not bearing the charges of long fraight.

Furres moſt vendible.

Steele.

Wee heare that there is great plentie of ſteele in Ruſſia and Tartarie, whereof wee would you ſent vs part for an example, and to write your mindes in it what ſtore is to be had for we heare ſay there is great plentie, and that the Tartars ſteele is better then that in Ruſſia.

Copper.

And likewiſe we be informed that there is great plentie of Copper in the Emperours Dominions: we would be certified of it what plentie there is, and whether it be in plates or in round flat cakes, and ſend vs ſome for an example. Alſo we would haue you to certifie vs what kinde of wollen cloth the men of Rie and Reuel, and the Poles and Lettoes doe bring to Ruſſia, and ſend the ſkantlings of them with part of the liſſe, and a full aduiſe of the lengths and breadth, colours and prices, and whether they be ſtrained or not: and what number of them may be vttered in a peere, to the intent we may make prouiſion for them for the like ſortes, and all other Flemiſh wares which they bring thither and be moſt vendible there. And to certifie vs whether our ſet clothes be vendible there or not: and whether they be rowed and ſhorne: becauſe oftimes they goe vndreſt. Moreouer, we will you ſend vs of euery commoditie in that Country part, but no great quantitie other then ſuch as is before declared. And likewiſe euery kinde of Lether, whereof wee bee informed there is great ſtore bought yeerely by the Eſterlings and Duches for the Almaigne and Germanie.

Wollen cloth of Rie and Reuel, of Poland and Lettonia.

Ruſſian lether.

More, that you doe ſend vs for proofe a quantity of ſuch earth, hearbes, or what thing ſoeuer it be, that the Ruſſes do die and colour any kinde of cloth linen or wollen, Lether or any other thing withall: and alſo part of that which the Tartars and Turkes doe bring thither, and how it muſt be vſed in dying and colouring. Moreouer, that you haue a ſpeciall foreſight in the chuſing of your Tallowe, and that it may be well purified and tried, or els it will in one yeere putrifie & conſume,

Things good to die withall.

All

Also that you certifie vs the trueth of the waights and measures, and howe they doe answere with ours, and to send vs 3. robles in money, that we may trie the iust value of them.

Also we doe send you in these ships ten yong men that be bound Prentises to the Companie, whom we will you to appoyne euery of them as you shall there finde most apt and meete, some to keepe accompts, some to buy and sell by your order and Commission, and some to send abroad into the notable Cities of the Countrey for vnderstanding and knowledge. And we will you send vs aduertisement from time to time aswell of the demeanours of our Prentises which we doe send now, as also of such other as bee already there with you. And if you finde any of them remisse, negligent, or otherwise misuse themselues and will not be ruled, that then you doe send him home, and the cause why. Ten yong men sent into Russia.

And because we doe perceiue the Countrey to be large, and that you haue three households, we doe appoynt Henry Lane to be one of our Agents, and to ioyne with you in all your doings, and to haue like authoritie and power as you George Killingworth and Richard Gray haue: not doubting but you three will so conferre together, as both our Prentises and others may be appointed and diuided euery of them to his office, and to that he can best skill of: and you also so diuide your selues euery of you to an house, as by aduertisement one from another, our businesse and traffick may take good successe. And for diuers considerations, to auoyde many troubles and businesse that might happen, wee haue appointed that hee which shall abide at Colmogro (which we doe thinke to bee most meetest Henry Lane) shall haue with him there such of our yong men, as can best skill in keeping of accompts after the maner of Marchants, that is, by Debitor and Creditor: And that there shall be the place, where our bookes shalbe kept: because it is nearer the sea side, where our goods shalbe discharged and our ships laden. And the said Henry Lane to be charged with all such goods as we shall discharge there out of our ships, according to our Inuoyces. Which goods are to be sent from Colmogro to Vologhda or to Mosco, or to any other place where you three or two of you do appoynt thē to be sold, so that Henry Lane be one. And so frō time to time immediatly as any thing is sold, doe you certifie the same to Henry Lane, that he may enter it into the Bookes as appertaineth: otherwise he should be too farre behinde in his Bookes at the comming of our ships, when he should send vs the accompt of the whole yeere passed. And we will also that you George Killingworth and Richard Gray doe in the fine of April next send either of you vnto Henry Lane a whole perfit, & iust accompt firmed with your owne hands of all the goods you haue solde and bought vntill that time, and what remaineth vnsolde: and also the accompt of all maner costs of wares, and charges of you and the yong men vnder you particularly in such sort as the said accompt may bee with him in Colmogro at the fine of May at the furthest: to the intent that hee may make all our accompts perfite against the comming of our ships: and in any wise to keepe accompt of euery voyage by it selfe, and not mingle one voyage with another at no hand. And as we will haue you to keepe accompt of euery voyage by it selfe, euen so wee would haue all the whole costes and charges of euery yeere put into the voyage of that yeere. As the charges of all the last yeere must be put to the accompt of the third voyage: and the charges of this yeere present, must in the fine of April next, be put to the fourth voyage. Not doubting but your wisedome is such, that you will not take it in euill part, that wee doe appoynt Henry Lane to take the accompt of the rest. For we doe it for none other cause, but to keepe a good order in our bookes, that his bookes and ours may by this meanes agree: and hee being the ponger man, may best take paines: and that you doe keepe accompt of euery kinde of wares by it selfe, to the intent wee may perceiue wherein is our most gaine. And also in the making of your returne, in any wise name in your bylles of lading, letters, and accompts, what wares doe appertaine to the first, second, and third voyage: and that wee may knowe the same by the numbers or otherwise as you shall thinke good by your wisedomes, putting the charges of the saide wares vnto them, as nigh as you can. And all such money as shall bee made of your goods in any place, wee referre that to your discretion, where it shall remaine vntill it bee employed, either at Vologhda, Mosco, or els where. And likewise wee will that Henry Lane doe make in a readinesse about the beginning of June euery yeere our whole accompt of the voyage in that yeere passed: for that wee may receiue the same by our shippes: and that wee may plainely perceiue what sales are made, and what remaineth of the first, second, third, and fourth voyage, and what charges haue bene layde out for the sayd voyages, and what wares bee bought, and laden, and what they cost, and for what voyage euery parcell thereof is: and to send vs a copie of the same accompt in euery shippe. And also forasmuch as at this time we haue sent you but small store of wares in comparison of that we haue hope will bee vttered in thore space, and yet neuertheles much more then you wrote for, whereby there shall not be sufficient to make any ample Henry Lane Agent. The fourth voyage.

returne

returne: and vnderstanding that there is great quantitie of goods staped for our trade there by the Emperour, wee haue mooued the Embassador that you may haue credite for such quantitie as shall seeme good to you to prouide for our benefite. Which credite if you may by his meanes obtaine, or otherwise haue, we would you bought as much there principally as you may get. For if there be in that countrey so great quantitie, as we be informed there is, it will be the best commoditie we may haue: for hauing that wholly in our hands, we may serue our owne countrey and others. Therefore seeing the Emperour doth minde, that such commodities as bee in his dominions shall not passe to Rie and Reuel and Poland as they haue done, but bee reserued for him: therefore we must so lay for it, that it may not ly vpon their hands that haue it to sell, alwayes hauing consideration in the price and time as our next dispatch may correspond. Whereof you may send a certaine aduise, as well what you shall receiue of credit, and to what quantitie, as also what wares are remaining in your hands: which together well considered, you may aduertise vs as well for how many hundreth tonnes we must prouide fraight against the next peere, as also what sortes, quantities and qualities of wares we shall send you, as well to pay your credite, as also to furnish the next aduenture after. Of this we would be answered largely. For we trust by this time you are able to giue full instructions of the state of the countrey: according to the articles of your first Commissions, and what commodities doe principally abound there with their prices: and likewise what of our cõmodities haue most veterance there, and what prices will be giuen for them there: and all other things requisite and necessary to be knowen.

The olde traffike of Russia to Rie, Reuel and Poland turned to Saint Nicholas.

The Articles of their first Commission giuen 1555.

Also we doe vnderstand that in the Countrey of Permia or about the riuer of Pechora is great quantitie of Yewe, and likewise in the Countrey of Vgory, which we be desirous to haue knowledge of, because it is a speciall commoditie for our Realme. Therefore wee haue sent you a yong man, whose name is Leonard Brian, that hath some knowledge in the wood, to shew you in what sorte it must be cut and cloven. So our minde is if there be any store, and that it bee found to be good, that there you doe prouide a good quantitie against the next peere for the comming of our shippes: and if there can bee found none that will serue for our purpose, then you may set the sayd Leonard Brian to any other businesse that you shall finde most fittest for him, vntill the returne of our ships the next peere. For he is hired by the peere onely for that purpose. We doubt not but [illegible] shall doe you good seruice there. For hee hath good knowledge of wares of the Countrey: for his bringing vp hath bene most in Danske, and hath good vnderstanding in making of Ropes and Cables. Also we doe send you two Coopers to remaine there with you at our finding for meate and drinke and lodging to make in a readinesse all such caske as shalbe needfull for traine oyle, tallowe, or any thing else. One of them may goe with Leonard Brian to cut and cleue such Yewe as he shall like there. And because we be not sure what timber they shall finde there to make Caske, we haue laden in these ships 140. tunnes emptie Caske, that is 94. tunnes shaken Caske and 46. tunnes whole, and ten thousand hoopes, & 480. wzethes of twigs: they may be doing with that till they can prouide other timber, which we would be glad to heare of. They haue an example with them of the bignelle of the Caske they shall make. Neuertheless, all such Buttes and Hoggesheads as may be found to serue we will shalbe filled with Traine Oyle.

Leonard Brian sent to search out Yewe in the North parts of Russia.

2. Coopers sent into Russia.

Also we charge you that you suffer no goods nor marchandies of any persons being not free of the Company, and of the accompt of the Company to be laden in any wise in our ships either now or at any time hereafter: except the Emperour or Embassadour minde to send any thing to the King and Queenes Maiesties, or to any noble man, or to the Marchants of the Company. Nor likewise that you suffer any goods that goe in these ships to be brought on land there, except the Ambassadours goods, and the Physitions & Apothecaries, and others that bee hath with him, who carie no Marchandise. And because our ships be freighted by the great, it shalbe very needfull that you do appoynt certaine to see the romaging of the ships, and to giue the master or Bowswaine, or him that will take vpon him to romage, a good reward for his labour to see the goods well romaged. If it be iii.d. or iiii.d. the tunne, it shall not be amisse. For if it be not substantially well looked vnto, it may bee a great deale of money out of our wayes.

Also because we reckon that from the Mosco will bee alwayes better conueyance of letters to vs by land: our minde is that from time to time as occasion shall serue, our Agents shall write him that shall lie at Mosco of all things that shall passe, that hee may giue vs large instructions, aswell what is solde and bought, as also what lading we shall take, and what quantitie and kinde of goods we shall send. For hitherto we haue had but a slender aduise, more like a bill to serue a Chapman, then for quantitie of wares to serue a kingdome. For we must procure to vtter good quantitie of wares, especially the commodities of our Realme, although we afford a good penyworth, to the intent to make other that haue traded thither, wearie, and so to bring our selues and our commodities in estimation, and likewise to procure to haue the chiefe commodities of the

Country

countrey in our hands, as ware and such others, that other nations may bee serued by vs and at our hands. For wee doe vnderstand that the greatest quantitie of ware that commeth to Danske, Lubeck, and Hambourgh, commeth out of Russia. Therefore if wee should buy part, and they also buy, it would raise the price there, and would bee litle woorth here. And all such letters of importance and secretie as you doe send by land for any wares or other wise, you must write them in Cyphers, after the order of a booke sent you in the shippes: alwayes taking good heede in placing of your letters and cyphers, that wee may vnderstand them by the same booke heere, and to send them in such sort, that we may haue them here by Christmas or Candlemas, if it be possible. And because you cannot so certainly aduertise vs by letters of your doings, but some doubt may arise, whereof we would most gladly be certified: our mind is therefore that with these ships you send vs home one such yong man as is most expert in knowledge of that countrey, and can best certifie vs in such questions as may be demanded, whome we will remit vnto you againe in the next ships. We thinke Arthur Edwards will be fittest for that purpose: neuertheless vse your discretion in that matter.

The marchats letters ouer land written in cyphers.

As touching our goods that were robbed and pilfered out of our ships at Colmogro and Vologda we trust by this time they are restored againe, and the malefactors so punished, that other may take example for doing the like, otherwise it will be an euill president. Moreouer, wee doe perceiue that Richard Gray doeth buy masts to send into England, they will not quit the costes, except we had a ship of purpose for them. And likewise that Steuen Burrow is returned from his discouerie with the Scrichthift, and wintereth at Colmogro, and is minded to set forth in the beginning of June next to seeke the riuer of Ob. We pray God to speede him well, and trust to haue him here in England this yeere to bring vs good newes.

The voyage of Steuen Burrowe for the discouerie of the riuer of Ob.

We doe perceiue there is a riuer found about the mouth of S. Nicholas Bay that hath thirteen foot vpon the barre at a lowe water, and is as neere Colmogro as S. Nicholas: which will bee a great pleasure vnto vs. We will that Steuen Burrowe doe proceed on his voiage to discouer. Also we haue sent you one Anthonie Ienkinson Gentleman, a man well trauelled, whom we mind to vse in further trauelling, according to a Commission deliuered him, subscribed by master Anthonie Huse and others. Wherefore we will you deliuer him one or more of such painfull young men as he shal thinke meetest for his purpose: and likewise such money and wares as he shal think best to take with him. He must haue fourty pounds a yeere for foure yeeres, to be paid him by the halfe yeere, or as he wil demaund it of you, so let him haue it from Easter last. Also the prices of wares here at this present are, bale flaxe twenty pound the packe and better, towe flaxe twentie eight pound the hundred, traine oyle at nine pound the tunne, ware at foure pound the hundred, tallow at sixteene shillings the hundred, cables and ropes very deare: as yet there are no shippes come out of Danske.

M. Anthonie Ienkinson his affrill trauaile intended for Cathay by the Caspian sea and Boghar.

Kept vntill the tenth day of this present. As this day came the goods out of Scotland that were recouered out of the Edward Bonauenture: and nowe we doe perceiue that the caske that the trayne oyle came in, is verie good, and much better then ours. Therefore our minde is, that you shall lade it all in such barrels of the bigger sort as you laded in the Edward, and no long barrels nor small. And that caske that wee haue sent may serue for the Tallowe and anie other ware that is not leakage. Neuertheless, this voyage you must take such as you can get.

Good caske made in Russia.

Also if the Emperour bee minded to deliuer you any summe of money, or good Ware as reasonable a price as you may buye for readie money, wee will that you shall take it and lade it for our accomptes, and to come at our aduenture, and bee to bee payed at the returne of the shippes in Veluets, Sattens, or any other kinde of silke, or cloth of golde, cloth of tissue, or according as his Commission shall bee that hee shall send vs in the shippes, and according to such paternes as hee shall send. Wee doe not finde the Ambassadour nowe at the last conformable to reason as wee had thought wee should. Hee is very mistrustfull, and thinketh euerie man will beguile him. Therefore you had neede to take heede howe you haue to doe with him or with any such, and to make your bargaines plaine, and to set them downe in writing, for they bee subtill people, and doe not alwaies speake the trueth, and thinke other men to bee like themselues. Therefore we would haue none of them to send any goods in our shippes at any time, nor none to come for passengers, vnlesse the Emperour doe make a bargaine with you, as is before said, for his owne person.

Also we charge you not to suffer any of our nation to send any wares to their wiues or friends in any of our ships; but to take their money there to be paied heere by the companie and not otherwise: and to haue consideration how you doe take the roble. For although we doe rate it after sixe shillings eight pence of our money, yet it is not woorth past 12, or 13. shillings sterling.

Moreouer, you had neede to sende newe accomptes, for them that came in the Edward bee marred and torne, so that we can make no reckoning by them: and likewise to write vs a perfect note of all the goodes which you receiued the last voyage out of the Edward, and herein not to faile.

Andrew Iudde.
George Barne.
Anthonie Huse.
William Garrard.
William Chester.

A Letter of Master *Thomas Hawtrey* to the worshipfull Master *Henrie Lane* Agent at *Colmogro*, written in *Vologda* the 31. of Ianuarie 1557.

1557

WOrshipfull Sir, heartie commendations premised. These may bee to aduertise you, that yesterday the thirtieth of this present came hither Robert Best, and brought with him two hundred robles, that is, one hundred for this place, and one hundred for you at Colmogro. As for hempe which is here at two robles and a halfe the bercouite, master Gray hath wrg

A Letter of Master *Richard Gray* one of the first Agents of the *Moscouie* companie to Master *Henrie Lane* at *Mosco*, written in *Colmogro* the 19. of Februarie 1558.

1558

WOrshipfull Sir, after heartie commendations &c. You shall vnderstand that this Lent commeth to Lampas such a number of men of diuers nations with wares, as hath not bene seene these ten yeeres. Thither come many out of Vgoria: therefore I would haue bene there my selfe, and also haue receiued such money as is owing vs in wares by Kerill his brother and Osep Boscouo. For as you well know, thence they will goe with their wares to the Mosco, and make vs payment with delayes, as they haue done these other yeeres past. Colobone and his partner be departed towards Lampas with seuen sledges laden with victuals. Others also are gone to that part. As touching the bringing of money with you, it will bee good, for I assure you since our comming to this countrey haue not so many persons gone to the Sea, as will doe this yeere. Trusting that God will send good store of traine oyle, I will cause as much caske to bee in a readinesse as I can, if you shall thinke it meete to send some money before. All our olde hempe is spunne and wrought in tenne cables from fifteene ynches to ten the least, and thirteene Hausers from sixe ynches to three ynches: and all may weigh white eight and twenty thousande pounde weight and vpwarde. There is in hempe ockam fiue thousand pound two hundred weight in twelue sackes at the least: the flaxe that came downe in the Nassadaes with these seuen podes that came last is all spunne with a good part of that hempe that came last. God send more thereof, for all that is here and that is comming in the three other sledges, will bee dispatched by the fourth weeke in Lent. Within these few dayes I bought thirteen podes, seuen pound of hempe that cost two robles, twenty eight altines, foure pence, which together with that that was bought before, shall bee laide in dipping and sounding lines, for it is very good. There are spent aboue fiftie barrels of tarre already: you shall vnderstand that these eight workemen will spinne and lay aboue fourescore and tenne thousand pound of hempe, so it bee dressed readier to their hands, hauing two to turne the wheeles, and two to winde vp. Therefore I haue agreed with these two boyes to serue the worshipfull companie foure yeeres a piece. One of them windeth vp and is very apt to spinne: therefore I will haue two other young men Russes to spinne, if they can finde good sureties for their trueth. I haue bene in hand with these two yong men that came out of the Trinitie, and they with me, but vnder seuen pound a yeere they will not serue, nor Thomas Bunting that was Roger Bunting his seruant. Therefore I would haue three Russes at the least to spinne, fiue of them will be as good as these three, and will not be so chargeable all, as one of these would be. I thinke it were good that our Nassada were somewhat strengthened in her floore on both sides with plankes of fiue or sixe ynches thicke, from the sterne to the sterne, as I haue written to Thomas Hawtrey at Vologda. Also if you shall so thinke meet, your ware and tallowe shall bee laden in two Dosnickes, for they bee meete to goe aboord the hoppes: I doe intend to set vp an house at Boroseua ouer against the place whereas the hoppes shall ride, your aduise therein I expect, it shall not cost aboue three robles, and yet if we will, there shall be two warme roomes in it. As for other matter at this present I haue not to trouble you withall, and if it would please you I would be glad to heare some good newes of Master Ienkinson. Thus Iesus be with you and be his guide.

Lampas a great mart for the Samoeds in the North.

What quantitie of hempe 8. workmen will worke in a yeere.

Postscriptum.

As for these our Hawkes they bee not white, but white and mapled, but indeede are Iarfokons. These dayes past our Olen died. So this yeere our Maisters of the companie are like haue none, nor any white beares. Neither may any passe out of the realme without a special licence from the Emperour.

White hawks & white beares prohibited without licence.

I intend God willing to goe to Lampas, if I liue I will take foure or fiue kerseys with me, for as for money there is small store here to carie.

Master Grayes iourney to Lampas.

Yours, Richard Gray.

A Letter of *Thomas Alcocke* to the worshipfull *Richard Gray*, and *Henrie Lane* Agents in *Moscouia* from *Tirwill* in *Polonia*, written in *Tirwill* the 26. of Aprill 1558.

1558

MY dutie premised vnto your worships, with commendations &c. It may please you to be aduertised, that my last I sent from Smolesco, which I trust you haue receiued with other letters to

diuers of our English men, wherein I certified you of my long retayning there, as also of my departure from thence, and howe that I had hired a Totar to bring mee to Danske. We came to a certaine village on Saterday the 25 and twentieth of Febzuarie, and there remained that night and Sunday to refresh our hozses, intending to haue gone away on Munday earely. But on Saterday at night one of his neighbours departed to Tirwill, and there declared to the Captaine howe that at such a place there was a Dutch man that was come from the Mosco, and would ride to Danske, saying, foz the one, I cannot tell what he is. The Captaine incontinent rode to the King to shewe him thereof, so that without any delay there was sent out foz mee one of the Gentlemen of the Kings house, and one of the Pesnickes of the Towne with five Officers to take mee. They came thither in the night about midnight, and there apprehended mee and tooke all that I had from me: they left mee nothing but my clothes to put on my backe, and so brought mee to Tirwill to the Captaines house, where befoze I dyned, I had a payze of fetters clapped on my legges, wherewithall I sate vntill it was Munday in the Easterweeke. On which day, after long and earnest calling to the Captaine as hee rode by the windowe, hee commaunded the Marshall that mine yzons should be taken off, but no wozde I could heare when I should be deliuered out of captiuitie till it was Saint George his day: on which day I was had befoze the Marshall, who declared vnto me that the Kings Maiestie had shewed his mercie and goodnesse towardes mee: foz his pleasure was that I should be deliuered out of pzison to depart into England, but no way else. So after I had giuen thankes foz the Kings Maiesties goodnesse shewed vnto me, I desired him that he would be a meane that I might haue the remaynder of such thinges as were taken from me restozed vnto me againe. Hee made me answere, that I might thanke God that I escaped with my head, and that if euer there came any mozе of vs through the land, they should not so doe. The weeke befoze Easter they deliuered mee my Corobia againe with all thinges that were therein. They tooke from mee in money nine Hungers gylderns in golde, fiue shillings foure pence in Lettoes money, fourtie Altines in Russe money, whereof twentie and two were foz tokens, halfe an angell and a quarter of Master Doctour Standishes, with his ring. Your two pieces of money (Master Gray) that you sent to your wife and daughter, with my two pieces of Boghary money. Of all this I had eight Hungers gilderns deliuered me the thirde weeke of mine impzisonment to paye foz my charges, which stoode mee in a Dalder a weeke. So that at the day of my deliuerie I had but three gylderns left me. Foz the rest I made a supplication to the Captaine and had the like answere giuen mee as the Marshall gaue me. So that all the rest of the thinges befoze written are lost, and no recouerie to bee had, which grieueth me mozе foz the tokens sakes then doeth mine eight weeks impzisonment. They haue also my Swozd, my bootes, my bowe and arrowes that I bought at Smolensco, which cost me foure marks, my sled, my felt, the comboll, a booke of the Flowzes of godly pzayers, and my booke wherein my charges were wzitten. Of all these I can get nothing againe, not so much as my two bookes.

Doctor Standish the Emperours Phisition.

After I had remayned there fiue and thirtie dayes, I was had befoze the Captaine where is to a great chamber to bee examined foz letters and of the cause of my comming through the Countrey. In the Captaines companie was one of the Lozdes of Danske. They demanded of mee where my letters were, I declared vnto them that I had none: your Officers (foz I) tooke me when I was in my bedde, they searched mee and tooke all that I had from me, if there be any they shall finde them among my stuffe which they haue. They asked mee then foz what cause I went home ouer lande? I declared vnto them, that the Winter being a warme season, and hauing intelligence that The frozen Sea was not much frozen, and supposing this Sommer it would be nauigable, I was onely sent to pzouide a Shippe to bee sent to passe the sayde Seas to discouer Catai: which if God graunted wee might doe, it would not onely bee a commoditie to the Realme of Englande, but vnto all Chzistian landes, by the riches that might bee brought from thence, if the histozies bee true that are wzitten thereof. Much other communication I had with them concerning the same voyage. Then he demanded of mee what wares wee brought into Russia, and what wee carried from thence. I declared the same vnto them. Then they burdened mee, that wee brought thither thousands of ozdinance, as also of harneis, Swozdes, with other munitions of warre, artificers, copper, with many other things: I made them answere, that wee had brought thither about one hundzed shirtes of maple, such olde thinges newe scowzed as no man in Englande would weare. Other talke they had with mee concerning the trade of Moscouia too long to commit to wzitting.

At my comming hither heere were Ambassadours from the townes of Danske, Lubeck

and Hamburgh, as also out of Liefland to desire this king to bee their Captaine and head in their intended voyage, which was to stoppe all such shippes as should goe out of England for Moscouia. Wherevnto the King graunted, and immediatly they departed to prepare their shippes. So that I am afraide that either these our enemies, or the great warres that we haue with France and Scotland will be an occasion that you shall haue no shippes at Colmogro this yeere.

An attempt to hinder our trade to Moscouia by the Hamburgers & Easterlings.

To conclude, although I haue no tokens to deliuer them, that the tokens taken from me were sent vnto, yet I will declare vnto them that I had tokens for them, with the mischance. And thus I commit you to Almightie God with the rest of the companie, who keepe you in health to his holy will and pleasure.

By yours to commaund

THOMAS ALCOCKE.

A Letter of Master *Anthonie Ienkinson* vpon his returne from *Boghar* to the worshipful Master *Henrie Lane* Agent for the *Moscouie* companie resident in Vologda, written in the *Moscu* the 18. of September, 1559.

1559

WOrshipfull Sir, after my heartie commendations premised with most desire to God of your welfare and prosperous successe in all your affaires. It may please you to bee aduertised that the fourth of this present I arriued with Richard Johnson and Robert Iohnson all in health, thankes bee to God. Wee haue bene as farre as Boghar, and had proceeded farther on our voyage toward the lande of Cathay, had it not bene for the vncessant and continuall warres, which are in all these bruttall and wilde countreys, that it is at this present impossible to passe, neither went there any Caruan of people from Boghar that way these three yeeres. And although our iourney hath bene so miserable, dangerous, and chargeable with losses, charges and expenses, as my penne is not able to expresse the same: yet shall wee bee able to satisfie the worshipfull Companies mindes, as touching the discouerie of The Caspian Sea, with the trade of merchandise to bee had in such landes and countreys as bee thereabout adiacent, and haue brought of the wares and commodities of those Countries able to answere the principall with profite: wishing that there were vtterance for as great a quantitie of kersies and other wares as there is profite to bee had in the sales of a small quantitie, (all such euill fortunes beeing escaped as to vs haue chanced this present voyage,) for then it would be a trade worthie to bee followed. Sir, for that I trust you will be here shortly (which I much desire) I will deferre the discourse with you at large vntill your comming, as well touching my trauel, as of other things. Sir, John Lucke departed from hence toward England the seuenth of this present, and intendeth to passe by the way of Sweden, by whom I sent a letter to the worshipfull Companie, and haue written that I intend to come downe vnto Colmogro to be readie there at the next shipping to imbarke my selfe for England, declaring that my seruice shal not be needfull here, for that you are a man able to serue their worships in greater affaires then they haue heere to doe, so farre as I perceiue. As touching the Companies affaires heere, I referre you to Christopher Hudsons letters, for that I am but newly arriued. Hauing here but litle businesse to doe, I send you Richard Iohnson to helpe you there in your affaires. Thus giuing you most heartie thankes for my wench Aura Soltana, I commend you to the tuition of God, who send you health with hearts desire.

Master Ienkensons voyage intended for Cathay.

The discourse of the Caspian sea.

Passage toward from Moscouia by Sweden.

This was a young Tartar girle which he gaue to the Queene afterward.

Your assured to command,

Anthonie Ienkinson.

A Letter of the *Moscouie* companie to their Agents in *Russia*, Master *Henrie Lane*, *Christopher Hudson*, and *Thomas Glouer* sent in their seuenth voyage to Saint *Nicholas* with three ships, the *Swallowe*, the *Philip* and *Marie*, and the *Iesus* the fifth of May, 1560.

After our heartie commendations to you. The twelfth day of the last moneth here arriued in safetie, thanks be to God, our two ships, & by them we receiued your letters & inuoices very well

Tallowe. Ware. Traine oyles. Sables. Wolueringes. Iuserns. Iettes. Ermines. Squirels. Flare. Cables and ropes. A proclamation against forren Furres. 3000. pades of Tallow a yere. 500. losh hides. Note.

well perceiuing what you haue laden in them. The tallowe came euill conditioned and broken, by reason it came in Corrobias, wee lose and spoyle more then the caske will cost, and much of this tallowe is verie euill, blacke, soft and putrified. Touching the Ware, as yet wee knowe not howe the weight will rise, by reason that some of it was lost in the barkes. The weight of the last peeres ware did not rise so well as the other peeres before it did. There hath neede good heede to bee taken in the weighing. Also much of this Ware had a great foote and is not so faire ware as in times past wee haue had. You must cause the foote to bee taken off before you doe weigh it, or else you must seeke to haue a good allowance for it. The traine Oyles which you laden this peere came well conditioned, and the caske was good and of a good size. But if they were made a little bigger it were the better, for they be not hogsheads. You haue written to vs to send you caske which is not heere to be had, neither doe wee thinke it so best if it were heere, considering it must goe either shaken and bounde vp, or else emptie, which will bee pesterable, and likewise will shrinke and drie, and not be fitte to lade oyles in. Therefore our minde is, you shall cause so much caske to bee made there of the size of hogsheads as will serue both for your oyles and tallowe, and let them be well trimmed with pitch on the heads and seames, and stand full of water three or foure dayes before you put Oyles in them. Your Cowper may bee ouerseer to them that make them, that they be well hooped and cleere tymber without knottes, the wooyst caske you may put the tallowe in. Hee that seeth the filling of the oyles had neede to looke well to it, for there was much water in this that came nowe. Wee perceiue you haue bought and haue in a readinesse one hundred and fourtie tunnes of oyles, and that if neede be you may haue more store. Wherefore we doe minde to send you shipping for three hundred tunnes and vpwards, because we would haue this nexte Sommer as great a returne as you can of the commodities of that Countrey, as also such of our wares as you haue that arenot vendible, or will not be solde or bartered, because we would haue a full knowledge and state of our accounts. The Sables which you sent this peere be very base, among them all we could not make one principall timber: we haue alwayes written vnto you to send them that bee good or else none. The Wolueringes were indifferent, and some of the woolues, the rest verie base, the Lusernes but meane, the Iettes not so large skinnes as we haue had: the best is, they were of a new death. As for the Ermines, they cost more there with you, then we can sell them for here. Therefore buy no more of them, nor of Squirels, for wee lost the one halfe in the other. The wares that we would haue you prouide against the comming of the shippes are, Ware, Tallowe, traine Oyles, Flare, Cables and Ropes, and Furres, such as we haue written to you for in our last letters by the shippes: and from henceforth not to make any great prouision of any rich Furres except principall Sables & Iettes: for now there is a Proclamation made that no furres shall be worne here, but such as the like is growing here within this our Realme. Also we perceiue that there might be a great deale of tallowe more prouided in a yeere then you send. Therefore our minde is, you should enlarge some what more in the price, and to send vs if you can three thousand pades a peere: for we doe most good in it. And likewise the Russes, if you would giue them a reasonable price for their wares, would be the willinger to buy and sell with you, and not to carie so much to Nouogrode as they doe, but would rather bring it to Vologda to you, both Ware, Tallowe, Flare, Hempe, and all kinde of other wares fitte for our Countrey. Our minde is you should prouide for the next ships fiue hundred Losh hides, of them that be large and faire, and thickest in hand, and to be circumspect in the choosing, that you buy them that bee killed in season and well dryed and whole. If they be good we may sell them here for fiftene shillings and better the piece, wee would haue the white skinnes, that is, the necke and legges withall, for these that you sent now lacke their neckes and legges. Neuertheless for this time you must sende them as you may get them: if you could finde the meanes that the haire might bee clipped off them, they would not take so much roome in the shippes as they doe. We perceiue by your letters that the prices of Ware doe rise there with you, by reason that the Poles and Liflanders doe trade into Russia by licence: which if there should bee peace betweene them, would bee an occasion that all other commodities in Russia would rise to a bigger price, and not bee sufficient to serue them and vs too: and likewise would bring downe there the prices of our commodities. Therefore we thinke it good you should make a supplication to the Emperour in the name of The Company to returne the trade from Rye and Reuel to vs, especially for such wares as wee doe buy, promising that wee will bee bounde to take them at a reasonable price, as wee haue bought them in times past: and likewise that wee will bring to them such wares of ours, as shall be thought fitte for the Countrey, and to sell them at such reasonable prices as wee haue done. If this should not come to passe, wee might be out of hope of doing any good by the trade there: the

that we haue a further hope of some good trade to be found out by Master Antonie Ienkinson: by reason we doe perceiue by your letters, that raw silke is as plentifull in Persia, as flaxe is in Russia: besides other commodities that may come from thence. Wee vnderstand by your letters that you be at a point with the Russe for the Waxe, Tallow, and Traine oyles that he shipped the last yere for 312 robles 20 altines, which is well: although much be not gotten by it, but because they should not vnderstand our reckonings We much maruel what you mean to buy Seale skins and tanne them. All that you haue sent in times past lie here vnsold, and will yeelde no money. If you send 100 of them tawed with the haire on, they will bee solde, or else not. In our shippe we will send you such thiugs as you write to haue for the ropers: and wee would they should make more store of small cables and ropes, as cables of 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, inches. For these great cables be not for euery man; and the greatest cables bee not best lased: and likewise small ropes for shrouds, holes, and other small tackeling: and that you looke better to the spinning of their yarne that it be euen and well tarred. The cables that you doe mind to send vs let them be principall and layde, and not pall foure or fiue timbars. For they will not be so commonly worne here as they haue bin with noble men: and likewise of Luserns send fewe and principal good. We mind to send you in our shippes 100 tunnes of laite. And because we perceiue that balast is hardly to be had at our laying place there with you, we would you should haue in a readinesse 100 tunnes of the white stones whereof you sent vs home an example two yeres past. And likewise to haue in a readinesse maltes of all sortes for our shippes: for we know not what neede wee shall haue of them. The bringer hereof is Thomas Alcock, he could not be suffered the last yeare to passe through Poland. And as we wrote vnto you in our shippes, hee is our seruant for yeares: And for that we know him to be honest, true and painefull, our mind is he shalbe placed where he may do best seruice. He doth know the commodities and discommodities of all kinde of wares which you doe send vs. Therefore we would you should credite his sayings both in quantitie of wares and goodnes, as also wherin is most our profit. We see by your letters that your opinion is that the ropemakers should remaine there two yeres more; and that you haue prouided great plentie of hempe, which we are content withall. But as yet we haue solde none of our cables nor halsers, neither is the proofe of them knowen; because the first you sent vs were made of flaxe, which are worth no money: for after they be once wet they will rotte and moulder away like mosse. And those which you sent vs now last, by misfortune there with you at the lading were wette and fretted in many places, and haue lost their colour: by meanes whereof they be not so vendible as if they had come well conditioned. Of an hard beginning we trust God will send vs a good ending. We hope in your next letters to heare good newes of the proceedings of Master Antonie Ienkinson. We perceiue by his letters that Astracan is not so good a Mart towne as the fame hath gone of it: and maruell much that round pe wter should be so good, and good chepe there, and from whence it should come. And whereas you write that you will come for England in our next shippes, we would gladly haue you to remaine there vntill the next yere following, for the better instruction of our seruants there; who haue not had so long time of continuance for the language, and knowledge of the people, countrey, and wares as you haue had. Neuertheleste if you will needs come away, we haue no doubt, but that you will leaue good order with our seruants there, namely with Christopher Hodson and Thomas Glouer, whom we appoint to remaine there as Agentes in your roome, till further order bee taken: not doubting but that they will vse themselues so discreetely and wisely in all their doings, as shall be to the worship and benefite of this company. And as we haue a good hope in them that they will be carefull, diligent and true in all their doings: so haue we no lesse hope in all the rest of our seruants there, that they will bee not onely obedient to them (considering what roome they be in) but also will be carefull, painefull, diligent, and true euery one in his roome and place for the benefite and profite of the company: That hereafter in the absence of others they may be called and placed in the like roome there or elsewhere. And if you find any to be disobedient and slubborne, and will not be ruled; wee will you shall send him home in our shippes: who shall find such small fauour and friendship during the time that he hath to serue, as by his disobedience and euill seruice bee hath deserued. And whereas Christopher Hodson hath written to come home, as partly he hath good cause, considering the death of his father and mother: yet in regard that Sir George Barne and the Ladie his wife were his special friends in his absence, we doubt not but that he will remain in the roome, which we haue appointed him, if you doe not tarie and remaine there, till farther order be taken: and for his seruice and paines bee shall be considered, as reason is, as friendly as if his friends were liuing. Thus we trust you will take such order the one to remaine at the Mosco, and the other at Colmogro, or elsewhere, as most needs is. Thomas Alcocke is desirous to be in the Mosco: neuertheleste you shall find him reasonable to serue where he may doe most good. The

Hope of trade to be found by Master Antonie Ienkinson.

Seale skinnes tawed.

Small cables best bendible.

Maltes of all sortes to be prepared.

Astracan no great good marte.

Christopher Hodson and Thomas Glouer appointed Agents 1560.

62 robles

62 robles which you receiued of Iohn Boucher we haue payed him here, and also the 8 robles, which you receiued the yere before of Christopher Rose, and the money which you receiued more of George Burton, for the which we haue you our bebrys. Thus we rest, referring that which is here omitted to the report of the bringer: and so God haue you in his keeping. Also we would that you should send vs in our shippes 20 hose-clothes more. The things before written were would that you should let our seruants see and reade, to the intent they may perceiue our minds.

Another letter to the foresaid parties. 1560.

This letter before written is the copie of one sent you by Thomas Alcock, trusting that hee was with you long since. The 26 day of the last moneth we receiued a letter from him, dated in Stockholme in Sweden the 14 day of Ianuary, and we perceiue by his letter that hee had talked with a Dutch man that came lately from the Mosco, who informed him that our friend Master Antony Ienkinson was returned to the Mosco in September last past, but how farre he had beene, or what he had done, he could not tell. Also he wrote that one Iohn Lucke a Ioyner was taken by the Liefelanders, and put in prison. As yet wee haue not heard from the said Iohn Lucke, nor know not whether he be released out of prison or not. We suppose that by him you wrote some letter which as yet is not come to our handes: so that we thinke hee is yet in prison, or otherwise dispatched out of the way. The fifteenth day of December wee receiued a letter from Christopher Hodson, dated in the Mosco the 29 of July, by the way of Danske: which is in effect a copie of such another receiued from him in our shippes. You shal understand that we haue laden in three good shippes of ours these kind of wares following: to wit, in the Swallowe of London, Master vnder God Steuen Burrow, 34 fardels N° 136 broad short clothes, and foure fardels N° 58 Hampshire Kersies: and 23 pipes of ballards and seckes, and 263 peces of raisins and 4 hogsheds N° 154 pieces of round pewter, and ten hogsheds and puncheons of prunes, and one byppatte with Almonds. And in the Philip and Marie, Master vnder God Thomas Wade, 25 fardels N° 100 broad clothes, and three fardels N° 42 Hampshire Kersies, and thirtie pipes of seckes and ballards, and 100 pieces of raisins. And in the Iesus of London, Master vnder God Arthur Pette, 10 fardels N° 40 broade short clothes, and twenty seuen pipes of ballards and seckes, as by the Inuoices here with inclosed may appeare: Also you shall receiue such necessaries as you did write to bee sent for the rope makers: trusting that you shall haue better successe with them which you shall send vs in these ships, then with the rest which you haue sent vs yet: for we as yet haue sold none of them. And whereas we wrote vnto you in our former letter, that we would send you a hundred tunnes of salte, by reason it is so deare here we doe send you but nine tunnes and a halfe, for it cost here ten pence the bushell the first penie: namely in the Swallow 5 tunnes and a halfe, in the Philip and Marie one tunne and a halfe, and in the Iesus one tunne and a halfe. The 4 hogsheds of round pewter goe in the Swallow and in the Philip and Marie N° 154 pieces, as is aforesaid. We send you three ships, trusting that you haue prouided according to our former writing good store of lading for them. If yee haue more wares then will lade the ships, let it be Traine oyles that you leaue behinde: the price is not here so good as it was: it is worth here 9 pound the tunne. We thinke it good you should let the smaller ship lying as much of the traine as she can carry: And that the masters of the ships do looke vnto the romaging, for they might lying away a great deale more then they doe, if they would take paine in the romaging: and bestowe the traine by it selfe, and the ware and tallowe by it selfe: for the leakage of the traine doth sowle the other wares much. As for Allard the skinner, if you thinke good, he may come home in these shippes. We haue no doubt but that you Henrie Lee, if you minde to come home now in these ships as you requested, will leaue such good order there with our seruants as shall bee for our most profite and their preferment, if they doe their dueties diligently and truely. If our friend Master Antonie Ienkinson bee returned, and meane to come away in these ships to declare his mind and opinion of his trauaile, if need require and he be so minded he may returne thither by land and be there by the fine of Ianuarie or being. But as we be vncertaine whether he be returned or not: so we know not what he hath done, nor what benefite may rise hereafter of his trauaile. Therefore in this wee remit it to your good discretions. Wee send you Thomas Hawtrey which is our seruant for yeeres: as minde is he should be placed, where he may doe best seruice.

Also we send you Nicholas Chancelour to remaine there, who is our apprentice for yeeres: our minde is hee should be set about such businesse as he is most fit for: he hath been kept at writing schoole long: he hath his Algorisme, and hath vnderstanding of keeping of bookes of reckonings. We send you now but 100 Kersies: but against the next yeere, if occasion serue, we will send

Stockholme.

Iohn Lucke taken prisoner in Liefland.

The Swallow.

The Philip and Marie.

The Iesus.

Nicholas Chancelour.

ſend you a greater quantitie, according as you ſhal aduiſe vs: One of the pypes of ſeckes that is in the Swallow, which hath a round compaſſes vpon the bung, is to be preſented to the Emperour: for it is ſpecial good. The nete waight of the 10 puncheons of pzunes is 4300. 2 thirds 1 pound. It is written particularly vpon the head of euery puncheon: and the nete weight of the fatte of almonds is 500 li. two quarters. The raiſins, pzunes, and almonds you were beſt to diſpatch away at a reaſonable pzice, and pzincipally the raiſins. for in keeping of them will be great loſſe in the waight, and the fruit will decay. We thinke it good that you pzouide againſt the nexte peere for the comming of our ſhippes 20 or 30 bullockes killed and ſalted, for beefe is very deare here. Therefore you were beſt to ſaue ſome of this ſalt that we doe ſend you in theſe ſhips for the purpoſe. The ſalte of that countrey is not ſo good. In this you may take the opinion of the maſters of the ſhippes. Fore ſkins, white, blacke, and ruſſet will be vendible here. The laſt yere you ſent none: but there were mariners that bought many. If any of the mariners doe buy any trifling furres or other commodities, we will they ſhall be regiſtred in our purſers bookes, to the intent we may know what they be. We deſire to know how the Emperour tooke the letter which we ſent in our ſhips, as an anſwere to the letter that came in his name and vnder his ſeale for the ſiue thouſand dallers. Thus wee reſt, committing you to God, from London the firſt day of May 1560.

The ſalt of Ruſſia is not ſo good as Bay ſalte.

Fore ſkinnes white, blacke, and ruſſet vendible in England

May 5. 1560.

For lacke of time the gouernours haue not ſirmed this letter: which is the copie of the other two letters ſirmed by them.

Yours, William Mericke.
Yours, Blaſe Sanders.

The maner of Iuſtice by lots in *Ruſſia*, written by Maſter *Henrie Lane*, and executed in a controuerſie betweene him and one *Sheray Coſtromitskey* in *Moſco*. 1560.

After the comming home into Ruſſia of Ioſeph Napea the firſt ambaſſadour to Queene Marie, I remaining the Agent there, ſundzie Ruſſian marchants by Ioſephs procurement obtained letters from the Emperour to freight goods and paſſe in our ſhips for England: which thing vpon good conſideration I anſwered and refuſed. They were then driuen to credite vs and compound in value vntill the next returne. At which time, notwithſtanding good accompt in the value of 600 robles, there grewe queſtion by their double demand. Soin Aprll Anno 1560. before my comming from Moſcouia, they obtained trial by combat or letter to haue their ſumme double, or as I proffered 600 robles. For combatte I was prouided of a ſtrong willing Engliſhman, Robert Beſt, one of the companies ſeruants: whome the Ruſſes with their Champion refuſed. So that we had the words of our priuiledge pue in effect, which were to draw lots. The day and maner of triall appointed by the Emperour at his caſtle in his palace and high Court of Moſcouia was thus. The Emperours two Treaſurers, being alſo Chancelours and chiefe Iudges, ſate in court. They appointed officers to bring me, mine interpreter, & the other, through the ouerle parties being without at the barre. Both parties were firſt perſwaded with great curteſie, to wit, I to enlarge mine offer, and the Ruſſes to mitigate their challenge. Notwithſtanding that I proceeded my conſcience to be cleere, and their game by accompt to bee ſufficient, yet of gentleneſs at the magiſtrates requeſt I made proffer of 100 robles more: which was openly commended, but of the plaintifes not accepted. Then ſentence paſſed with our names in two equall balles of ware made and holden vp by the Iudges, their ſleeues ſtripped vp. Then both ſtanding vp and wiſhing well to the trueth attributed to him that ſhould be firſt drawen, by both conſents among the multitude they called a tall gentleman, ſaying: Thou with ſuch a coate vp cap, come vp: where roome with ſpeede was made. He was commanded to hold his cappe, wherein they put the balles, by the crowne vpright in light, his arme not abaſing. With like circumſpection, they called at aduenture another tall gentleman, commanding him to ſtrip vp his right ſleeue, and willed him with his bare arme to reach vp, and in Gods name ſeuerally to take out the two balles: which he did, deliuering to either Iudge one. Then with great admiration the lotte in ball firſt taken out was mine: which was by open ſentence ſo pronounced before all the people, and to be the right and true parte. The chiefe plaintifes name was Sheray Coſtromitsky. I was willed forthwith to pay the plaintifes the ſumme by me appointed. Out of which two dayes after, as their maner is, the people tooke our nation to be true and vpright dealers, and the fame of this iudgement to our great credite.

Triall by combat or lot.

Note. The former letters dated 1558, 1559, and 1560, ſhould *all followe M.* Ienkinſons *voyage to* Boghar.

The firſt voyage made by Maſter *Anthonie Ienkinſon*, from the Citie of *London* toward the land of *Ruſſia*, begun the twelfth of May, in the yeere 1557.

FIrſt by the grace of God, the day and yeere aboue mentioned, I departed from the ſayd Citie, and the ſame day at Grauеſend embarked my ſelfe in a good ſhippe, named the Primeroſe, being appointed, although vnworthy, chiefe captaine of the ſame, and alſo of the other 3 good ſhips, to ſay, the Iohn Euangeliſt, the Anne, and the Trinitie, hauing alſo the conduct of the Emperour of Ruſſia his ambaſſadour named Oſep Nepea Gregoriwich, who paſſed with his company in the ſayde Primeroſe. And thus our foure tall ſhippes being well appointed, aſwell for men as victuals as other neceſſarie furniture, the ſaide twelfth day of the moneth of May, we weyed our ankers, and departed from the ſaide Grauеſend, in the after noone, and plying downe the Thames, the wind being Eaſterly, and fayre weather, the 13 day we came a ground with the Primeroſe, vpon a ſand called the blacke taile, where we ſate faſt vntill the 14 day in the morning, and then God be prayſed, ſhe came off: and that day we plyed downe as farre as our Ladie of Holland, and there came to an anker, the wind being Eaſterly, & there remayned vntill the 20 day: then we weyed and went out at Goldmore gate, and from thence in at Balley ſlade, and ſo into Orwel wands, where we came to an anker: but as we came out at the ſayd Goldmore gate, the Trinitie came on ground on certaine rockes, that lye to the Northward of the ſaid gate, and was like to be bilged and loſt. But by the aide of God, at the laſt ſhe came off againe, being very leake: and the 21 day the Primeroſe remaining at an anker in the wands, the other three ſhippes bare into Orwel hauen, where I cauſed the ſayd Trinitie to be grounded, ſearched, and repaired. So we remayned in the ſaid hauen, vntill the 28 day: and then the winde being Weſterly, the three ſhippes that were in the hauen, weyed and came forth, and in comming forth the Iohn Enangeliſt came on ground vpon a ſand, called the Andros, where ſhe remained one tide, and the next full ſea ſhe came off againe without any great hurt, God be prayſed.

The 29 day in the morning all foure ſhips weied in the Wands, and that tide went as farre as Orfordneſſe, where we came to an anker, becauſe the wind was Northerly: And about five of the clock at night, the wind vered to the Southweſt, and we weyed anker, and bare cleere of the neſſe, and then ſet our courſe Northeaſt & by North vntill midnight, being then cleare of Yarmouth ſands. Then we winded North and by Weſt, and Northnorthweſt, vntill the firſt of June at noone, then it waxed calme, and continued ſo vntill the ſecond day at noone: then the winde came at Northweſt, with a tempeſt, and much raine, and we lay cloſe by, and caped Northnortheaſt, and Northeaſt and by North, as the winde ſhifted, and ſo continued vntill the third day at noone: then the wind vered Weſterly againe, and we went North our right courſe, and ſo continued our way vntill the fourth day, at three of the clocke in the afternoone, at which time the wind vered to the Northweſt againe and blew a freſh gale, and ſo continued vntill the ſeuenth day in the morning, we lying with all our ſhippes cloſe by, and caping to the Northwards: and then the wind being more Northerly, we were forced to put roomer with the coaſt of England againe, and fell overthwart Newcaſtle, but went not into the hauen, & ſo plied vpon the coaſt the eight day & the ninth.

June.

The tenth day the winde came to the Northnorthweſt, & we were forced to beare roomer with Flamborow head, where we came to an anker, and there remained vntill the ſeuenteenth day. Then the winde came faire, and we weyed, and ſet our courſe North and by Eaſt, and ſo continued the ſame with a merry winde vntill the 21 at noone, at which time we tooke the ſunne, and had the latitude in ſixty degrees. Then we ſhifted our courſe, and went Northnortheaſt, and Northeaſt and by North, vntill the 25 day. Then we diſcouered certaine Iſlands, called Heilick Iſlands, lying from vs Northeaſt, being in the latitude of ſixtie ſixe degrees, 40 minutes. Then we went north and by Weſt, becauſe we would not come too nigh the land, and running that courſe foure houres, we diſcouered, and had ſight of Roſt Iſlands, joining to the main land of Finmarke. Then continuing our courſe along the coaſt of Norway and Finmark, the 27 day we tooke the Sunne, being as farre ſhot as Loſoot, and had the latitude in 69 degrees. And the ſame day in the afternoone appeared ouer our heads a rainebow, like a ſemicircle, with both ends vpwards. Note the

Heilick Iſlands in 66 degrees 40 minutes.

Roſt Iſlands.

there is between the ſaid Roſt Illands & Lofoot, a whirle poole called Maleſtrand, which from halfe ebbe vntill halfe flood, maketh ſuch a terrible noiſe, that it maketh the ringes in the doores of the inhabitants houſes of the ſayd Illands tenne miles off. Alſo if there commeth any Whale within the current of the ſame, they make a pitifull crie. Moreouer, if great trees be caried into it by force of ſtreams, and after with the ebbe be call out againe, the ends and boughs of them haue bene ſo beaten, that they are like the ſtalkes of hempe that is bruiſed. Note, that all the coaſte of Finmarke is high mountaines and hils, being couered all the yere with ſnow. And hard aboord the ſhoare of this coaſt, there is 100 or 150 fadomes of water in depth. Thus proceeding and ſailing forward, we fell with an Illand called Zenam, being in the latitude of 70 degrees. About this Illand we ſaw many Whales, very monſtrous, about our ſhips, ſome by eſtimation of 60 foot long: and being the ingenuing time they roared and cried terrible. From thence we fell with an Illand, called Kettelwicke.

Maleſtrand a ſtrange whirle poole.

Zenam Illand.

Kettelwike Illand.

This coaſt from Roſt vnto Lofoot lieth North and ſouth, and from Lofoot to Zenam North-eaſt and ſouthweſt, and from Zenam to Kettelwike Eaſtnortheaſt and Weſtſouthweſt. From the ſaid Kettelwike we ſailed Eaſt and by North 10 leagues, and fell with a land called Inger ſound, where we ſtaied, being becalmed, and tooke great plenty of Cods. Thus plying along the coaſt, we fell with a Cape, called the North Cape, which is the Northermoſt land that wee paſſe in our voyage to S. Nicholas, and is in the latitude of 71 degrees and ten minutes, and is from Inger ſound Eaſt, and to the Northwards 15 leagues. And being at this North Cape the ſecond day of July, we had the ſunne at North 4 degrees aboue the Horizon. The third day wee came to Wardhouſe, hauing ſuch miſts that we could not ſee the land. This Wardhouſe is a Caſtle ſtanding in an Illand 2 miles from the maine of Finland, ſubiect to the king of Denmarke, and the Eaſtermoſt land that he hath. There are two other Illands neere aboining vnto that, whereon the Caſtle of Wardhouſe ſtandeth. The inhabitants of thoſe three Illands liue onely by fiſhing, and make much ſtockefiſh, which they dry with froſt: their moſt feeding is fiſh; bread and drinke they haue none, but ſuch as is brought them from other places. They haue ſmall ſtore of cattell, which are alſo fed with fiſh. From Wardhouſe we ſailed Southſoutheaſt ten leagues, and fell with a Cape of land called Kegor, the Northermoſt part of the lande of Lappia. And betweene Wardhouſe, and the ſaid Cape is a great Bay, called Dommes haff, in the South part whereof is a Monaſterie of Monkes of the Ruſſes religion, called Pechinchow. Thus proceeding forward and ſaying along the coaſt of the ſaid land of Lappia, winding Southeaſt, the fourth day through great miſts and darkenes we loſt the company of the other three ſhips, and met not with them againe, vntill the ſeuenth day, when we fell with a Cape or headland called Swetinoz, which is the entring into the Bay of S. Nicholas. At this Cape lieth a great ſtone, to the which the barkes that paſſed thereby, were wont to make offrings of butter, meale, and other victuals, thinking that vnleſſe they did ſo, their barkes ſhould there periſh, as it hath bene oftentimes ſeene: and there it is very darke and miſtie. Note that the firſt day we paſſed by the place where Sir Hugh Willoughbie, with all his company periſhed, which is called Arzina reca, that is to ſay, the riuer Arzina.

Wardhouſe.

Cattell fed with fiſh.

The Monaſtery of Pechinchow.

Arzina reca the riuer where Sir Hugh Willoughbie was froſen.

The land of Lappia is an high land, hauing ſnow lying on it commonly all the yere. The people of the Countrey are halfe Gentiles: they liue in the ſummer time neere the ſea ſide, and vſe to take fiſh, of the which they make bread, and in the winter they remoue vp into the countrey into the woods, where they vſe hunting, and kill Deere, Beares, Woolues, Foxes, and other beaſts, with whoſe fleſh they be nouriſhed, and with their ſkinnes apparelled in ſuch ſtrange faſhion, that there is nothing ſeene of them bare but their eies. They haue none other habitation, but onely in tents, remouing from place to place, according to the ſeaſon of the yeere. They know no arte nor facultie, but onely ſhooting, which they exerciſe dayly, as well men as women, and kill ſuch beaſts as ſerue them for their foode. Thus proceeding along the coaſt from Swetinoz aforeſaid, the ninth day of July wee came to Cape Grace, being in the latitude of 66 degrees and 45 minutes, and is at the entring in of the Bay of S. Nicholas. Aboord this land there is 200 or 30 fadoms water, and ſundry grounds good to anker in. The current at this Cape runneth Southweſt and Northeaſt. From this Cape wee proceeded along vntill we came to Croſſe Illand, which is ſeuen leagues from the ſayd Cape Southweſt: and from this Illand, wee ſet ouer to the other ſide of the Bay, and went Southweſt, and fell with an headland called Foxenoſe, which is from the ſayd Illand 25 leagues. The entring of this Bay from Croſſe Illand to the neereſt land on the other ſide is ſeuen leagues ouer. From Foxenoſe proceeding forward the twelfth day of the ſayd moneth of July, all our foure ſhips arriued in ſafetie at the road of Saint Nicholas in the land of Ruſſia, where we ankered, and had ſailed from London vnto the ſaid roade ſeuen hundred and fifty leagues. The Ruſſian ambaſſadour and his company with great ioy got to ſhore

The Lappians couered all ſaue vſing their eies.

The current at Cape Grace.

The entering of the Bay of S. Nicholas is ſeuen leagues broad at the leaſt.

August. ſhore, and our ſhips here forthwith diſcharged themſelues: and being laden againe, and hauing a faire winde, departed toward England the firſt of Auguſt. The third of the ſayd moneth I with other of my company came vnto the citie of Colmogro, being an hundred verſtes from the Bay of Saint Nicholas, and in the latitude of 64 degrees 25 minutes. I tarried at the ſaid Colmogro vntill the fifteenth day: and then I departed in a little boate vp the great riuer of Dwina,

Pinego riuer. which runneth very ſwiftly, and the ſelfe ſame day paſſed by the mouth of a riuer called Pinego, leauing it on our left hand fifteene verſtes from Colmogro. On both ſides of the mouth of this riuer Pinego is high land, great rockes of Alablaſter, great woods, and Pineapple trees lying along within the ground, which by report haue lien there ſince Noes flood. And thus proceeding

The towne of Yemps. forward the nineteenth day in the morning, I came into a towne called Yemps, an hundred verſtes from Colmogro. All this way along they make much tarre, pitch and aſhes of Aſpen trees.

Vſtiug. From thence I came to a place called Vſtiug, an ancient citie the laſt day of Auguſt. At this citie meete two riuers: the one called Iug, and the other Sucana, both which fall into the aforeſaid riuer of Dwina. The riuer Iug hath his ſpring in the land of the Tartars called Cheremizzi, ioining to the countrey of Permia: and Succana hath his head from a lake not farre from the citie of Vologda. Thus departing from Vſtiug, and paſſing by the riuer Succana, we came to a towne called Totma. About this place the water is verie ſhallow, and ſtonie, and troubleſome for Barkes and boats of that countrey, which they call Naſſades, and Doſneckes, to paſſe that way: wherein marchandiſe are tranſported from the aforeſayd Colmogro to the citie of Vologhda. Theſe veſſels called Naſſades, are very long builded, broade made, and cloſe aboue, flatte formed,

The deſcription of their Naſſades. and draw not aboue foure foote water, and will carrie two hundred tunnes: they haue none iron appertaining to them but all of timber, and when the winde ſerueth, they are made to ſayle. Otherwiſe they haue many men, ſome to hale and draw by the neckes with long ſmall ropes made faſt to the ſayd boats, and ſome ſet with long poles. There are many of theſe barks vpon the riuer of Dwina: And the moſt part of them belongeth vnto the citie of Vologhda: for there dwell many marchants, and they occupie the ſaid boates with carying of ſalte from the ſea ſide vnto the ſayd Vologhda. The twentieth of September I came vnto Vologhda, which is a great citie, and the riuer palleth through the midſt of the ſame. The houſes are builded with wood of Firre trees, layned one with another, and round without: the houſes are foure ſquare without any iron or ſtone worke, couered with birch barkes, and wood ouer the ſame: Their Churches are all of wood, two for euery pariſh, one to be heated for Winter, and the other for Summer.

On the toppes of their houſes they laye much earth, for feare of burning: for they are ſore plagued with fire. This Vologhda is in 59 degrees, eleuen minutes, and is from Colmogro, 1000 verſtes.

Good counſell for trauellers. All the way I neuer came in houſe, but lodged in the wilderneſſe, by the riuers ſide, and caried prouiſion for the way. And he that will trauell thoſe wayes, muſt carie with him an hachet, a tinder boxe, and a kettle, to make fire and ſeethe meate, when he hath it: for there is ſmall ſuccour in thoſe parts, vnleſſe it be in townes.

The firſt day of December, I departed from Vologhda in poſte in a ſled, as the maner is in Winter. And the way to Moſcua is as followeth. From Vologhda to Commelski, 27 verſtes, ſo to Obnor 25 verſtes, ſo to Teloytske 20 verſtes, ſo to Vre 30 verſtes, ſo to Voſhansko 30 verſtes, then to Yeraſlaue 30 verſtes, which ſtandeth vpon the great riuer Volga, ſo to Roſtow, 50 verſtes, then to Rogarin 30 verſtes, ſo to Peraſlaue 10 verſtes, which is a great towne, ſtanding hard by a faire lake. From thence to Dowbnay 30 verſtes, ſo to Goderoke 30 verſtes, ſo

December. to Owchay 30 verſtes, and laſt to the Moſco 25 verſtes, where I arriued the ſixt day of December.

There are 14 poſtes called Yannes betweene Vologhda and Moſco, which are accompted 500 verſtes aſunder.

The 10 day of December I was ſent for to the Emperors Caſtle by the ſayd Emperour, and deliuered my letters vnto the Secretary, who talked with me of diuers matters, by the commandement of the Emperour. And after that my letters were tranſlated, I was anſwered that I was welcome, and that the Emperour would giue me that I deſired.

The 25 day, being the day of the natiuitie, I came into the Emperors preſence, and kiſſed his hand, who ſate aloft in a goodly chaire of eſtate, hauing on his heade a crowne moſt richly wrought, and a ſtaffe of gold in his hand, all apparelled with golde, and garniſhed with precious ſtones.

There ſate diſtant from him about two yardes his brother, and next vnto him a boy of twelue yeares of age, who was inheritor to the Emperor of Caſan, conquered by this Emperor 8 yeares

paſt.

part. Then sate his nobilitie round about him, richly apparelled with gold and stone. And after I had done obeisance to the Emperour, he with his own mouth calling me by my name, bade me to dinner, and so I departed to my lodging till dinner time, which was at five of the clocke, by candle light.

The Emperour dined in a kayre great hall, in the midst whereof was a pillar foure square, very artificially made, about which were diuers tables set, and at the vppermost part of the hall, sate the Emperour himselfe, & at his table sate his brother, his Vncles sonne, the Metropolitane, the young Emperour of Calan, and diuers of his noble men, all of one side. There were diuers Ambassadors, & other strangers, as well Christians as heathens, diuerslie apparelled, to the number of 600 men, which dined in the sayd hall, besides 2000 Tartars, men of warre, which were newly come to render themselues to the Emperour, & were appointed to serue him in his wars against the Liefflanders, but they dined in other hals. I was set at a litle table, hauing no stranger with me, directly before the Emperors face. Being thus set and placed, the Emperour sent me diuers dishes of wine, and meade, & many dishes of meat from his own hand, which were brought me by a Duke, and my table serued all in gold and siluer, and so likewise on other tables, there were set bowles of gold, set with stone, worth by estimation 400 pounds sterling one cup, besides the place which serued the tables.

There was also a Cupbord of plate, most sumptuous and rich, which was not vsed: among the which, was a piece of golde of two yardes long, wrought in the toppe with towers, and ordinance, also diuers barrels of gold and siluer, with Castles on the bungs, richly and artificially made. The Emperour and all the hall throughout was serued with Dishes: and when dinner was ended, the Emperour called me by name, & gaue me drinke with his own hand, & so I departed to my lodging.

Note, that when the Emperour drinketh, all the company stand vp, and at euery time he drinketh or casteth of a dish of meate he bleseth himselfe. Many other things I sawe that day, not here noted.

The 4 of January, which was Twelftide with them, the Emperour, with his brother and all his nobles, all most richly apparelled with gold, pearles, pretious stones, and costly furres, with a crowne vpon his head, of the Tartarian fashion, went to the Church in procession, with the Metropolitan, and diuers Bishops and Priests. That day I was before the Emperour again in Russe apparell, and the Emperour asked if that were not I, and his Chancelor answered yea. Then he had me to dinner: then came he out of the church, and went with the procession vpon the riuer, being all frozen, and there standing bare headed, with all his Nobles, there was a hole made in the ice, and the Metropolitan hallowed the water with great solemnitie and seruice, and did cast of the sayd water vpon the Emperors sonne and the Nobilitie. That done, the people with great thronging filled pots of the said water to carie home to their houses, and diuers children were drowned in, and sicke people, and plucked out quickly againe, and diuers Tartars christened: all which the Emperour beheld. Also there were brought the Emperours best horses, to drink at the sayd hallowed water. All this being ended, he returned to his palace againe, and went to dinner by candle light, and sate in a woodden house, very fairely gilt. There dined in the place, about 100 strangers, and I sate alone as I did before, directly before the Emperour, and had my meat, bread and drinke sent me from the Emperour.

The citie of Mosco is great, the houses for the most part of wood, and some of stone, with windowes of yron, which serue for summer time. There are many faire Churches of stone, but more of wood, which are made hot in the winter time. The Emperors lodging is in a faire and large castle, walled foure square of bricke, high, and thicke, situated vpon a hill, 2 miles about, and the riuer on the South west side of it, and it hath 16 gates in the walles, & as many bulwarks. His palace is separated from the rest of the Castle, by a long wall going north and south, to the riuer side. In his palace are Churches, some of stone and some of wood, with round towers fairely gilded. In the Church doores and within the Churches are images of golde: the chiefe markets for all things, are within the sayd Castle, and for sundry things sundry markets, and euery seuerall licence by it selfe. And in the winter there is a great market without the castle, vpon the riuer being frozen, where there is sold corne, earthen pots, tubs, sleds, &c. The castle is in circuit 2900 pales.

The countrey is full of marish ground, & plaine, in woods and riuers abundant, but it bringeth forth good plenty of corne. This Emperour is of great power: for he hath conquered much, as well of the Liefflanders, Poles, Lettoes, and Swethens, as also of the Tartars, & Gentiles, called Cheremizzi, and diuers others, hauing thereby much inlarged his dominions. He keepeth his people in great subiection: all matters passe his iudgement, be they neuer so small. The law is sharpe for all offenders. The Metropolitan dealeth in matters of religion, as himselfe listeth, whome the Emperour greatly

greatly honoreth. They vse the ceremonies, and orders of the Greeke Church. They worship many images painted on tables, and specially the image of S. Nicholas. Their Priests be maried, but their wiues being dead, they may not marie the second time, and so become Monkes, whereof there are a great number in the land.

They haue foure Lents in the yeere, and the weeke before Shroftide, they call the Butter weeke, &c.

They haue many sortes of meats and drinkes, when they banket and delight in eating of grosse meates, and stinking fishe. Before they drinke they vse to blowe in the cup: their greatest friendship is in drinking: they are great talkers and lyers, without any faith or trust in their words, flatterers and dissemblers. The women be there very obedient to their husbands, & are kept straightly from going abroad, but at some seasons.

At my being there, I heard of men and women that drunke away their children, and all their goods at the Emperors tauerne, and not being able to pay, hauing impanned himselfe, the Tauerner bringeth him out to the high way, and beates him vpon the legges: then they that passe by, knowing the cause, and hauing peraduenture compassion vpon him, giue the money, and so he is ransomed.

In euery good towne there is a drunken Tauerne called a Cursemay, which the Emperour sometime letteth out to farme, & sometimes bestoweth for a yeare or two on some duke or gentleman, in recompense of his seruice: and for that time he is Lord of all the towne, robbing and spoiling, and doing what pleaseth him: and then he being growen rich, is taken by the Emperor, and sent to the warres againe, where he shall spend all that which he hath gotten by ill meanes: so that the Emperour in his warres is little charged, but all the burden lieth vpon the poore people.

They vse sadles made of wood & sinewes, with the tree gilded with damaske worke, & these couered with cloth, sometimes of golde, and the rest Saphian leather, well stitched. They vse little drummes at their sadle bowes, by the sound whereof their horses vse to runne more swiftly.

The Russe is apparelled in this maner: his vpper garment is of cloth of golde, silke, or cloth, long, downe to the foot, and buttoned with great buttons of siluer, or els laces of silke, set on with hooches, the sleeues thereof very long, which he weareth on his arme, ruffed vp. Vnder that he hath another long garment, buttoned with silke buttons, with a high coller standing vp of some colour, and that garment is made straight. Then his shirt is very fine, and wrought with red silke, or some gold, with a coller of pearle. Vnder his shirt he hath linnen breeches, vpon his legs, a paire of hose without feete, and his bootes of red or yellow leather. On his head hee weareth a white Colepecke, with buttons of siluer, gold, pearle, or stone, and vnder it a blacke Fox cap, turned vp very broad.

When he riseth on horsebacke to the warres, or any iourney, he hath a sword of the Turkish fashion, and his bowe and arrowes of the same maner. In the towne he weareth no weapon, but onely two or three paire of knines, hauing the hafts of the tooth of a fish, called the Morse.

In the Winter time, the people trauell with sleds, in towne and countrey, the way being hard, and smooth with snow: the waters and riuers are all frozen, and one horse with a sled, will draw a man vpon it 400 miles, in three daies: but in the Summer time, the way is deepe with mire, and trauelling is very ill.

The Russe, if he be a man of any abilitie, neuer goeth out of his house in the winter, but vpon his sled, and in Summer vpon his horse: and in his sled he sits vpon a carpet, or a white Beares skinne: the sled is drawen with a horse well decked, with many Fores and Woolues tailes at his necke, & is conducted by a litle boy vpon his backe: his seruants stand vpon the taile of the sled.

The voyage, wherein Osep Napea the Moscouite Ambassadour returned home into his countrey, with his entertainement at his arriuall, at *Colmogro*: and a large description of the maners of the Countrey.

THe twelfth of Nouember, in the yeere of our Lorde 1557 there departed from Graueiend, foure good shippes well appointed for Marchants, which were presently bound into the Bay of S. Nicholas in Russia: with which shippes was transported, or caried home, one Osep Gregoriwich Napea, who was sent Messenger from the Emperour and great Duke of Moscouia. The foure ships were these, whose names follow, viz.

The Primerose Admirall.

The Iohn Euangelist Viceadmirall.

The

The Anne and the Trinitie Attendants.

The 13 of July, the ſayde foure ſhippes came to an anker in the Baye of S. Nicholas, before an Abbey, called the Abbey of S. Nicholas, whereas the ſayde Meſſenger, Oſep Gregorivich Napea went a ſhoare, and as many Engliſh men as came to ſerue the Emperour remained with him at the Abbey for the ſpace of fiue daies, vntill he had gotten all his things a ſhoare, and laden the ſame in barkes, to goe vp the riuer Dwina, vnto Vologhda, which is by water 1000 verſtes, and euery verſte is about three quarters of an Engliſh mile.

The 20 of July, we departed from S. Nicholas, and the 24 of the ſame, we came to Colmogro, where we remained eight daies: and the ſayd Meſſenger was there of all his acquaintance welcommed home, and had preſents innumerable ſent vnto him, but it was nothing but meate and drinke. Some ſent white bread, ſome rie bread, and ſome buttered bread & pancakes, beefe, mutton, bacon, egges, butter, fiſhes, ſwannes, geeſe, duckes, hennes, and all maner of victuals, both fiſh and fleſh, in the beſt maner, that the rude people could deuiſe: for among them, theſe preſents are highly eſteemed. Preſents vſed in Ruſſia are all for the moſt part of victuals.

The 29 of July, we departed from Colmogro, and the 14 of Auguſt we came to Vſtiug, where we remained one day, and changed our barkes or boates.

The 27 of Auguſt, we came to Vologhda, where we remained 4 daies vnlading the barkes, and lading our cheſtes and things in ſmall waggons, with one horſe in a piece, which in their tongue are called Telegos, and with theſe Telegoes they caried our ſtuffe from Vologhda vnto the Moſco, which is 500 verſtes: and we were vpon the ſame way 14 daies: for we went no farther then the Telegoes.

There are three great townes betweene the Moſco and Vologhda, that is to ſay, Yeraſlaue, Roſtaue, & Pereſlaue. Vpon one ſide of Yeraſlaue runneth a famous riuer, which is called Volga. It runneth into the Caſpian ſea, and it deuideth it ſelfe before it come into the Mare Caſpium, in 70 parts or more, and neere vnto the ſame ſea there ſtands a great Citie, called Boghar, the inhabitants of the which are called by the ſame name. The citie of Boghar.

The people of the ſaid Citie doe traffique vnto the Citie of Moſco: their commodities are ſpices, muſke, ambergreeſe, rubarbe, with other drugs. They bring alſo many furres which they buy in Siberia comming towards the Moſco: the ſayd people are of the ſect of Mahomet.

The 12 of September we came vnto the citie of Moſco, where we were brought by Napea, and two of the Emperours gentlemen vnto a large houſe, where euery one of vs had his chamber appointed. They arriue at Moſco.

The 14 of September we were commanded to come vnto the Emperour, and immediatly after our comming we were brought into his preſence, vnto whom each of vs did his duetie accordingly, and kiſſed his right hand, his maieſtie ſitting in his chaire of eſtate, with his crowne on his head, and a ſtaffe of goldſmiths worke in his left hand well garniſhed with rich and coſtly ſtones: and when we had all kiſſed his hand and done our duties, his maieſtie did declare by his interpretor that we were all welcome vnto him, and into his countrey, & therupon willed vs to dine with him: that day we gaue thanks vnto his maieſtie, and ſo departed vntill the dinner was readie.

When dinner time approched, we were brought againe into the Emperours dining chamber, where we were ſet on one ſide of a table that ſtoode ouer againſt the Emperours table, to the end that he might wel behold vs all: and when we came into the forepart chamber, we found there readie ſet theſe tables following.

Firſt at the vpper end of one table were ſet the Emperour his maieſtie, his brother, & the Emperour of Cazan, which is priſoner. About two yardes lower ſate the Emperour of Cazan his ſonne, being a child of fiue yeeres of age, and beneath him ſate the moſt part of the Emperors noble men.

And at another table neere vnto the Emperours table, there was ſet a Monke all alone, which was in all points as well ſerued as the Emperour. At another table ſate another kind of people called Chirkaſſes, which the Emperour entertaineth for men of warre to ſerue againſt his enemies. Of which people and of their countrey, I will hereafter make mention.

All the tables aforeſayde were couered onely with ſalt and bread, and after that we had ſitten a while, the Emperour ſent vnto euery one of vs a piece of bread, which were giuen and deliuered to euery man ſeuerally by theſe words: The Emperour and great Duke giueth the bread this day, and in like manner three or foure times before dinner was ended, he ſent vnto euery man drinke, which was giuen by theſe words, The Emperour and great Duke giueth thee to drinke. Then the tables aforeſayd were ſerued in veſſels of pure and fine golde, as well baſons and ewers, as alſo of great pots, with an innumerable ſorte of ſmall drinking cuppes of diuers fashions, whereof a great number were ſet with ſtone. As for coſtly meates

I haue many times seene better: but for change of wines, and diuers sorts of meads, it was wonderfull: for there was not left at any time so much void roome on the table, that one cuppe more might haue bin set, and as far as I could perceiue, all the rest were in the like maner serued.

In the dinner time there came in fiue singers which stood in the midst of the chamber, and their faces towards the Emperor, who sang there before dinner was ended three seuerall times, whose songs or voices delighted our eares little or nothing.

The Emperour neuer putteth morsell of meate in his mouth, but he first blesseth it himselfe, & in like maner as often as he drinketh: for after his maner he is very religious, & he esteemeth his religious men aboue his noble men.

This dinner continued about the space of fiue houres, which being ended, and the tables taken vp, we came into the midst of the chamber, where we did reuerence vnto the Emperors maiestie, and then he deliuered vnto euery one of vs with his own hands a cup of mead, which when euery man had receiued and drunke a quantity thereof, we were licenced to depart, & so ended that dinner. And because the Emperour would haue vs to be merry, he sent to our lodging the same Euening three barrels of meade of sundry sortes, of the quantitie in all of one hogshed.

The 16 day of September the Emperour sent home vnto our lodging for euery of vs a Tartarie horse to ride from place to place as we had occasion, for that the streetes of Mosco are very fowle and mirie in the Summer.

M. Standish doctor of Phisicke.

The 18 of September there were giuen vnto master Standish doctor in Phisick, and the rest of our men of our occupations, certaine furred gownes of branched veluet and gold, and some of red damaske, of which master Doctors gowne was furred with Sables, and the rest were furred some with white Ermine, and some with gray Squirel, and all faced and edged round about with blacke beuer.

The 1 of October in the morning we were commanded to come vnto the Emperors court, and when we came thither, we were brought vnto the Emperor vnto whom we did our duties accordingly: whereupon he willed vs to dine with him that day, and so with thanks vnto his maiestie, we departed vntill dinner time, at which time we came and found the tables couered with bread and salt as at the first: & after that we were all set vpon one side of the table, the Emperors maiestie according to his accustomed maner sent vnto euery man a piece of bread by some of the Dukes which attended on his highnesse.

And whereas the 14 of September we were serued in vessels of gold, we were now serued in vessels of siluer, and yet not so abundantly as was the first of gold: they brought drinke vnto the table in siluer boles which conteined at the least fiue gallons a piece, and euerie man had a small siluer cuppe to drinke in, & another to dip or to take his drinke out of the great boll withall: the dinner being ended, the Emperour gaue vnto euery one of vs a cup with meade, which when we had receiued, we gaue thanks and departed.

Moreouer, whensoeuer the Emperors pleasure is that any stranger shall dine with him, he doth send for them in the morning, and when they come before him, he with his owne mouth willeth them to dinner, and this order he alwaies obserueth.

The 10 of October the Emperour gaue vnto M. Standish 70 rubles in money, and to the rest of our men of occupations 30 rubles apiece.

The 3 of Nouember we dined againe with the Emperour, where we were serued as before.

Long dinners.

The 6 of December being S. Nicholas day, we dined againe at the Emperours, for that is one of the principall feasts which the Moscouites hold: we were serued in siluer vessels and ordered in all points as before, and it was past 7 of the clocke at night before dinner was ended.

Ordinance in Russia.

The Emperors maiestie vseth euery yeare in the moneth of December, to haue all his ordinance that is in the citie of Mosco caried into the field which is without the Suburbs of the citie, and there to haue it planted and bent vpon two houses of Wood filled within with earth: against which two houses there were two faire white markes set vp, at which markes they discharge their ordinance, to the ende the Emperour may see what his Gunners can doe. They haue in ordinance of brasse of all sortes, bases, faulcons, minions, sakers, culuerings, cannons double and royall, basiliskes long and large, they haue fiue great pieces whose shot is a yard of height, which shot a man may easily discerne as they flee: they haue also a great many of morter pieces or pot gunnes, out of which pieces they shoote wild fire.

A merely triumph.

The 12 of December the Emperors Maiestie and all his nobility came into the field on horseback, in most goodly order, hauing very fine Jenneis & Turkie horses garnished with gold and siluer abundantly. The Emperors maiestie hauing on him a gowne of rich tissue, & a cap of state on his head, set not only with pearles, but also with a great number of rich and costly stones: the noble men were all in gownes of cloth of gold, which did ride before him in good order by 3. & 3. before

before them there went 5000 harquebusiers, which went by 5 and 5 in a rank in very good order, euery of them carying his gun vpon his left shoulder, and his match in his right hand, and in this order they marched into the field where as the foresayd ordinance was planted.

And before the Emperors maiestie came into the field, there was a certaine stage made of small poles which was a quarter of a mile long, and about three score yardes off from the stage of poles were certaine pieces of ice of two foot thicke, and five foote high set vp, which ranke of ice was as long as the stage of poles, and as soone as the Emperors maiestie came into the field, the harquebusiers went vpon the stage of poles where they setled themselues in order. And when the Emperors maiestie was setled where he would be, and where he might see all the ordinance discharged and shot off, the harquebusiers began to shoot off at the banke of ice, as though it had bin in any skirmish or battel, who ceased not shooting, vntill they had beaten all the ice flat on the ground.

After the handguns, they shot off their wild fire vp into the aire, which was a goodly sight to behold. And after this, they began to discharge the smal pieces of brasse, beginning with the smallest and so orderly bigger and bigger, vntill the last and biggest. When they had shot them all off, they began to charge them againe, and so shot them al off 3 times after the first order, beginning with the smallest, and ending with the greatest. And note that before they had ended their shooting, the 2 houses that they shot vnto were beaten in pieces, & yet they were very strongly made of Wood and filled with earth, being at the least 30 foote thicke. This triumph being ended, the Emperour departed and rode home in the same order that he came forth into the field. The ordinance is discharged euery yeare in the moneth of December, according to the order before mentioned.

On Christmas day we were all willed to dine with the Emperors Maiestie, where for bread, meat and drinke, we were serued as at other times before: but for goodly and rich plate, we neuer saw the like or so much before. There dined that day in the Emperors presence aboue 500 strangers, and two hundred Rulles, and all they were serued in vessels of gold, and that as much as could stand one by another vpo the tables. Besides this there were foure cupbords garnished with goodly plate both of gold & siluer. Among the which there were 12 barrels of siluer, conteining about 12 gallons a piece, and at each end of euery barrell were 6 hoopes of fine gold: this dinner continued about fiue houres.

Euery yeare vpon the 12 day they vse to bielle or sanctifie the riuer Moscua, which runneth through the citie of Mosco, after this maner. The hallowing of the riuer of Mosco.

First, they make a square hole in the ice about 3 fadoms large euery way, which is trimmed about the sides & edges with white boords. Then about 9 of the cloke they come out of the church with procession towards the riuer in this wise.

First and formost there goe certaine young men with ware tapers burning, and one carying a great lanterne: then follow certaine banners, then the crosse, then the images of our Lady, of S. Nicholas, and of other Saints, which images men carie vpon their shoulders: after the images follow certaine priests to the number of 100 or more: after them the Metropolitane who is led betweene two priests, and after the Metropolitan came the Emperour with his crowne vpon his head, and after his maiestie all his noble men orderly. Thus they followed the procession vnto the water, & when they came vnto the hole that was made, the priests set themselues in order round about it. And at one side of the same poole there was a scaffold of boords made, vpon which stood a faire chaire in which the Metropolitan was set, but the Emperours maiestie stood vpon the ice.

After this the priests began to sing, to bielle and to sense, and did their seruice, and so by that time that they had done, the water was holy, which being sanctified, the Metropolitane tooke a little thereof in his hands, and cast it on the Emperour, likewise vpon certaine of the Dukes, & then they returned againe to the church with the priests that sate about the water: but that preasse that there was about the water when the Emperor was gone, was woderful to behold, for there came aboue 5000 pots to be filled of that water: for that Moscouite which hath no part of that water, thinks himselfe vnhappy.

And very many went naked into the water, both men and women and children: after the preasse was a little gone, the Emperours Iennets and horses were brought to drinke of the same water, and likewise many other men brought their horses thither to drinke, and by that means they make their horses as holy as themselues.

All these ceremonies being ended, we went to the Emperour to dinner, where we were serued in vessels of siluer, and in all other points as we had bene before time.

The Rulles begin their Lent alwaies 8 weekes before Easter: the first weeke they eate egs, milke, cheese & butter, and make great cheare with pancakes and such other things, one friend visiting another, & from the same Sunday vntil our Shrouesunday there are but few Rulles sober, but they are drunke day by day, and it is accounted for no reproch or shame among them. The Rulles Lent.

The next weeke being our firſt weeke of Lent, or our cleanſing weeke, beginning our Shroue ſunday, they make and keepe a great faſt. It is reported, and the people do verily beleeue that the Petropolitan neither eateth nor drinketh any maner of thing for the ſpace of ſeuen dayes, and they ſay that there are many religious men which doe the like.

The Emperors Maieſtie eateth but one morſel of bread, and drinketh but one draught of drinke once in the day during that weeke, and all men that are of any reputation come not out of their houſes during that time, ſo that the ſtreetes are almoſt void of company, ſauing a few poore ſolkes which wander to and fro. The other ſixe weekes they keepe as we do ours, but not one of them will eate either butter, cheeſe, egs or milke.

On Palme ſunday they haue a very ſolemne proceſſion in this maner following.

Firſt, they haue a tree of a good bigneſſe which is made faſt vpon two ſleds, as though it were growing there, and it is hanged with apples, raiſins, figs and dates, and with many other fruits abundantly. In the midſt of ỹ ſame tree ſtand 5 boyes in white veſtures, which ſing in the tree before the proceſſion: after this there followed certaine yong men with wore tapers in their handes burning, & a great lanterne that al the light ſhould not go out: after them followed two with long banners, & ſixe with round plates ſet vpon long ſtaues: the plates were of copper very ful of holes and thin: then followed 6 carying painted images vpon their ſhoulders, after the images followed certaine prieſts to the number of 100 or more, with goodly veſtures, whereof 100 or 120 are of white damaſke, ſet and imbroudered round about with faire and orient pearles, as great as peaſe, and among them certaine Saphires and other ſtones. After them followed the one halfe of the Emperours noble men: then commeth the Emperors maieſtie and the Petropolitane, after this maner.

Firſt, there is a horſe couered with white linnen cloth down to ỹ ground, his eares being made long with the ſame cloth like to an aſſes eares. Upon this horſe the Petropolitane ſitteth ſide long like a woman: in his lappe lieth a faire booke, with a crucifix of Goldſmiths worke vpon the couer, which he holdeth faſt with his left hand, and in his right hand he hath a croſſe of gold, with which croſſe he ceaſeth not to bleſſe the people as he rideth.

There are to the number of 30 men which ſpread abroad their garments before the horſe, and as ſoone as the horſe is paſt ouer any of them, they take them vp againe and run before, and ſpread them againe, ſo that the horſe doth alway go on ſome of them. They which ſpred the garments are all prieſts ſonnes, and for their labours the Emperour giueth vnto them new garments.

The Emperor leadeth ỹ Petropolitans horſe in proceſſion.

One of the Emperors noble men leadeth the horſe by the head, but the Emperour himſelfe going on foote leadeth the horſe by the ende of the reine of his bridle with one of his hands, and in the other of his hands he had a branch of a Palme tree: after this followed the reſt of the Emperours Noble men and Gentlemen, with a great number of other people. In this order they went from one church to another within the caſtle, about the diſtance of two flights ſhot: and ſo returned againe to the Emperours Church, where they made an end of their ſeruice. Which being done, the Emperours maieſtie and certaine of his noble men went to the Petropolitane his houſe to dinner, where of delicate fiſhes and good drinks there was no lacke.

The reſt of this weeke vntill Eaſter day they kept very ſolemnely, continuing in their houſes for the moſt part, and vpon Munday or Thurſday the Emperour doth alwayes vſe to receiue the Sacrament, and ſo doe moſt of his nobles.

Upon good Friday they continue all the day in contemplation and prayers, and they vſe euery yere on good Friday to let looſe a priſoner in the ſtead of Barrabas. The night following they go to the Church where they ſleepe vntill the next morning, & at Eaſter they haue the reſurrection, & after euery of the Lents they eat fleſh the next weeke following. Friday, Saturday and all.

They haue an order at Eaſter which they alwaies obſerue, and that is this: euery yere againſt Eaſter to die or colour red with Brazell a great number of egs, of which euery man and woman giueth one vnto the prieſt of their Pariſh vpon Eaſter day in the morning. And moreouer the common people vſe to carie in their handes one of their red egs, not onely vpon Eaſter day, but alſo three or foure dayes after, and gentlemen and gentlewomen haue egs guilded which they carie in like maner. They vſe it as they ſay for a great loue, and in token of the reſurrection, whereof they reaſon. For when two friends meete during the Eaſter holy dayes, they come & take one another by the hand: the one of them ſaieth, the Lord or Chriſt is riſen, the other anſwereth, it is ſo of a truth, and then they kiſſe and exchange their egs both men and women, continuing in kiſſing 4 dayes together.

Kiſſing vſed in the Greeke church.

The 12 of Aprill being Tueſday in the Eaſter weeke, maiſter Ienkinſon and maiſter Gray and certayne other of vs Engliſh men dined with the Emperor, where we were ſerued as we had bin before time. And after dinner the Emperours maieſtie gaue vnto maiſter Ienkinſon and vnto M. Gray, and ſo orderly vnto euery one of vs a cup of Mead, according to his accuſtomed manner

which when euery man had receiued and giuen thanks, M. Ienkinſon ſtepped into the midſt of the chamber before the Emperours maieſtie, and gaue thankes to his highneſſe for his goodneſſe vnto him extended, deſiring his grace to licence him to depart, and in like maner did Maſter Gray. His maieſtie did not onely licence them to depart, but alſo graunted vnto maſter Ienkinſon his letters vnder his great ſeale, vnto all princes through whoſe dominions maſter Ienkinſon ſhould haue occaſion to paſſe, that he might the ſooner and quietlier paſſe by meanes thereof. Which being granted, maſter Ienkinſon and Gray lowly ſubmitted themſelues, thanking his maieſtie. So the Emperour gaue vnto either of them a cuppe of mead to drinke, and willed them to depart at their pleaſure in Gods peace.

With theſe letters M. Ienkinſon tooke his voyage the ſame night to Boghar.

The 14. of Aprill in the morning when M. Gray and I were ready to depart towards England, the Chancellors ſent vnto vs and willed vs to come to their office in the Chancerie, where at our comming they ſhewed vs a great number of the Emperors iewels, and rich robes, willing vs to marke and beholde them well, to the end that at our arriuall into England, we might make report what we had ſeene there.

The Emperours wardrobe.

The cheefeſt was his maieſties crowne, being cloſe vnder the top very faire wrought: in mine opinion, the workmanſhip of ſo much gold few men can amend. It was adorned and decked with rich and pretious ſtones abundantly, among the which one was a rubie, which ſtood a handfull higher then the top of the crowne vpon a ſmall wier, it was as big as a good beane: the ſame crowne was lined with a faire blacke Sable, worth by report 40. roubles.

We ſawe all his maieſties robes which were very richly ſet with ſtones, they ſhewed vs manie other great ſtones of diuers kindes, but the moſt part of them were vneuen, in maner as they came out of the worke, for they doe more eſteeme the greatneſſe of ſtones, then the proportion of them.

We ſaw two goodly gownes which were as beautie as a man could eaſily carrie, all ſet with pearles ouer and ouer: the gards or borders round about them were garniſhed with ſaphires and other good ſtones abundantly. One of the ſame gownes was very rich, for the pearles were very large, round and orient: as for the reſt of his gownes and garments, they were of rich tiſſue and cloth of gold and all furred with very blacke Sables.

When we had ſufficiently peruſed all theſe things, they willed maſter Gray at his arriuall in England, to prouide if he could, ſuch iewels and rich clothes as he had ſeene there, and better if he could, declaring that the Emperour would gladly beſtow his money vpon ſuch things.

So we tooke our leaue the ſame time, and departed towards Vologda immediatly.

The maners, vſages, and ceremonies of the Ruſſes.

Of the Emperour.



THe Emperours name in their tongue is Iuan Vaſiliuich, that is as much to ſay, as Iohn the ſonne of Vaſilie and by his princely ſtate hee is called Oteſara, as his predeceſſors haue bene before, which to interprete, is a king, that giueth not tribute to any man. And this word Oteſara his maieſties interpreters haue of late dayes interpreted to be Emperour, ſo that now hee is called Emperour and great Duke of all Ruſſia, &c. Before his father they were neither called Emperours nor kings but onely Rueſe Velike, that is to ſay, great Duke. And as this Emperor which now is Iuan Vaſiliuich, doeth exceede his predeceſſors in name, that is, from a Duke to an Emperour, euen ſo much by report he doeth exceede them in ſtoutneſſe of courage and valiantneſſe, and a great deale more: for he is no more afraid of his enemies which are not few, then the bobbie of the larks.

* Ol, Raſſilia.

His enemies with whom he hath warres for the moſt part are theſe: Litto, Poland, Sweden, Denmarke, Liſland, the Crimmes, Nagaians, and the whole nation of the Tartarians, which are a ſtoute and a hardie people as any vnder the Sunne.

This Emperour vſeth great familiaritie, as well vnto all his nobles and ſubiects, as alſo vnto ſtrangers which ſerue him either in his warres, or in occupations: for his pleaſure is that they ſhall dine oftentimes in the peere in his preſence, and beſides that he is oftentimes abroad, either in ſome Church or another, and walking with his noble men abroad. And by this meanes he is not onely beloued of his nobles and commons, but alſo had in great dread and feare through all his dominions, ſo that I thinke no prince in Chriſtendome is more feared of his owne then he is, nor better beloued. For if he bid any of his Dukes goe, they will runne, if he giue any euill or angrie worde to any of them, the partie will not come into his maieſties preſence againe of a long

time

time if he be not ſent for, but will ſuffer him to be very lice, and will let the haire of his head grow very long, without either cutting or ſhaving, which is an euident token that he is in the Emperors diſpleaſure: for when they be in their proſperity, they account it a ſhame to weare long haire, in conſideration whereof, they vſe to haue their heads ſhauen.

Note. His maieſty heareth all complaints himſelfe, and with his owne mouth giueth ſentence, and iudgement of all matters, and that with expedition: but religious matters he medleth not withall, but referreth them wholly vnto the Metropolitane.

His maieſtie retaineth and well rewardeth all ſtrangers that come to ſerue him, and eſpecially men of warre.

He delighteth not greatly in hawking, hunting, or any other paſtime, nor in hearing inſtrumentes or muſicke, but ſetteth all his whole delight vpon two things: Firſt, to ſerue God, as vndoubtedly he is very deuoute in his religion, and the ſecond, howe to ſubdue and conquere his enemies.

He hath abundance of gold and ſiluer in his owne handes or treaſurie: but the moſt part of his ſubiects know not a crowne from a counter, nor gold from copper, they are ſo much cumbred therewithall, and he that is worth 2. 3. or 4. grotes, is a rich man.

Of their Religious men.

The Metropolitane is next vnto God, our Lady and S. Nicholas excepted: for the Emperors maieſty iudgeth & affirmeth him to be of higher dignitie then himſelfe; for that, ſaith he, he is Gods ſpirituall officer, and I the Emperour am his temporall officer, and therefore his maieſtie ſubmitteth himſelfe vnto him in many things concerning religious matters, as in leading the Metropolitans horſe vpon Palme ſunday, and giuing him leaue to ſitte on a chaire vpon the 12. day, when the riuer Moſco was in bleſſing, his maieſtie ſtanding on the yce.

All matters of religion are reformed by the Metropolitane, he heareth the cauſes and giueth ſentence as himſelfe liſteth, and is authorized ſo to doe, whether it be to whip, hang or burne, his will muſt needs be fulfilled.

They haue both monks, friers and nunnes, with a great number of great & rich monaſteries: they keepe great hoſpitalitie, and doe relieue much poore people day by day. I haue bene in one of the monaſteries called Troiectes, which is walled about with bricke very ſtrongly like a caſtle, and much ordinance of braſſe vpon the walles of the ſame. They told me themſelues that there are ſeuen hundred brethren of the which belong vnto that houſe. The moſt part of the lands, townes, and villages which are within 40. miles of it, belong vnto the ſame. They ſhewed me the church, wherein were as many images as could hang about, or vpon the wals of the Church round about, and euen the roofe of the church was painted full of images. The chiefe image was of our Lady, which was garniſhed with gold, rubies, ſaphirs and other rich ſtones abundantly. In the midſt of the church ſtood 12. ware tapers of two yards long, and a fathom about in bigneſſe, & there ſtood a kettle full of ware with about 100. weight, wherein there is alwayes the wieke of a candle burning, as it were a lampe which goeth not out day nor night.

They ſhewed me a coffin couered with cloth of gold which ſtoode vpon one ſide within the church, in which they told me lay a holy man, who neuer eate or dranke, and yet that he liueth. Item they told me (ſuppoſing that I had beleeued them) that he healeth many diſeaſes, and giueth ſight to the blind: with many other miracles, but I was hard of belief becauſe I ſaw him worke no miracle whileſt I was there.

After this they brought me into their ſellers, and made me taſte of diuers kinds of drinks, both wine and beere, mead and quaſſie, of ſundry colours and kinds. Such abundance of drink as they haue in their ſellers, I doe ſuppoſe few princes haue more, or ſo much at once.

Their barrels or veſſels are of an vnreaſonable bignes & ſize: ſome of them are 3. yards long and more, and 2. yards & more broad in their heads: they conteine 6. or 7. tunnes a piece: they haue none in their ſellers of their own making that are leſſe then a tunne. They haue 9. or 10. great vaultes which are full of thoſe barrels which are ſeldome remoued: for they haue trunkes which come downe through the roofe of the vaultes in ſundry places, through which they powre drinke downe, hauing the caſke right vnder it to receiue the ſame, for it ſhould be a great trouble to bring it all downe the ſtayres.

The hoſpitalitie of their monaſteries. They giue bread, meat and drinke vnto all men that come to them, not onely while they are in their abbey, but alſo when they depart, to ſerue them by the way.

There are a great number of ſuch monaſteries in the Realm, and the Emperors maieſty removeth oftentimes from one to another of them, and lieth at them 3. or 4. daies together.

The ſame monkes are as great merchants as any in the land of Ruſſia, and doe occupy buying and ſelling as much as any other men, and haue boats which paſſe too and fro in the riuers into merchandize from place to place where any of their countrey do traffike.

They eate no fleſh during their liues as it is reported: but vpon Sunday, Munday, Tueſday, Thurſday and Saturday it is lawful for them to eate egges, butter, cheeſe and milke, and at all times to eate fiſh, and after this ſorte they lead their liues.

They weare all blacke garments, and ſo doe none other in all the lande, but at that abbey onely.

They haue no preachers no not one in al the land to inſtruct the people, ſo that there are many, & the moſt part of the poore in the country, who if one aſke them how many gods there be, they will ſay a great many, meaning that euery image which they haue is a god: for all the countrey and the Emperours maieſty himſelfe wil bleſſe and bowe, and knocke their heads before their images, in ſo much that they will crie earneſtly vnto their images to helpe them to the things which they need. Al men are bound by their law to haue thoſe images in their houſes, and ouer euery gate in all their townes and cities are images ſet vp, vnto which the people bow and bend, and knocke their heads againſt the ground before them: as often as they come by any church or croſſe they do will ſalute any man in the houſe, they bleſſe themſelues 3. or 4. times before they in like maner. And when they come to any houſe,

Want of preachers cauſe of great ignorance and idolatry.

They reckon and hold it for great ſinne to touch or handle any of their images within the circle of the wood where the painting is, but they keep them very daintily, and rich men deck them ouer and about with gold, ſiluer and ſtones, and hang them ouer and about with cloth of gold.

The prieſtes are married as other men are, and weare all their garments as other men doe, except their nightcaps, which is cloth of ſome lad colour, being round, & reacheth vnto the eares: their crownes are ſhauen, but the reſt of their haire they let grow, as long as nature will permit, ſo that it hangeth beneath their eares vpon their ſhoulders: their beards they neuer ſhaue: if his wife happen to die, it is not lawfull for him to marry againe during his life.

They miniſter the Communion with bread and wine after an other order, but he breaketh the bread and putteth it into the cup vnto the wine, and commonly ſome other prieſts with them: and they take the bread out againe with a ſpoon together with part of the wine, and ſo take it themſelues, and giue it to others that receiue with them after the ſame maner.

Their ceremonies are al as they ſay, according to the Greeke Church vſed at this preſent day, and they allow no other religion but the Greeks, and their owne: and will not permit any nation but the Greeks to be buried in their ſacred burials, or churchyards.

All their churches are full of images, vnto the which the people when they aſſemble, doe bowe and knocke their heads, as I haue before ſaid, that ſome will haue knobbes vpon their foreheads with knocking, as great as egges.

All their ſeruice is in the Ruſſe tongue, and they and the common people haue no other prayers but this, Goſpodi Ieſus Chriſtos eſine voze ponuloi naſhe. That is to ſay, O Lorde Ieſus Chriſt, ſonne of God haue mercy vpon vs: and this is their prayer, ſo that the moſt part of the vnlearned know neither Pater noſter, nor the Beliefe, nor Ten commandements, nor ſcarcely vnderſtand the one halfe of their ſeruice which is read in their Churches.

All their ſeruice is in their owne tongue.

Of their Baptiſme.

When any child is borne, it is not baptized vntil the next Sunday, and if it chance that it be not baptized then, it muſt tary vntil the ſecond Sunday after the birth, and it is lawfull for them to take as many Godfathers and Godmothers as they will, the more the better.

When they go to the Church, the mid wife goeth formoſt, carying the childe, & the Godfathers and Godmothers follow into the midſt of the Church, where there is a ſmall table ready ſet, and on it an earthen pot full of warme water, about the which the Godfathers and Godmothers, with the childe, ſettle themſelues: then the clearke giueth vnto euery of them a ſmal ware candle burning, then commeth the prieſt, and beginneth to ſay certaine words, which the Godfathers and Godmothers muſt anſwere word for word, among which one is, that the childe ſhal forſake the deuill, and as that name is pronounced, they muſt all ſpit at the word as often as it is repeated. Then he bleſſeth the water which is in the pot, and doth breathe ouer it: then he taketh al the candles which the goſſeps haue, and holding them all in one hand letteth part of them drop into the water, and then giueth euery one his candle againe, and when the water is ſanctified, he taketh the childe and holdeth it in a ſmall tubbe, and one of the Godfathers taketh the pot with warme water, and powreth it all vpon the childs head.

After

After this he hath many more ceremonies, as anoynting eares and eyes with ſpittle, and making certaine croſſes with oyle vpon the backe, head, and breſt of the childe: then taking the childe in his armes, carieth it to the images of S. Nicholas, and our Ladie, &c. and ſpeaketh vnto the images, deſiring them to take charge of the childe, that he may liue, and beleeue as a Chriſtian man or woman ought to doe, with many other words. Then comming backe from the images, he taketh a paire of sheares and clippeth the yong and tender haires of the childes head, in three or foure places, and then deliuereth the childe, whereunto euery of the Godfathers & Godmothers lay a hand: then the prieſt chargeth them, that the childe be brought vp in the faith & feare of God or Chriſt, and that it be inſtructed to elinege and bow to the images, and ſo they make an end: then one of the Godfathers muſt hang a croſſe about the necke of the childe, which he muſt alwayes weare, for that Ruſſe which hath not a croſſe about his necke they eſteeme as no Chriſtian man, and thereupon they ſay that we are no Chriſtians, becauſe we do not weare croſſes as they do.

Of their Matrimonie.

THeir matrimonie is nothing ſolemnized, but rather in moſt points abhominable, and as neere as I can learne, in this wiſe following.

Firſt, when there is loue betweene the parties, the man ſendeth vnto the woman a ſmall chet or bore, wherein is a whip, needles, threed, ſilke, linnen cloth, sheares, and ſuch neceſſaries as ſhall occupie when ſhe is a wife, and perhaps ſendeth ther withall raiſins, figs or ſome ſuch things, giuing her to vnderſtand, that if ſhe doe offend, ſhe muſt be beaten with the whip, & by the needles, threed, cloth, &c. that ſhe ſhould apply her ſelfe diligently to ſowe, and do ſuch things as ſhee could beſt doe, and by the raiſins or fruites he meaneth if ſhe doe well, no good thing ſhalbe withdrawn from her, nor be too deare for her: and ſhe ſendeth vnto him a ſhirt, handkerchers, and ſome ſuch things of her owne making. And now to the effect.

When they are agreed, and the day of marriage appointed, when they ſhall goe towardes the Church, the bride will in no wiſe conſent to go out of the houſe, but reſiſteth and ſtriueth with ſtrength that would haue her out, and faineth her ſelfe to weepe, yet in the end, two women get her out, and lead her towards the church, her face being couered cloſe, becauſe of her diſſimulation, that it ſhould not be openly perceiued: for ſhe maketh a great noiſe, as though ſhe were ſobbing and weeping, vntil ſhe come at the Church, and then her face is vncouered. The man commeth after among other of his friends, and they carry with them to the church a great pot with wine or mead: then the prieſt coupleth them together much after our order, one promiſſing to loue and ſerue the other during their liues together, &c. which being done, they begin to drinke, and firſt the woman drinketh to the man, and when he hath drunke he letteth the cuppe fall to the ground, haſting immediately to tread vpon it, and ſo doth ſhe, and whether of them tread firſt vpon it muſt haue the victorie and be maſter at all times after, which commonly happeneth to the man, for he is readieſt to let his foot on it, becauſe he letteth it fall himſelfe, then they goe home againe, the womans face being vncouered. The boyes in the ſtreetes crie out and make a noyſe in this meane time, with very diſhoneſt wordes.

When they come home, the wife is ſet at the vpper end of the table, and the huſband next her: they fall then to drinking till they bee all drunke, they perchance haue a minſtrell or two, and two naked men, which led her from the Church daunce naked a long time before all the company. When they are wearie of drinking, the bride and the bridegrome get them to bed, for it is in the euening alwayes when any of them are married: and when they are going to bedde, the bridegrome putteth certain money both golde and ſiluer, if he haue it, into one of his boots, and thruſteth down in the chamber, croſſing his legges, and then the bride muſt plucke off one of his boots, which ſhe will, and if ſhe happen on the boote wherein the money is, ſhe hath not onely the money for her labor, but is alſo at ſuch choyſe, as ſhe need not euer from that day forth to pul off his boots, but if ſhe miſſe the boot wherein the money is, ſhe doth not onely looſe the money, but is alſo bound from that day forwards to pull off his boots continually.

Then they continue in drinking and making good cheere three daies following, being accompanied with certaine of their friends, and during the ſame three daies he is called a Duke, & ſhee Dutches, although they be very poore perſons, and this is as much as I haue learned of their matrimony: but one common rule is amongſt them, if the woman be not beaten with the whip once a weeke, ſhe will not be good, and therefore they looke for it orderly, & the women ſay, that if their huſbands did not beate them, they ſhould not loue them.

They vſe to marry there [illegible] yong, their ſonnes at 16. and 18. yeeres olde, and the daughters at 12. or 13. yeeres or ponger: they vſe to keepe their wiues very cloſely, I meane thoſe that [illegible]

of any reputation, ſo that a man ſhall not ſee one of them but at a chance, when ſhe goeth to church at Chriſtmas or at Eaſter, or els going to viſite ſome of her friends.

The moſt part of the women vſe to ride a ſtride in ſaddles with ſtyrrops, as men do, and ſome of them on ſlews, which in ſummer is not commendable.

The huſband is bound to finde the wife colours to paint her withall, for they vſe ordinarily to paint themſelues: it is ſuch a common practiſe among them, that it is counted for no ſhame: they greaſe their faces with ſuch colours, that a man may diſcerne them hanging on their faces almoſt a ſtighe ſhoote off: I cannot ſo well liken them as to a millers wife, for they looke as though they were beaten about the face with a bagge of meale, but their eye browes they colour as blacke as iet. The women of Ruſſia paint their faces.

The beſt propertie that the women haue, is that they can ſowe well, and imbroder with ſilke and golde excellently.

Of their buriall.

When any man or woman dieth, they ſtretch him out, and put a new paire of ſhooes on his feete, becauſe he hath a great iourney to goe: then doe they winde him in a ſheet, as we doe, but they forget not to put a teſtimonie in his right hand, which the prieſt giueth him, to teſtifie vnto S. Nicholas that he died a Chriſtian man or woman. And they put the coarſe alwayes in a coffin of wood, although the partie be very poore: and when they goe towards the Church, the friends and kinſemen of the partie departed carrie in their hands ſmall waxe candles, and they weepe and howle, and make much lamentation.

They that be hanged or beheaded, or ſuch like, haue no teſtimonie with them: how they are receiued into heauen, it is a wonder, without their paſport.

There are a great number of poore people among them which die daily for lacke of ſuſtenance, which is a pitifull caſe to beholde: for there hath beene buried in a ſmall time, within theſe two yeeres, about 80. perſons young and old, which haue died onely for lacke of ſuſtenance: for if they had had ſtraw and water enough, they would make ſhift to liue: for a great many are forced in the winter to dyle ſtraw and ſtampe it, and to make bread thereof, or at the leaſt they eate it in ſtead of bread of the ſame. In the ſummer they make good ſhift with graſſe, herbes and rootes: barkes of trees are good meat with them at all times. There is no people in the world, as I ſuppoſe, that liue ſo miſerably as do the pouerty in thoſe parts: and the moſt part of them that haue ſufficient for themſelues, and alſo to relieue others that need, are ſo vnmerciful that they care not how many they ſee die of famine or hunger in the ſtreets. Bread made of ſtraw. The vnmercifulneſſe of the Ruſſes towards the poore.

It is a countrey full of diſeaſes, diuers, and euill, and the beſt remedie is for ante of them, as they holde opinion, to goe often vnto the hote houſes, as in a maner euery man hath one of his owne, which hee heateth commonly ewiſe euery weeke, and all the houſholde ſweate, and waſh themſelues therein. Stoues or baths vſuall with the Ruſſe countrey.

The names of certaine ſortes of drinkes vſed in *Ruſſia*, *and commonly drunke in the Emperours Court.*

Kepened by Thomas Bulley.

The firſt and principall meade is made of the iuice or liccour taken from a berrie called in Ruſſia, Malieno, which is of a marueilous ſweete taſte, and of a carmoſant colour, which berry I haue ſeene in Paris.

The ſecond meade is called Viſnoua, becauſe it is made of a berry ſo called, and is like a blacke peaſeberrie: but it is like in colour and taſte to the red wine of France.

The third meade is called Amarodina or Smorodina, ſhort, of a ſmall berry much like to the ſmall reyſin, and groweth in great plentie in Ruſſia.

The fourth meade is called Chereunikyna, which is made of the wilde blacke cherry.

The fift meade is made of hony and water, with other mixtures.

There is alſo a delicate drinke drawn from the root of the birch tree, called in the Ruſſe tongue Berozewites, which drinke the noble men and others vſe in Aprill, May, and June, which are the three moneths of the ſpring time: for after thoſe moneths, the ſappe of the tree dryeth, and then they cannot haue it.

The

The voyage of Maſter *Anthony Ienkinſon*, made from the citie of *Moſco* in *Ruſſia*, to the citie of *Boghar* in *Bactria*, in the yeere 1558: written by himſelfe to the Merchants of London of the Moſcouie companie.



The 23. day of Aprill, in the yeere 1558. (hauing obtained the Emperor of Ruſſia his letters, directed vnto ſundry kings and princes, by whoſe dominions I ſhould paſſe) I departed from Moſco by water, hauing with mee two of your ſeruants, namely, Richard Iohnſon, & Robert Iohnſon, and a Tartar Tolmach, with diuers parcels of wares, as by the inuentory appeareth: and the 28. day we came to a town called Collom, diſtant from the Moſco 20. leagues, & paſſing one league beyond the ſaide Collom, we came vnto a riuer called Occa, into the which the riuer Moſco falleth, and looſeth his name: and paſſing downe the ſaid riuer Occa 8. leagues, we came vnto a caſtle called Terreuettisko, which we left vpon our right hand, and proceeding forward, the ſecond day of May, we came vnto another caſtle called Peroſlaue, diſtant 8. leagues, leauing it alſo on our right hand. The third day we came vnto the place where olde Rezan was ſituate, being now moſt of it ruined and ouergrowen, and diſtant from the ſaid Peroſlaue, 6. leagues: the 4. day we paſſed by a caſtle called Terrecouia, from Rezan 12. leagues, & the 6. day we came to another caſtle called Caſſim, vnder the gouernment of a Tartar prince named Vtzar Zegoline, ſometime Emperour of the worthy citie of Cazan, and now ſubiect vnto the Emperour of Ruſſia. But leauing Caſſim on our left hand, the 8. day we came vnto a faire town called Morom, from Caſſim 20. leagues, where we took the ſonne, and found the latitude 56. degrees: and proceeding forward the 11. day, we came vnto another faire town & caſtle called Nyſe Nouogrod, ſituated at the falling of the foreſaid riuer Occa into the worthie riuer of Volga, diſtant from the ſaide Moron 25. leagues, in the latitude of 56. degrees 18. minutes. Frō Rezan to this Nyſe Nouogrod, on both ſides the ſaid riuer of Occa, is raiſed the greateſt ſtore of ware and hemp in all the land of Ruſſia. We tarried at the foreſaid Nyſe Nouogrod vntil the 19. day, for the comming of a captain which was ſent by the Emperour to rule at Aſtracan, who being arriued, and hauing the number of 500. great boates vnder his conduct, ſome laden with victuals, ſouldiers, and munition: and other ſome with merchandiſe, departed altogether the ſaid 19. day from the ſaid Nyſe Nouogrod, and the 22. we came vnto a caſtle called Vaſiliagorod, diſtant 25. leagues, which we left vpon our right hand. This towne or caſtle had his name of this Emperours father, who was called Vaſilius, and gorod in the Ruſſe tongue is as much to ſay as a caſtle, ſo that Vaſiliagorod is to ſay, Vaſilius caſtle: and it was the furtheſt place that the ſaid Emperour conquered from the Tartars. But this preſent Emperour his ſonne, called Iuan Vaſiliwich, hath had great good ſucceſſe in his warres, both againſt the Chriſtians and alſo the Mahometiſts and Gentiles, but eſpecially againſt the Tartars, inlarging his Empire euen to the Caſpian ſea, hauing conquered the famous riuer of Volga, with all the countreis thereabout adiacent. Thus proceeding on our iourney the 25. day of May aforeſaide, wee came to another caſtle called Sabowſhare, which wee left on our right hand, diſtant from Vaſiliagorod 16. leagues. The countrey heereabout is called Mordouits, and the habitants do profeſſe the law of the Gentiles: but nowe being conquered by the Emperour of Ruſsia, moſt of them are chriſtened, but lie in the woods and wilderneſſe, without towne or habitation.

The 27. day we paſſed by another caſtle called Swyasko, diſtant from Shabowſhare aforeſaid 25. leagues: we left it on our right hand, and the 29. came vnto an Iſland one league from the citie of Cazan, from which falleth downe a riuer called Cazanka reca, & entreth into the foreſaide Volga. Cazan is a faire town after the Ruſſe or Tartar faſhion, with a ſtrong caſtle, ſituated vpon a high hill, and was walled round about with timber & earth, but now the Emperour of Ruſsia hath giuen order to plucke downe the old walles, and to builde them againe of free ſtone. It hath bene a citie of great wealth and riches, and being in the handes of the Tartars it was a kingdome of it ſelfe, and did more vexe the Ruſſes in their warres, then any other nation: but 9. yeeres paſt, this Emperour of Ruſsia conquered it, and tooke the king captiue, who being but young is now baptiſed, and brought vp in his court with two other princes, which were alſo kings of the ſaid Cazan, and being eſcheat (in time of their raignes in danger of their ſubiects though ciuil diſcord) came and rendred themſelues at ſeuerall times vnto the ſaid Emperor, ſo that at this preſent there are three princes in the court of Ruſsia, which haue bene Emperours of the ſaid Cazan, whom the Emperour vſeth with great honour.

Cazan.

We remained at Cazan till the 13. day of June, and then departed from thence: and the

day paſſed by an Iſland called the Iſland of merchants, becauſe it was woont to be a place where all merchants, as well Ruſſes and Cazanites, as Nagayans and Crimmes, and diuers other nations did reſort to keepe mart for buying and ſelling, but nowe it is forſaken, and ſtandeth without any ſuch reſort thither, or at Cazan, or at any place about it, from Moſco vnto Mare Caſpium. The Iſland of marchants.

Thus proceeding forward the 14. day, we paſſed by a goodly riuer called Cama, which we left on our left hand. This riuer falleth out of the countrey of Permia into the riuer of Volga, and is from Cazan 15. leagues: and the countrey lying betwixt the ſaid Cazan and the ſaid riuer Cama on the left hand of Volga is called Vachen, and the inhabitants be Gentiles, and liue in the wildernelle without houſe or habitation: and the countrey on the other ſide of Volga ouer againſt the ſaid riuer Cama is called the land of Cheremizes, halfe Gentiles, halfe Tartars, and all the land on the left hand of the ſaid Volga from the ſaid riuer vnto Aſtracan, and ſo following the North and Northeaſt ſide of the Caſpian ſea, to a land of the Tartars called Turkemen, is called the countrey of Mangat or Nagay, whoſe inhabitants are of the law of Mahomet, and were all deſtroyed in the yeere 1558, at my being at Aſtracan, through ciuill warres among them, accompanied with famine, peſtilence, and ſuch plagues, in ſuch ſort that in the ſaid yeere there were conſumed of the people, in one ſort and another, aboue one hundred thouſand: the like plague was neuer ſeen in thoſe parts, ſo that the ſaid countrey of Nagay being a countrey of great paſture, remaineth now vnreplenished to the great contentation of the Ruſſes, who haue had cruel warres a long time together. The riuer of Cama. Nagay Tartars

The Nagayans when they flouriſhed, liued in this manner: they were diuided into diuers companies called Hozds, and euery Hozd had a ruler, whom they obeyed as their king, and was called a Purſe, Towne or houſe they had none, but liued in the open fields, euery Purſe or King hauing his Hozds or people about him, with their wiues, children and cattell, who hauing conſumed the paſture in one place, remoued vnto another: and when they remoue they haue houſes like tents ſet vpon wagons or carts, which are drawen from place to place with camels, & therein their wiues, children, and all their riches, which is very little, is caried about, and euery man hath at the leaſt foure or fiue wiues beſides concubines. Vſe of money they haue none, but doe barter their cattell for apparell and other neceſſaries. They delight in no arte nor ſcience, except the ſtore of cattel, which is all their riches. They eate much fleſh, and eſpecially the horſe, and they drinke mares milke, wherewith they be oftentimes drunke: they are ſeditious & inclined to theft and murther. Corne they ſowe not, neither doe eate any bread, mocking the Chriſtians for the ſame, and diſabling our ſtrengths, ſaying we liue by eating the top of a weede, and drinke a drinke made of the ſame, allowing their great deuouring of fleſh, and drinking of milke to be the increaſe of their ſtrength. But now to proceed forward to my iourney. Hozds.

All the countrey vpon our right hand the riuer Volga, from ouer againſt the riuer Cama vnto the towne of Aſtracan, is the land of Crimme, whoſe inhabitants be alſo of the lawe of Mahomet, and liue for the moſt part according to the faſhions of the Nagayes, hauing continual warres with the Emperour of Ruſsia, and are valiant in the fielde, hauing countenance, and ſupport from the great Turke. The Crimme Tartars.

The 16. day of June we paſſed by certaine fiſhermens houſes called Petowſe twenty leagues from the riuer Cama, where is great fiſhing for ſturgeon, ſo continuing our way vntill the 22. day, and paſſing by another great riuer called Samar, which falleth out of the aforeſaide country, and runneth through Nagay, and entreth into the ſaide riuer of Volga. The 28. day we came vnto a great hill, where was in times paſt a caſtle made by the Crimmes, but now it is ruined, being the iuſt midway betweene the ſaid Cazan and Aſtrachan, which is 200. leagues or thereabout, in the latitude of 51. degrees 47. minutes. Upon all this ſhore groweth abundance of Licoris, whoſe root runneth within the ground like a vine. The riuer of Samar. Licoris in great plentie.

Thus going forward the firſt day of July we came to a place called Perouolog, ſo named becauſe in times paſt the Tartars caried their boates from Volga vnto the riuer Tanais, otherwiſe called Don, by land, when they would robbe ſuch as paſſed downe the ſaid Volga to Aſtracan, and alſo ſuch as paſſed downe by the riuer Tanais, to Aſou, Caffa, or any other towne ſituated by or in Mare Euxinum, into which ſea Tanais falleth, who hath his ſpringes in the countrey of Rezan, out of a plaine ground. It is at this ſtreight of Perouolog from the one riuer to the other two leagues by land, and is a dangerous place for theeues and robbery, but now it is not ſo euill as it hath bene, by reaſon of the Emperour of Ruſsia his conqueſts. Departing from Perouolog, hauing the wildernelle on both ſides, wee ſawe a great heard of Nagayans, paſturing, as is aboueſaid, by eſtimation aboue a thouſand Camels drawing of cartes

with houſes vpon them like tents, of a ſtrange faſhion, ſeeming to bee a farre off a towne: that Hoord was belonging to a great Murſe called Smille, the greateſt prince in all Nagay, who hath ſlaine and driuen away all the reſt, not ſparing his owne brethren and children, and hauing peace with this Emperour of Ruſſia he hath what he needeth, and ruleth alone: ſo that now the Ruſſes liue in peace with the Nagayans, who were wont to haue mortall warres together.

Aſtracan.

The 14. day of July paſſing by an old caſtle, which was Old Aſtracan, and leauing it vpon our right hand, we arriued at New Aſtracan, which this Emperour of Ruſſia conquered fiue yeeres paſt, in the yeere 1552. It is from the Moſco vnto Aſtracan fiue hundreth leagues, or thereabout. The towne of Aſtracan is ſituated in an Iſland vpon a hill ſide, hauing a caſtle within the ſame, walled about with earth and timber, neither faire nor ſtrong: The towne is alſo walled about with earth: the buildings and houſes (except it be the captaines lodging, and certaine other gentlemens) moſt baſe and ſimple. The Iſland is moſt deſtitute and barren of wood and paſture, and the ground will beare no corne: the aire is there moſt infected, by reaſon (as I ſuppoſe) of much fiſh, and ſpecially Sturgion, by which onely the inhabitants liue, hauing great ſcarſitie of fleſh and bread. They hang vp their fiſh in their ſtreets and houſes to dry for their proviſion, which cauſeth ſuch abundance of flies to increaſe there, as the like was neuer ſeene in any land, to their great plague. And at my being at the ſayd Aſtracan, there was a great famine and plague among the people, and ſpecially among the Tartars called Nagayans, who the ſame time came thither in great numbers to render themſelues to the Ruſſes their enemies, & to ſeeke ſuccour at their hands, their countrey being deſtroyed, as I ſaid before: but they were but ill entertained or relieued, for there died a great number of them for hunger, which lay all the Iſland through in heapes dead, and like to beaſts vnburied, very pitifull to behold: many of them were alſo ſold by the Ruſſes, and the reſt were baniſhed from the Iſland. At that time it had bene an eaſie thing to haue conuerted that wicked Nation to the Chriſtian faith, if the Ruſſes themſelues had bene good Chriſtians: but how ſhould they ſhew compaſſion vnto other Nations, when they are not mercifull vnto their owne? At my being there I could haue bought many goodly Tartars children, if I would haue had a thouſand, of their owne fathers and mothers, to ſay, a boy or a wench for a loafe of bread worth fiue pence in England, but we had more need of victuals at that time then of any ſuch merchandiſe. This Aſtracan is the furtheſt hold that this Emperour of Ruſſia hath conquered of the Tartars towards the Caſpian ſea, which he keepeth very ſtrong, ſending thither euery yere proviſion of men, and victuals, and timber to build the caſtle.

Store of Sturgions.

There is a certaine trade of merchandiſe there vſed, but as yet ſo ſmall and beggerly, that it is not worth the making mention, and yet there come merchants thither from diuers places. The chiefeſt commodities that the Ruſſes bring thither are redde hides, redde sheepes ſkinnes, woodden veſſels, bridles, and ſaddles, kniues, and other trifles, with corne, bacon, and other victuals. The Tartars bring thither diuers kindes of wares made of cotten wooll, with diuers kindes of wrought ſilkes: and they that come out of Perſia, namely from Shamacki doe bring ſowing ſilke, which is the courſeſt that they vſe in Ruſſeland, Craſko, diuers kinds of pide ſilkes for girdles, ſhirts of male, bowes, ſwords, and ſuch like things: and ſome yeeres corne, and walnuts, but all ſuch things in ſuch ſmall quantitie, the merchants being ſo beggerly and poore that bring the ſame, that it is not worth the writing, neither is there any hope of trade in all thoſe parts worth the following.

The length of the Iſland of Aſtracan.

This foreſaid Iſland of Aſtracan is in length twelue leagues, and in breath three, lieth Eaſt and Weſt in the latitude of fortie ſeuen degrees, nine minutes: we tarried there vntil the firſt day of Auguſt, and hauing bought and prouided a boate in company with certaine Tartars and Perſians, we laded our goods and imbarked our ſelues, and the ſame day departed I, with the ſaid two Iohnſons hauing the whole charge of the Nauigation downe the ſayd riuer Volga, being very crooked, and full of flats toward the mouth thereof. We entred into the Caſpian ſea the tenth day of Auguſt at the Eaſterly ſide of the ſayd riuer, being twentie leagues from Aſtracan aforeſaid, in the latitude of fortie ſix degrees, twentie ſeuen minutes.

They enter into the Caſpian ſea.

Volga hath ſeuentie mouthes or falls into the ſea: and we hauing a large wind, kept the Northeaſt ſhore, and the eleuenth day we ſailed ſeuen leagues Eaſt northeaſt, and came vnto an Iſland hauing an high hill therein, called Accurgar, a good marke in the ſea. From thence Eaſt tenne leagues, we fell with another Iſland called Bawhiata, much higher then the other. Within theſe two Iſlands to the Northwards, is a great Baie called the Blew ſea. From thence wee ſailed Eaſt and by North ten leagues, and hauing a contrary wind, we came to an anker in a faire water, and ſo rid vntill the fifteenth day, hauing a great ſtorme at Southeaſt, being a moſt contrary wind, which we rid out. Then the wind came to the North, and we weyed, and ſet our courſe Southeaſt, and that day ſailed eight leagues.

The blew ſea.

The

Thus proceeding forwards, the 17. day wee lost sight of land, and the same day sailed thirtie leagues, and the 18. day twentie leagues winding East, and fell with a land called Baughleata, being 74. leagues from the mouth of the said Volga, in the latitude of 46. degrees 54. minutes, the coast lying neerest East and by South, and West and by North. At the point of this land lieth buried a holy Prophet, as the Tartars call him, of their law, where great deuotion is vsed of all such Pahometists as doe passe that way. Baughleata bring 74. leagues from Volga.

The nineteenth day the winde being West, and we winding Eastsoutheast, we sailed tenne leagues, and passed by a great riuer called Iaic, which hath his spring in the lande of Siberia, nigh vnto the forsaid riuer Cama, and runneth through the lande of Nagay, falling into this Mare Caspium. And vp this riuer one Capes iourney is a Towne called Serachick, subiect to the aforesaid Tartar prince called Murse Smille, which is nowe in friendship with the Emperour of Russia. Here is no trade of merchandize vsed, for that the people haue no vse of money, and are all men of warre, and pasturers of cattel, and giuen much to theft and murther. Thus being at an anker against this riuer Iaic, and all our men being on land, sauing I. who lay sore sicke, and fiue Tartars, whereof one was reputed a holy man, because he came from Mecka, there came into vs a boate with thirtie men well armed and appointed, who boorded vs, and began to enter into our barke, and our holy Tartar called Azy, perceiuing that, asked them what they would haue, and withall made a prayer: with that these rouers staied, declaring that they were Gentlemen, banished from their countrey, and out of liuing, & came to see if there were any Russes or other Christians (which they call Caphars) in our barke: To whom this Azi most stoutly answered, that there were none, auowing the same by great othes of their lawe, (which lightly they will not breake) whom the rouers beleeued, and vpon his words departed. And so through the feliticie of that Tartar, I with all my company and goods were saued, and our men being come on boord, and the wind faire, we departed from that place, and winding East and Southeast, that day being the 20. of August sailed 16. leagues. Iaic riuer. Serachick.

The 21. day we passed ouer a Bay of 6. leagues broad, and fell with a Cape of land, hauing two Ilands at the Southeast part thereof, being a good marke in the sea: & doubling that Cape the land trended Northeast, and maketh another Bay, into which falleth the great riuer Yem, springing out of the land of Colmack.

The 22. 23. and 24. dayes, we were at an anker.

The 25. the winde came faire, and wee sailed that day 20. leagues, and passed by an Iland of lowe land, and there about are many flats and sands: and to the Northward of this Iland there goeth in a great Bay, but we set off from this Iland, and winded South to come into deepe water, being much troubled with shoalds & flats, and ran that course 10. leagues, then East Southeast 20. leagues, and fel with the maine land, being full of copped hils, and sailing along the coast 20. leagues. the further we sailed, the higher was the land. The Countrie of Colmack.

The 27. day we crossed ouer a Bay, the South shore being the higher land, and fel with a high point of land: & being ouerthwart the Cape, there rose such a stozme at the East, that we thought verily we should haue perished: this stozme continued 3. dayes. From this Cape we sailed to a port called Manguslaue. The place where we should haue arriued at the Southermost part of the Caspian sea, is 12. leagues within a Bay: but we being sore tormented and tossed with this aforesaid stozme, were driuen into another land on y other side the Bay, ouerthwart the sayd Manguslaue being very lowe land, and a place as well for the ill commodities of the hauen, as of those sauage field people, where neuer barke nor boate had before arriued, not liked of vs. The port of Manguslaue.

But yet there we sent certaine of our men to land to talke with the gouernour and people, as well for our good vsage at their handes, as also for prouision of camels to carry our goods from the sayd sea side to a place called Sellyzure, being from the place of our landing fiue and twenty Capes iourney. Our messengers returned with comfortable words and faire promises of all things.

Wherefore the 3. day of September 1558. we discharged our barke, and I with my company were gently entertained of the Prince & of his people. But before our departure from thence, I found them to be very bad and brutish people, for they ceased not daily to molest vs, either by stealing, stealing or begging, railing the pyle of horse and camels, & victuals, double that it was worth there to be, and forced vs to buy the water that we did drinke: which caused vs to hasten away, with other prouision, according to their owne demaund: So that for euery camels lading, being but 400. waight of ours, we agreed to giue three hides of Russia, and foure woodden dishes, and to the Prince or gouernour of the sayd people, one knife, and two scrutchs: Namely, for seuer all things, and twise seuen seuer all things: for money they vse none. They goe on land.

And thus being ready, the fourteenth of September we departed from that place, being a Caravan of a thousand camels. And having travailed five dayes journey, we came to another Princes Dominion, and upon the way there came unto us certaine Tartars on horseback, being well armed, and seruants unto the saide Prince called Timor Soltan, gouernour of the said countrey of Mangushlake, where wee meant to have arrived and discharged our barke, if the great storm afore sayd had not disappointed. These afore said Tartars stayd our Caravan in the name of their Prince, and opened our wares, and tooke such things as they thought best for their saide prince without money, but for such things as they tooke from me, which was a ninth (after much dissension) I rode unto the same Prince, and presented my selfe before him, requesting his favour, and passport to travaile through his countrey, and not to be robbed nor spoiled of his people: which request he graunted me, and intertained me very gently, commaunding me to be welfurnished with flesh and mares milke: for bread they use none, nor other drinke except water: but money he had none to give me for such things as he tooke of mee, which might be of value in Russe money, fifteene rubbles, but he gaue me his letter, and a horse worth seuen rubbles. And so I departed from him being glad that I was gone: for he was reported to be a very tyrant, and if I had not gone unto him, I understoode his commaundement was, that I should have been robbed and destroyed.

The countrey of Mangushlake.

This Soltan liued in the fields without Castle or towne, and sate, at my being with him in a litle rounde house made of reedes couered without with felt, and within with Carpets. There was with him the great Metropolitan of that wilde Country, esteemed of the people as the Bishop of Rome is in most parts of Europe, with diuers other of his chiefe men. The Soltan with this Metropolitan demanded of me many questions, as wel touching our kingdoms, lawes, and Religion, as also the cause of my comming into those parts, with my further pretence. To whom I answered concerning all things, as unto me seemed best, which they tooke in good part. Soltaning leaue I departed and ouertooke our Caravan, and proceeded on our iourney, and trauailed 20. dayes in the wildernes from the sea side without seeing towne or habitation, carying prouision of victuals with us for the same time, and were driuen by necessity to eate one of my camels for a horse for our part, as other did the like: and during the said 20. daies we found no water, but onely as we drew out of old deepe welles, being very brackish and salt, and yet sometimes passed two or three dayes without the same. And the 5. day of October ensuing, we came unto a gulfe of the Caspian sea againe, where we found the water very fresh and sweete: at this gulfe the customers of the king of Turkeman met us, who took custome of euery 25. one, and 7. ninthes for the same king and his brethren, which being received they departed, and we remained there a day after to refresh our selues.

20. dayes trauaile in the wildernesse, with scarcitie of water.

Another gulfe of the Caspian sea.

Note that in times past there did fall into this gulf the great riuer Oxus, which hath his springs in the mountains of Paraponisus in India, & now cometh not so far, but falleth into another riuer called Ardock, which runneth toward the North, & consumeth himselfe in the ground passing vnder ground about 500. miles, and then issueth out againe and falleth into the lake of Kithay.

Will. de Rubricis describeth this riuer of Ardok, 42. 44.

We hauing refreshed our selues at the foresaide gulfe, departed thence the 4. day of October, and the seuenth day arriued at a castle called Sellizure, where the king called Azim Can, remained with 3. other of his brethren, and the 9. day I was commaunded to come before his presence, unto whom I deliuered the Emperors letters of Russia: and I also gaue him a present of a ninth, who entertained me very well, and caused me to eate in his presence as his brethren did, feasting me with flesh of a wilde horse, and mares milke without bread. And the next day he sent for me again, and asked of me diuers questions, as wel touching the affaires of the Emperour of Russia, as our countrey and lawes, to which I answered as I thought good: so that at my departure he gaue me his letters of safe conduct.

Sellizure, or Sheyzure.

Letters of safe conduct.

This Castle of Sellizure is situated upon an high hill, where the King called the Can hath whose palace is built of earth very basely, and not strong: the people are but poore, and haue little trade of marchandise among them. The South part of this Castle is lowe lande, but very fruitfull, where grow many good fruites, among which there is one called a Dynie, of a great bignesse and full of moysture, which the people doe eate after meate in stead of drinke. Also there groweth another fruite called a Carbuse of the bignesse of a great cucumber, yellow and sweete as sugar: also a certaine corne called Iegur, whose stalke is much like a sugar cane, and as high, and the graine like rice, which groweth at the toppe of the cane like a cluster of grapes; the water that serueth all that countrey is drawen by ditches out of the riuer Oxus, unto the great destruction of the said riuer, for which cause it falleth not into the Caspian sea as it hath done in times past, and in shorte time all that land is like to be destroied, and to become a wildernes for want of water when the riuer of Oxus shal faile.

The 14. day of the moneth we departed from this Castle of Sellizure, and the 16. of the same we arriued at a citie called Vrgence, where we paid custome as wel for our own heads, as for our camels and horses. And hauing there sojourned one moneth, attending the time of our further trauaile, the king of that countrey called Aly Soltan, brother to the forenamed Azym Can, returned from a towne called Corasan, within the borders of Persia, which he lately had conquered from the Persians, with whom he and the rest of the kings of Tartaria haue continuall warres. Before this king also I was commanded to come, to whom I likewise presented the Emperors letters of Russia, and he intertained me wel, and demanded of me diuers questions, and at my departure gaue me his letters of safeconduct. Vrgence.

This city or towne of Vrgence standeth in a plaine ground, with walles of the earth, by estimation 4. miles about it. The buildings within it are also of earth, but ruined and out of good order: it hath one long street that is couered aboue, which is the place of their market. It hath bene wonne and lost 4. times within 7. yeeres by ciuill warres, by meanes whereof there are but few merchants in it, and they very poore, and in all that towne I could not sell aboue 4. kersies. The chiefest commodities there sold are such wares as come from Boghar, and out of Persia, but in most small quantity not worth the writing. All the land from the Caspian sea to this Citie of Vrgence is called the land of Turkeman, & is subiect to the said Azim Can, and his brethren which be fiue in number, and one of them hath the name of the chiefe king called Can, but he is little obeyed hauing in his owne Dominion, and where he dwelleth: for euery one will be King of his owne nation, and one brother seeketh alwayes to destroy another, hauing no naturall loue among them, by reason that they are begotten of diuers women, and commonly they are the children of slaues, either Christians or Gentiles, which the father doeth keepe as concubines, and euery Can or Soltan hath at the least 4. or 5. wiues, besides yong maidens and boyes, liuing most viciously: and when there are warres betwixt these brethren, (as they are seldome without) he that is ouercome if he be not slaine, flieth to the field with such companie of men as will followe him, and there liueth in the wilderneße reloyning to wandering places, and so robbeth and spoileth as many Caruans of Marchants and others as they be able to ouercome, continuing in this sort his wretched life, vntil such time as he may get power and aide to inuade some of his brethren again. From the Caspian sea vnto the Castle of Sellizure aforesaid, and all the Countreis about the said Sea, the people liue without towne or habitacion in the wilde fields, remouing from one place to another in great companies with their cattel, whereof they haue great store, as camels, horses, and sheepe both tame and wilde. Their sheepe are of great stature with great buttocks, weighing 60. or 80. pound in weight. There are many wild horses which the Tartars doe many times kil with their hawkes, and that in this order. The country of Turkeman.

The hawkes are lured to lease vpon the beasts neckes or heads, which with chasing of themselues and sore beating of the hawkes are tired: then the hunter following his game doeth slay the beast, whereon the cattell feeding become very fat.

The Tartars neuer ride without their bow, arrowes, and sword, although it be on hawking, or any other pleasure, and they are good archers both on horsebacke, and on foote also. These people haue not the vse of goine, siluer, or any other coyne, but when they lacke apparell or other necessaries, they barter their cattell for the same. Bread they haue none, for they neither till nor sowe: they be great deuourers of flesh, which they cut in small pieces, & eat it by handfuls most greedily, & especially the horsefleth. Their chiefest drink is mares milke sowred, as I haue said before of the Nagayans, & they wilbe drunk with the same. They haue no riuers nor places of water in this countrey, vntil you come to the foresaid gulfe, distant from the place of our landing 20. dayes iourney, except it be in wels, the water whereof is salt: & yet distant the one from the other two dayes iourney and more. They eate their meate vpon the ground, sitting with their legs double vnder them, and so also when they pray. Art or science they haue none, but liue most idely, sitting together in great companies in the fields, deuising, and talking most vainely.

The 26. day of Nouember, we departed from the towne of Vrgence, and hauing trauelled by the riuer Oxus, 500. mile, we passed ouer another great riuer called Ardock, where we paid a certaine petty custome. This riuer Ardock is great, and very swift, falling out of the foresaid Oxus, after passing about 1000. mile to the Northward, it then commeth it selfe in the ground, and passeth vnder the same about 500. mile, issueth out againe, and falleth into the lake of Kitay, as I haue before declared. The riuer of Ardock falleth into the lake of Kitay.

The 7. of December following, we arriued at a Castle called Kait, subiect to a Soltan called Iaraneg Soltan, who meant to haue robbed all the Christians in the Caruan, had it not been for feare of his brother the king of Vrgence, as we were informed by one of his chiefest counsellers, The castle of Kait.

who willed vs to make him a present, which he tooke, and deliuered: besides we paid at the said castle for custome, of euery camel one red hide of Russia, besides petty gifts to his officers.

Thus proceeding in our iourney, the tenth day at night being at rest, and our watch set, there came vnto vs foure horsemen, which we tooke as spies, from whom wee tooke their weapons and bound them, and hauing well examined them, they confessed that they had seene the tract of many horsemen, and no footing of camels, & gaue vs to vnderstand, that there were rouers and theeues abroade: for there trauaile few people that are true and peaceable in that Countrey, but in companie of Caruan, where there be many camels: and horse fetching new without camels were to be doubted. Whereupon we consulted & determined amongst our selues, and sent a poste to the said Soltan of Kayre, who immediatly came himselfe with 300. men, and meete these foure suspected men which we sent vnto him, and examined them so streightly, and threatned them in such sort, that they confessed, there was a banished Prince with 40. men 3. daies iourney forward, who lay in waite to destroy vs, if he could, and that they themselues were of his companie.

The Soltan therefore vnderstanding, that the theeues were not many, appointed vs 80. men well armed with a Captaine to goe with vs, and conduct vs in our way. And the Soltan himselfe returned backe againe, taking the foure theeues with him. These souldiers trauailed with vs two dayes, consuming much of our victuals. And the 3. day in the morning very earely they set vs before our Caruan, and hauing ranged the wildernes for the space of foure houres, they met vs, comming towards vs as fast as their horse could runne, and declared that they had found the tract of horses not farre from vs, perceiuing well that we should meete with enemies, and therefore willed vs to appoint our selues for them, and asked vs what wee would giue them to conduct vs further, or els they would returne. To whom we offered as we thought good, but they refused our offer, and would haue more, and so we not agreeing they departed from vs, and went back to their Soltan, who (as wee coniectured) was priuie to the conspiracie. But they being gone, certaine Tartars of our companie called holy men, (because they had bene at Mecha) caused the whole Caruan to stay, and would make their prayers, and deuine howe wee should prosper in our iourney and whether we should meet with any ill company or no? To which, our whole Caruan did agree. And they tooke certaine sheepe and killed them, and tooke the blade bones of the same, and first sodde them, and then burnt them, and tooke of the blood of the said sheepe, and mingled it with the powder of the saide bones, and wrote certaine Characters with the same blood, vsing many other ceremonies and wordes, and by the same deuined and found, that wee should meete with enemies and theeues (to our great trouble) but should ouercome them, to which sorcerie, I and my companie gaue no credit, but we found it true: for within 3. houres after that the souldiers departed from vs, which was the 15. day of December, in the morning, we espied farre off diuers horsemen which made towards vs, and we (perceiuing them to be rouers) gathered our selues together, being 40. of vs well appointed, and able to fight, and we made our prayers together euery one after his lawe, professing to liue and die one with another, and so prepared our selues. When the theeues were nigh vnto vs, we perceiued them to be in number 37. men well armed, and appointed with bowes, arrowes and swords, and the captaine a prince banished from his Countrey. They willed vs to yeelde our selues, or els to be slaine, but wee defied them, whereupon they shotte at vs all at once, and wee at them very hotly, and so continued our fight from morning vntill two houres within night, diuers men, horses and camels being wounded or slaine on both partes: and had it not bene for 4. handgunners which I and my companie had appointed, we had bene ouercome and destroyed: for the theeues were better armed, and better archers then we; But after wee had slaine diuers of their men and horses with our gunnes, they durst not approch so nigh, which caused them to come to a truce with vs vntill the next morning, which we accepted, and encamped our selues vpon a hill, and made the fashion of a Case, walling it about with packes of wares, and laide our horses and camels within the same to saue them from the shotte of arrowes: and the theeues also incamped within an arrowe shotte of vs, but they were betwixt vs and the water, which was to our great discomforte, because neither we nor our camels had drunke in 2. dayes before.

Diuination by sorcerie.

Handgunnes very profitable.

Thus keeping good watch, when halfe the night was spent, the Prince of the theeues sent a messenger halfe way vnto vs, requiring to talke with our Captaine, in their tongue, the Caruan Basha, who answered the messenger, I will not depart from my companie to goe into the halfe way to talke with thee: but if that thy Prince with all his companie will sweare by their Lawe to keepe the truce, then will I send a man to talke with thee, or els not. Which the Prince vnderstanding as well himselfe as his company, swore so much that we might all heare, then we sent one of our company (reputed a holy man) to talke with the same messenger. The message was pronounced aloude in this order, Our Prince demaundeth of the Caruan Basha

and of all you that be Busserman, (that is to say circumcised) not desiring your bloods, that you deliuer into his hands as many Caphars, that is, vnbeleeuers (meaning vs the Christians) as are among you with their goods, and in so doing, hee will suffer you to depart with your goods in quietnesse, and on the contrary, you shall be handled with no lesse cruelty then the Caphars, if hee ouercome you, as he doubteth not. To the which our Caruan Bassa answered, that he had no Christians in his company, nor other strangers, but two Turkes which were of their Law, and although hee had, hee would rather die then deliuer them, and that we were not afraide of his threatnings, and that should he know when day appeared. And so falling in talke, the theeues (contrary to their othe) caried our holy man away to their Prince, crying with a lowde voyce in token of victory, Ollo, ollo. Wherewith we were much discomforted, fearing that that holy man would betray vs: but he being cruelly handled and much examned, would not to death confesse anything which was to vs preiudiciall, neither touching vs, nor yet what men they had slaine and wounded of ours the day before. When the night was spent, in the morning we prepared our selues to battel againe: which the theeues perceiuing, required to fall to agreement, & asked much of vs: And to be briefe, the most part of our companie being loth to go to battel againe, and hauing little to loose, & safeconduct to passe, we were compelled to agree, and to giue the theeues 20 ninths (that is to say) 20 times 9 seuerall things, and a camell to carry away the same, which being receiued, the theeues departed into the wildernes to their old habitation, and we went on our way forward. And that night came to the riuer Oxus, where we refreshed our selues, hauing bene 3. dayes without water and drinke, and carried there all the next day, making merry with our slaine beasts and camels, and then departed from that place, & for feare of meeting with the said theeues againe or such like, we left the high way which went along the said riuer, and passed through a wildernes of sand, and trauelled 4 dayes in the same before we came to water: and then came to a well, the water being very brackish, and we then as before were in neede of water, and of other victuals, being forced to kill our beasts and camels to eate.

Busserman. Caphar.

The riuer of Oxus.

A wildernes of sande.

In this wildernes also we had almost fallen into the hands of theeues: for one night being at rest, there came certaine scoutes, and caried away certaine of our men which lay a little separated from the Caruan, wherewith there was a great shoute and crie, and we immediatly laded our camels, and departed being about midnight and very darke, and drone fore till we came to the riuer Oxus againe, and then we feared nothing being walled with the said riuer: & whether it was for that we had gotten the water, or for that the same theeues were far from vs when the scouts miscaried vs, we know not, but we escaped that danger.

So vpon the 23 day of December wee arriued at the citie of Boghar in the lande of Bactria, with diuers gates into the same: it is deuided into 3 particions, whereof two parts are the kings, and the 3 part is for Marchants and markets, and euery science hath their dwelling and market by themselues. The Citie is very great, and the houses for the most part of earth, but there are also many houses, temples and monuments of stone simpetuously builded, and gilt, and specially sepulchres so artificially built, that the like thereof is not in the world: the maner whereof is too long to rehearse. There is a little riuer running through the middest of the said Citie, but the water there of is most vnwholsome, for it breedeth sometimes in men that drinke thereof, and especially in them that be not there borne, a worme of an ell long, which lyeth commonly in the legge betweene the fleth and the skinne, and is plucke out about the ancle with great art and cunning, the which if it breake in plucking out, the partie dieth, and euery day the commeth out about an inch, which is rolled vp, and so worketh till she be all out. And yet it is there forbidden to drinke any other thing then water, & marry mike, and whosoeuer is found to breake that law is whipped and beaten most cruelly through the open markets, and there are officers appointed for the same, who haue authoritie to goe into any mans house, to search if he haue either Aquauitæ, wine, or drage, and finding the same, doe breake the vessels, spoile the drinke, and punish the maisters of the house most cruelly, yea, and many times if they perceiue but by the breath of a man that he hath drunke, without further examination he shall not escape their hands.

Boghar a citie of Bactria.

A strange worme in mens legs.

There is a Metropolitane in this Boghar, who causeth this law to bee so streightly kept: and he is more obeyed then the king, and will depose the king, and place another at his will and pleasure, as he did by this king that raigned at our being there, and his predecessour, by the meanes of the said Metropolitan: for he betrayed him, and in the night slewe him in his chamber, who was a Prince that loued all Christians well.

This Countrey of Boghar was sometime subiect to the Persians, & do now speake the Persian tongue, but yet now it is a kingdome of it selfe, and hath most cruell warres continually with the

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the sayd Persians about their religion, although they be all Mahometists. One occasion of their wars is, for that the Persians will not cut the haire of their vpper lips, as the Bogharians and all other Tartars doe, which they accompt great sinne, and cal them Caphars, that is, vnbelieuers, as they doe the Christians.

The king of Boghar hath no great power or riches, his reuenues are but small, and he is most maintained by the Citie: for he taketh the tenth penie of all things that are there solde, as well of the craftsmen as by the marchants, to the great impouerishment of the people, whom he keepeth in great subiection, and when he lacketh money, he sendeth his officers to the shoppes of the sayd Marchants to take their wares to pay his debts, and will haue credite of force, as the like he vsed to pay me certaine money that he owed me for 19 pieces of Kersey. Their money is siluer and copper, for gold there is none currant: they haue but one piece of siluer, & that is worth 12 pence English, and the copper money are called Pooles, and 120 of them goeth the value of the said 12. pence, and is more common paiment then the siluer, which the king causeth to rise and fall to his most aduantage euery other moneth, and sometimes twise a moneth, not caring to oppresse his people, for that he looketh not to reigne about 2 or 3 yeres before he be either slaine or driuen away, to the great destruction of the countrey and merchants.

The coyne of Boghar.

The 26 day of the moneth I was ... before the said king, to whom I presented the Emperour of Russia his letter ... and was most gently, and caused vs to eate in his presence, and diuers times he ... talked with me familiarly in his secret chamber, as well of the power of the Emperour, and the great Turke, as also of our countries, lawes, and religion, and caused vs to shoote in handguns before him, and did himselfe practise the vse thereof. But after all this great intertainement before my departure he shewed himselfe a very Tartar: for he went to the warres owing me money, and saw me not paid before his departure. And although indeede he gaue order for the same, yet was I verie ill ... and forced to returne part, and to take wares as payment for the rest contrary to my expectation; but of a beggar beare paiment I could not haue, and glad I was so to be paid and dispatched.

But yet I must needs praise & commend this barbarous king, who immediately after my arriuall at Boghar, hauing vnderstoode our trouble with the theeues, sent 100 men well armed, and gaue them great charge not to returne before they had either slaine or taken the sayd theeues. Who according to their commission ranged the wildernes in such sort, that they met with the said company of theeues, and slew part, and part fledde, and foure they tooke and brought vnto the king, and two of them were sore wounded in our skirmish with our gunnes: And after the king had sent for me to come to see them, he caused them all 4 to be hanged at his palace gate, because they were Gentlemen, to the example of others. And of such goods as were gotten againe, I had part restored me, and this good iustice I found at his hands.

There is yerely great resort of Marchants to this Citie of Boghar, which trauaile in great Caruans from the countries thereabout adioining, as India, Persia, Balgh, Russia, with diuers others, and in times past from Cathay, when there was passage: but these Marchants are so beggerly and poore, and bring so little quantitie of wares, lying two or 3 yeres to sell the same, that there is no hope of any good trade there to be had worthy the following.

The chiefe commodities that are brought thither out of these foresayd Countreys, are these following.

Marchandize of India.

The Indians doe bring fine whites, which the Tartars do all roll about their heads, & other kinds of whites, which serue for apparell made of cotton woll and cranko, but golde, siluer, precious stones, and spices they bring none. I enquired and perceiued that all such trade passeth the Ocean sea, and the townes where all such things are gotten are in the subiection of the Portingals. The Indians carie from Boghar againe wrought siluer, red hides, slaues, and boskin, with such like, but of Kersies and other cloth, they make little accompt. I offered to barter with Marchants of these Countreis, which came from the furthest parts of India, euen from the countrey of Bengala, & the riuer Ganges, to giue them Kersies for their commodities, but they would not barter for such commoditie as cloth.

Marchandize of Persia.

The Persians do bring thither Cranko, woollen cloth, linnen cloth, diuers kindes of wrought silkes, Argamacks, with such like, and doe carie from thence redde hides with other wares, and slaues, which are of diuers countreies, but chiefly they bring none, for that they bring thither themselues, and is brought vnto them as I haue inquired from Aleppo in Syria, and the parts of Turkie.

Marchandize of Russia.

The Russes doe carie vnto Boghar, red hides, fine spel skinnes, woollen cloth of diuers sorts, wooden vessels, bridles, saddles, with such ... and doe carie away from ... diuers kindes of wares made of cotton woll, diuers kinds ... ces, with other things, but there is but small ... From the Countreis of Cathay are brought thither in time of peace,

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and when the way is open, muſk, rubarbe, ſatten, damaſke, with diuers other things. At my being at Boghar there came Carauans out of all theſe foreſaid Countries, except from Cathay: and the cauſe why there came none from thence was the great warres that had dured 3 yeres before my comming thither, and yet dured betwixt 2 great Countries & cities of Tartars, that are directly in the way betwixt the ſaid Boghar and the ſaid Cathay, and certaine barbarous fielde people, as well Gentiles & Mahometiſts bordering to the ſaid Cities. The cities are called Taskent and Caskar, and the people that warre againſt Taskent are called Caſſaks of the law of Mahomet: and they which warre with the ſayd countrey of Caskar are called [illegible]gs, Gentiles & idolaters. Theſe 2 barbarous nations are of great force liuing in the fields without house or towne, & haue almoſt ſubdued the foreſaid cities, & ſo ſtopped vp the way, that it is impoſſible for any Carauan to paſſe vnſpoiled: ſo that 3 yeres before our being there, no Carauan had gone, or vſed trade betwixt the countries of Cathay and Boghar, and when the way is cleare, it is 9 moneths iourney.

Marchandize of Cathay.

Taskent & Caskar.

To ſpeake of the ſaid countrey of Cathay, and of ſuch newes as I haue heard thereof, I haue thought it beſt to reſerue it to our meeting. I hauing made my ſolace at Boghar in the Winter time, and hauing learned by much inquiſition, the trade thereof, as alſo of all the other countries thereto adioyning: and the time of the yeere being come, for all Carauans to depart, and alſo the king being gone to the warres, and newes come that he was fled, and I aduertiſed by the Petropolitan himſelfe, that I ſhould depart, becauſe the towne was like to bee beſieged: I thought it good and meete, to take my iourney ſome way, and determined to haue gone from thence into Perſia, and to haue ſeene the trade of that countrey, although I had enformed my ſelfe ſufficiently thereof, as well at Aſtracan, as at Boghar: and perceiued well the trades not to be much vnlike the trades of Tartaria: but when I ſhould haue taken my iourney that way, it was let by diuers occaſions: the one was, the great wars that did newly begin betwixt the Sophie, and the kings of Tartaria, whereby the waies were deſtroyed: and there was a Carauan deſtroied with roners & theeues, which came out of India and Perſia, by ſafe conduct: and about ten daies iourney from Boghar, they were robbed, and a great part ſlaine. Alſo the Petropolitan of Boghar, who is greater then the king, tooke the Emperors letters of Ruſſia from me, without which I ſhould haue bene taken ſlaue in euery place: alſo all ſuch wares as I had receiued in batter for cloth, and as I tooke perforce of the king, & other his Nobles, in paiment of money due vnto me, were not vendible in Perſia: for which cauſes, and diuers others, I was conſtrained to come backe againe to Mare Caſpium, the ſame way I went: ſo that the eight of March 1559, we departed out of the ſaid Citie of Boghar, being a Carauan of 600 Camels: and if we had not departed when we did, I and my company had bene in danger to haue loſt life and goods. For ten daies after our departure, the king of Samarcand came with an armie, & beſieged the ſaid Citie of Boghar, the king being abſent, and gone to the wars againſt another prince, his kinſman, as the like chanceth in thoſe Countries once in two or three yeres. For it is maruell, if a King reigne there aboue three or foure yeres, to the great deſtruction of the Countrey, and marchants.

He returneth the eight of March 1559.

The 25 of Pare[illegible] we came to the foreſayd towne of Vrgence, and eſcaped the danger of 400 roners, which lay in waite for vs backe againe, being the moſt of them of kindred to that company of theeues, which we met with going forth, as we perceiued by foure ſpies, which were taken. There were in my company, and committed to my charge, two ambaſſadors, the one from the king of Boghar, the other from the king of Balke, and were ſent vnto the Emperor of Ruſſia. And after hauing carried at [illegible]ence, and the Caſtle of Sellyſure, eight daies for the aſſembling, and making ready of our Carauan, the ſecond of Aprill we departed from thence, hauing foure more Ambaſſadors in our companie, ſent from the king of Vrgence, and other Soltans, his bre-thren, vnto the Emperor of Ruſſia, with anſwere of ſuch letters as I brought them: and the ſame Ambaſſadors were alſo committed vnto my charge by the ſayde Kings and princes: to whome I promiſed moſt faithfully, and ſwore by our law, that they ſhould be well vſed in Ruſſland, and ſuffered to depart from thence againe in ſafetie, according as the Emperor had written alſo in his letters: for they ſomewhat doubted, becauſe there had none gone out of Tartaria into Ruſſia, of long time before.

Vrgence.

The king of Balke, or Balgh.

The 23 of Aprill, we arriued at the Mare Caſpium againe, where we found our barke which we came in, but neither anker, cable, cocke, nor ſaile: neuertheleſſe we brought hempe with vs, and ſpunne a cable our ſelues, with the reſt of our tackling, and made vs a ſaile of cloth of cotton wooll, and rigged our barke as well as we could, but boate or anker we had none. In the meane time being deuiſing to make an anker of wood of a cart wheele, there arriued a barke, which came from Aſtracan, with Tartars and Ruſſes, which had 2 ankers, with whom I agreed for the one: and then [illegible]ing in a readines, we ſet ſaile and departed, I, and the two Johnſons being maſter and marriners our ſelues, hauing in our barke the ſaid fiue ambaſſadors, and 25 Ruſſes, which had

bene ſlaues a long time in Tartaria, nor euer had before my comming libertie, or meanes to get home, and theſe ſlaues ſerued to rowe when neede was. Thus ſailing ſometimes along the coaſt, and ſometimes out of ſight of lande, the 13. day of May, hauing a contrary winde, wee came to an anker, being three leagues from the ſhoare, & there roſe a ſore ſtorme, which continued 44. houres, and our cable being of our owne ſpinning, brake, and loſt our anker, and being off a lee ſhoare, and hauing no boate to helpe vs, we hoyſed our ſaile, and bare roomer with the ſaid ſhoare, looking for preſent death: but as God prouided for vs, we came into a creeke full of ooze, and ſo ſaued our ſelues with our barke, & liued in great diſcomfort for a time. For although we ſhould haue eſcaped with our liues the danger of the ſea, yet if our barke had periſhed, we knew we ſhould haue bene, either deſtroyed, or taken ſlaues by the people of that Countrey, who liue wildly in the field, like beaſts, without houſe or habitation. Thus when the ſtorme was ceaſed, we went out of the creeke againe: and hauing ſet the land with our Compaſſe, and taken certaine markes of the ſame, during the time of the tempeſt, whileſt we riode at our anker, we went directly to the place where we rode, with our barke againe, and found our anker which wee loſt: whereat the Tartars much maruelled, how we did it. While we were in the creeke, we made an anker of wood of ſuch faſhion, which we had in our barke, which we threw away. When wee had found out your anker againe. Within two dayes after, there aroſe another great ſtorme, at the Northeaſt, and we lay a trie, being driuen far into the ſea, and had much adoo to keepe our barke from ſinking, the billow was ſo great: but at the laſt, hauing faire weather, we tooke the Sunne, and knowing how the land lay from vs, we ſet with the Riuer Yaik, according to our deſire, whereof the Tartars were very glad, fearing that wee ſhould haue bene driuen to the coaſt of Perſia, whoſe people were vnto them great enemies.

The Engliſh flag in the Caſpian ſea.

Note, that during the time of our Nauigation, wee ſet vp the redde croſſe of S. George in our flagges, for honour of the Chriſtians, which I ſuppoſe was neuer ſeene in the Caſpian ſea before. We paſſed in this voyage diuers ſtormes: notwithſtanding the 28. of May we arriued in ſafetie at Aſtracan, and there remained till the tenth of June following, as well to prepare vs ſmall boates, to goe vp againſt the ſtreame of Volga, with our goods, as alſo for the company of the Ambaſſadours of Tartarie, committed vnto me, to bee brought to the preſence of the Emperour of Ruſſia.

A notable deſcription of the Caſpian ſea.

This Caſpian ſea (to ſay ſome thing of it) is in length about two hundred leagues, and in breadth 150. without any iſſue to other ſeas: to the Eaſt part whereof, vpneth the great deſert countrey of the Tartars, called Turkemen: to the Weſt, the countreyes of the Chyrcaſſes, the mountaines of Caucaſus, and the Mare Euxinum, which is from the ſaid Caſpian Sea a hundred leagues. To the North is the riuer Volga, and the land of Nagay, and to the South part lyeth the countreys of Media and Perſia. This ſea is freſh water in many places, and in other places as ſalt as our great Ocean. It hath many goodly Riuers falling into it, and it auoideth not it ſelfe except it be vnder ground. The notable Riuers that fall into it, are firſt the great Riuer of Volga, called in the Tartar tongue Edell, which ſpringeth out of a lake in a marriſh or plaine ground, not farre from the Citie of Nouogrode in Ruſſia, and it is from the ſpring to the Sea, about two thouſande Engliſh miles. It hath diuers other goodly Riuers falling into it, as out of Siberia, Yaic, and Yem: Alſo out of the mountaines of Caucaſus, the Riuers of Cyrus and Araſh, and diuers others.

As touching the trade of Shamaky in Media and Tebris, with other townes in Perſia, I haue enquired, and do well vnderſtand, that it is euen like to the trades of Tartaria, that is little merchandiſe, and ſmall profite: and I haue bene aduertiſed that the chiefe trade of Perſia is into Syria, and ſo tranſported into the Leuant ſea. The fewe ſhippes vpon the Caſpian Seas, the want of good port Townes, the pouertie of the people, and the ice, maketh that trade naught.

At Aſtracan there were merchants of Shamaky, with whom I offered to barter, and to giue them kerſies for their wares, but they would not, ſaying, they had them as good cheape in their countrey, as I offred them, which was fiue rubbles for a kerſie, that I aſked: and while I was at Boghar, there were brought thither out of Perſia, Cloth, and diuers commodities of our countries, which were ſold as good cheape, as I might ſell ours.

The tenth day of June, we departed from Aſtracan towards the Moſco, hauing an hundred gunners in our company at the Emperors charges, for the ſafe conduct of the Tartar Ambaſſadors and me. And the eight and twentieth day of July following, wee arriued at the citie of Cazan, hauing bene vpon the way from Aſtracan thither, fiue weekes and more, without any refreſhing of victuals: for in all that way there is no habitation.

The ſeuenth of Auguſt following, wee departed from Cazan, and tranſported our goods by water, as farre as the citie of Morum, and then by land: ſo that the ſecond of September, we arriued

rriues at the citie of Moſco, and the fourth day I came before the Emperours Maieſtie, killed his hand, and preſented him a white Cowes taile of Cathay, and a Iewell of Tartaria, which he well accepted. Alſo I brought before him all the Ambaſſadors that were committed to my charge, with all the Ruſſe leaues: and that day I dined in his Maieſties preſence, and at dinner, his Grace ſent me meate by a Duke, & all ten me diuers queſtions touching the Lands and countreis where I had bene. And thus I remained at the Moſco about your affaires, vntil the 17. day of February that your meres were ſent downe: and then hauing licence of the Emperour Maieſtie to depart, the 21. day I came to your houſe at Vologhda, and there remained vntil the breaking vp of the yeere and then hauing ſeene all your goods laden into your boates, I departed with the ſame, and arriued with all in ſafetie at Colmogro the 9. of May 1560. And here I ceaſe for this time, intreating you to beare with this my large diſcourſe, which by reaſon of the variety of matter, I could make no ſhorter, and I beſeech God to proſper all your attempts.

His arriuall at Moſco the 2. of September.

The latitudes of certaine principall places in Ruſſia, and other Regions.

	Deg.	Min.
Moſco in	55	10
Nouogrod the great	58	26
Nouogrod the leſſe	56	33
Colmogro	64	10
Vologhda	59	11
Cazan	55	33
Oweke	51	40
Aſtracan	47	9
At the entrance into the Caſpian ſea.	46	72
Mangaſlaue beyond the Caſpian ſea.	45	00
Vrgence in Tartary 20. dayes iourney frō the Caſpian ſea.	42	18
Boghar a citie in Tartary 20. dayes iourney frō Vrgence.	39	10

Certaine notes gathered by *Richard Iohnſon* (which was at Boghar with *M. Anthony Ienkinſon*) of the reports of Ruſſes and other ſtrangers, of the wayes of *Ruſſia* to *Cathaya*, and of diuers and ſtrange people.

The firſt note giuen by one named *Sarnichoke* a *Tartarian* ſubiect to the Prince of *Boghar*, which are alſo *Tartars* bordering vpon *Kuzilbaſh* or *Perſia*, declaring the way from *Aſtracan*, being the furtheſt part of *Ruſſia*, to *Cathaya* as foloweth.

FIrſt from Aſtracan to Serachick by land, trauailing by leſure as Merchants vſe with waines, is 10. dayes iourney.

From Serachick to a towne named * Vrgenſhe, 15. dayes.

From Vrgenſhe to Boghar, 15. dayes.

From Boghar to Caſcar, 30. dayes.

From Caſcar to Cathaya, 30. dayes iourney.

*Or, Vrgenc.

By the ſame partie a note of another way more ſure to trauaile, as he reporteth.

From Aſtracan to Turkemen by the Caſpian ſea, 10. dayes with barkes.

From Turkemen by land ſpecially with Camels, bearing the weight of 15. poodes for their common burthens, is 10. dayes to Vrgenſhe.

From Vrgenſhe to Boghar, 15. dayes.

More. At this Citie of Boghar is the marte or meeting place betweene the Turkes and nations of thoſe parts and the Cathayans.

And the toll there is the 40. part to be payed of Merchandizes or goods.

From

From thence to Caſcar is one moneths iourney, and from Caſcar (being the frontier of the great Can, hauing many townes and ſoyles by the way) is alſo a moneths trauel for merchants by land to Cathay.

Further, as he hath heard (not hauing bene in thoſe parts himſelfe) ſhips may ſaile from the dominions of Cathaia vnto India. But of other waies, or how the ſeas lie by any coaſt hee knoweth not.

The inſtruction of another Tartarian merchant dwelling in the citie of *Boghar*, as he hath learned by other his countreymen which haue bene there.

FIrſt from Aſtracan by ſea to Serachick is 15 daies: affirming alſo that a man may trauell the other way before written by Turkemen.

From Serachick to Vrgence is 15 dayes.

From Vrgence to Boghar alſo 15 dayes.

Note. Theſe laſt 30 daies iourney is without habitation of houſes: therefore trauellers lodge in their owne tents, carying with them to eate, their ſeuerall proviſions: and for drinke there be many wels of faire water at equall baiting places not farre diſtant dayly to be had.

From Boghar to Taskent eaſie trauelling with goods, is 14 dayes by land.

From Taskent to Occient 7 dayes.

From Occient to Caſcar 20 daies. This Caſcar is the head towne or citie of another prince, lying betweene Boghar and Cathaia, called Reshit can.

From Caſcar to Sowchick 30 daies iourney, which Sowchick is the firſt border of Cathay.

From Sowchick to Camchick 5 daies iourney, and from Camchick to Cathay is 2 moneths iourney, all the way being inhabited, temperate, & wel replenished with innumerable fruits, & the chiefe citie in that whole land is called Cambalu, which is yet 10 daies iourney from Cathay.

Beyond this land of Cathay, which they praiſe to be ciuill & vnſpeakeably rich, is the countrey named in the Tartarian tongue Cara-calmack inhabited with blacke people: but in Cathay, the moſt part therof ſtretching to the ſunne riſing, are people white and of faire complexion. Their religion alſo, as the Tartars report, is chriſtian, or after the maner of Chriſtians, and their language peculiar, differing from the Tartarian tongue.

There are no great and furious Beares in trauelling through the waies aforeſaid, but onely white and blacke. And becauſe that woods are not of ſuch quantitie there, as in theſe parts of Ruſſia, but in maner rather ſcant then plentiful, as is reported, the Beares breed not that way, but ſome other beaſts (as namely one in Ruſſe called Barſe) are in thoſe coaſts. This Barſe appeareth by a ſkinne of one ſeene here to ſell, to be nere ſo great as a big lion ſpotted very faire and therfore we here take it to be a Leopard or Tiger.

Angrim. Note that 20 daies iourney from Cathay is a countrey named Angrim, where liueth the beſt that beareth the beſt Pulke, & the principell therof is cut out of the knee of the male. The people are taunie, & for that the men are not bearded nor differ in complexion from women, they haue certaine tokens of iron, that is to ſay: the men weare the ſunne round like a bolle vpon their foreheads, and women on their priuie parts. Their feeding is raw fleſh and in another called * Tikay: the Duke there is called Can. They worſhip the fire, and it is 34 dayes iourney from great Cathay, and in the way lyeth the beautifull people, eating with knines of gold, and are called Comorom, and the land of ſmall people is neerer the Mosko then Cathay.

Mandeville ſpeaketh herof.

Of Kitay.

Small people.

The inſtructions of one of Permia, who reporteth he had bene at Cathay the way before written, and alſo another way neere the ſea coaſt, as foloweth, which note was ſent out of Ruſſia from *Giles Holmes*.

Pechora but fiue dayes iourney by land of water from Ob.

FIrſt from the prouince of Dwina is knowen the way to Pechora, and from Pechora trauelling with Olens or harts, is fiue dayes iourney by land, and in the Sommer as much by water to the riuer of Ob.

The Ob is a riuer full of flats, the mouth of it is 70. Ruſſe miles ouer. And from thence three dayes iourney on the righte hand is a place called Chorno-leſe, to ſay in Engliſh, blacke wood, and from thence neere hand is a people called Pechey-cony, wearing their haire by his deſire on after the Iriſh faſhion.

From Pechey-cony to Ioule Calmachey three dayes iourney, & from thence to Chorno Calachay three dayes tending to the Southeaſt.

Theſe two people are of the Tartarian faith, and tributaries to the great Can.

Hee

Here follow certaine countreys of the Samoeds which dwell vpon the riuer Ob, and vpon the sea coasts beyond the same, taken out of the Russe tongue word by word, and trauailed by a Russe borne in *Colmogro*, whose name was *Theodor Towrgin*, who by report, was slaine in his second voyage in one of the said countreys.

Vpon the East part beyond the countrey of Vgori, the riuer Ob is the most Westermost part thereof. Vpon the sea coast dwell Samoeds, and their countrey is called Molgomsey, whose meate is flesh of Deere, or Harts, and Fish, and doe eate one another sometimes among themselues. And if any Marchants come vnto them, then they kill one of their children for their sakes to feast them withall. And if a Marchant chance to die with them, they burie him not, but eate him, and so doe they eate them of their owne countrey likewise. They be euill of sight, and haue small noses, but they be swift and shoote very well, and they trauaile on Harts and on dogges, and their apparell is Sables and Harts skinnes. They haue no Marchandise but Sables onely. Trauelling on doge & harts.

2 Item, on the same coast or quarter beyond those people, and by the sea side also doth dwell another kinde of Samoeds in like maner, hauing another language. One moneth in the yeere they liue in the sea, and doe not come or dwell on the dry land for that moneth.

3 Item beyond these people, on the sea coast, there is another kinde of Samoeds, their meate is flesh and fish, and their merchandise are Sables, white and blacke Foxes (which the Russes call Pselts) and Harts skinnes, and Fawnes skinnes.

The relation of *Chaggi Memet* a Persian Marchant, to *Baptista Ramusius*, and other notable citizens of *Venice*, touching the way from *Tauris* the chiefe citie of *Persia*, to *Campion* a citie of *Cathay* ouer land: in which voyage he himselfe had passed before with the Carauans.

From Tauris to Soltania. 6
From Soltania to Casbin. 4
From Casbin to Veremi. 6
From Veremi to Eri. 15
From Erit to Boghara. 20
From Boghara to Samarchand. 5
From Samarchand to Caschar. 25
From Caschar to Acsu. 20
} dayes iourney.

From Acsu to Cuchi. 20
From Cuchi to Chialis. 10
From Chialis to Turfon. 10
From Turfon to Camul. 13
From Camul to Succuir. 15
From Succuir to Gauta. 5
From Gauta to Campion. 6
} dayes iourney.

Which Campion is a citie of the Empire of Cathay in the prouince of Tangut, from whence the greatest quantitie of Rubarbe commeth.

A letter of *Sigismond* king of *Polonia*, written in the 39. yeere of his reigne to *Elizabeth* the Queenes most excellent Maiestie of *England*, &c. 1559

Sigismudus Augustus by the grace of God king of Polonia, great Duke of Lituania, Russia, Prussia, Massouia, and Samogetia, &c. Lord and heire &c. to the most Noble Princesse Ladie Elizabeth by the same grace of God Queene of England, France and Ireland, &c. our deare sister and kinswoman, greeting and increase of all felicitie. Whereas your Maiestie writeth vnto vs that you haue receiued two of our letters, wee haue looked that you should haue answered vnto them both. First to the one, in which we intreated more at large in forbidding the voyage to Narue, which if it had bene done, we had bene vnburdened of so often writing of one matter: and might haue answered your Maiestie much better to the purpose. Now we thus answere to your Maiestie to those matters of the which you write to vs the 3 of October from Windsore. First, forasmuch as your Maiestie at the request of our letters hath discharged the arrest of Marchants goods, and of the names of the men of Danske our subiects, which was set vpon them by your commandement of your Maiestie: and also haue reckoned the olde and ancient libertie of traffike, we acknowledge great pleasure done vnto vs in the same: and also thinke it to bee done for the common agreement made in times past. Neither were we euer at any time of any other opinion touching your Maiestie, but that wee should obtaine right and reason at your Maiesties, Forasmuch as we likewise shall at all times be ready to grant to your Maiestie, making request for your subiects, so farre as shall stand with iustice, yet neither will we seeke any thing to your Maiestie in contention of loue, beneuolence, and mutuall office, but that we iudge The trade to Narue forbidden by the K. of Poland. The ancient couenants of traffickes betweene England & Prussia.

euery good turne of yours to be recompensed by vs to the vttermost: and that shall we procure as occasion shall serue. Therefore we shall commaund the arrests, if any be made by our subiects (as it is vnknowen to vs) of merchants goods and English names to be discharged: and shall conserue the olde libertie of trafficke, and all other things which shall seeme to appertaine to neighbourhood betweene vs and your Maiesty: so that none of the subiects of your Maiesty hereafter presume to vse the nauigation to the Narue forbidden by vs, and full of danger not onely to our parts, but also to the open destruction of all Christians and liberall nations. The which as we haue written afore, so now we write againe to your Maiesty that we know and feele of a surety, the Moscouite, enemy to all liberty vnder the heauens, daily to grow mightier by the increase of such things as be brought to the Narue, while not onely wares but also weapons heeretofore vnknowen to him, and artificers & arts be brought vnto him: by meane whereof he maketh himselfe strong to vanquish all others. Which things, as long as this voyage to Narue is vsed, can not be stopped. And we perfectly know your Maiesty can not be ignorant how great the cruelty is of the said enemy, of what force he is, what tyranny he vseth on his subiects, and in what seruile sort they be vnder him. We seemed hitherto to vanquish him onely in this, that he was rude of arts, and ignorant of policies. If so be that this nauigation to the Narue continue, what shall be vnknowen to him? Therefore we that know well, and wonder vpon him, do admonish other Christian princes in time, that they do not betray their dignity, liberty and life of them and their subiects to a most barbarous and cruell enemy, as we can no lesse do by the duty of a Christian prince. For now we do foresee, except other princes take this admonition, the Moscouite puffed vp in pride with those things that be brought to the Narue, and made more perfect in warlike affaires with engines of warre and shippes, will make assault this way on Christendome, to slay or make bound all that shall withstand him: which God defend. With which our admonition diuers princes already content themselues, and abstaine from the Narue. The others that will not abstaine from the said voyage shalbe impeached by our naule, and incurre the danger of losse of life, liberty, wife and children. Now therefore if the subiects of your Maiesty will forbeare this voyage to Narue, there shalbe nothing denied to them of vs. Let your Maiesty well weigh and consider the reasons & occasions of our stopping of ships going to the Narue. In which stopping, our subiects of Danske be in no fault, as we haue already written to your Maiesty, neither vse we their counsell in the same. In any other matter, if there be any fault in them against your Maiesty or your subiects, we will gladly do iustice vpon them, that your Maiesty may well vnderstand that we be carefull of you and your subiects. Neither thinke we it meet to take Hamburgh, or any other place to iudge the matter: for we haue our councell & iudgement seat at Rie, where your Maiesty & your subiects, or any other, shal haue iustice administred vnto them, with whom we haue no ancient league and amity. And thus much we haue thought good to let your Maiesty vnderstand. Fare ye well. Dated the first of December the 39 of our reigne.

Sigismundus Augustus Rex.

The olde liberties of trafficke.

The meanes of increase of the power of the Moscouite.

The Queenes Maiesties Letters to the Emperour of *Russia*, requesting licence, and safe conduct for M. *Anthony Jenkinson* to passe thorow his *kingdome of* Russia, *into* Persia, *to the Great Sophie.* 1561.

ELIZABETHA Dei gratia, Angliæ, &c. Regina, serenissimo & potentissimo principi, D. Ioanni Basiliuich, Imperatori totius Russiæ, Magno Duci, &c. Salutem, & omnium rerum prosperarum fœlicissimum incrementum. Potentissime Princeps, res est nobis ad memorandum longè gratissima, illa vestræ Maiestatis erga nos & nostros amicitia. Quæ tempore fœlicissimæ memoriæ Regis Edwardi sexti, fratris nostri charissimi, Dei benignitate incepta, deinceps verò vestra non solùm singulari humanitate alta atque sua, sed incredibili etiam bonitate aucta atque cumulata, nunc autem omnibus beneuolentiæ vestræ officijs sic firmata est atque constabilita, vt iam minimè dubitemus, quin ea ad laudem Dei, ad gloriam vtriusque nostrum, ad publicam nostrorum vtrobique regnorum immensam commoditatem, ad priuatam singulorum vtrinque subditorum optatam spem, certámque felicitatem multis sit deinceps seculis duratura. Et quanquam hæc vestra bonitas, plenissimè in se effudit in omnes nostros subditos, qui sese in vllas imperij vestri partes vnquam receperunt, (pro qua ingentes nostras, vepar est, gratias vestræ Maiestati habemus, vestrísque vicissim omni opportunitatis loco libentissimè teremus) tamen abundantia benignitatis vestræ, in accipiendo, támque humanitèr tractando nostrum fidelem & perdilectum famulum Antonium Jenkinson, qui has perferet literas, seorsim nobis gratissima exstitit. Nam præterquam quòd ni-

lis non locis veſtri Imperij & magna libertate, & ſumma humanitate veſtræ ſerenitatis non permiſſu ſolùm, ſed iuſſu etiam frueretur, veſtra bonitas tamen non in hac domeſtica benignè faciendi ratione conquieuit, ſed perlibenter & vltrò eundum noſtrum hunc perdilectum famulum, varijs exteris principibus, quoquouerſus ipſe iter ſuum inſtituerat, literis ſuis, ſuo magno Imperiali ſigillo conſignatis commendauit. Quod beneficium illi vbiuis gentium, & viam ſine vllo periculo, propter publicam veſtram fidem, & aduentum cum magno fauore, propter veſtram commendationem, optatè quidem & fœliciter communiuit. Itaq; quemadmodum gemina hæc veſtra beneuolentia, cum illa generalis exhibita in veſtro regno negotiantibus ſubditis noſtris vniuerſis, tum iſta ſeorſim præſtita huic Antonio Ienkinſon, perfideli noſtro famulo, nobis in mente non ſolùm ad gratam perpetuámque memoriam, verùm etiam ad mutuam, vel oportunam compenſationem, firmiſſimè defixa eſt: ita, petimus a veſtra Maieſtate vt vtramque beneuolentiæ veſtræ rationem & communem noſtris vniuerſis, & priuatam huic noſtro dilecto famulo, vtriſque deinceps dignetur tueri, atq; conſeruare. Neque nos quidem diffidimus, quin quem fauorem veſtra Maieſtas anteà ſua ſponte Antonio Ienkinſon, tum quidem diffidimus, oſtendit, eundem nunc noſtro rogatu eidem Antonio in noſtrum iam famularum cooptato benignè velit denuò declarare. Et propterea petimus à veſtra Maieſtate, vt dignetur iterum concedere eidem noſtro famulo, literas ſuas commeatus, publicæ fidei, ac ſaluiconductus, quarum tenore, authoritate, atque præſidio, ſit illi, familiaribus ſuis, & ſeruis, tutum, liberumque, cum mercibus, ſarcinis, equis, & bonis ſuis vniuerſis, inuehendis euehendiſque, per veſtra regna, dominicilia, atque prouincias, proficiſci, ire, tranſire, redire, abire, & iſtic morari, quamdiu placuerit, & inde recedere quandocunque illi aut ſuis libitum fuerit. Et ſicut non dubitamus, quin veſtra Maieſtas hæc omnia humanitatis grata officia, pro immenſa bonitate ſuæ naturæ benignè & largiter huic famulo noſtro ſit conceſſura, ita valdè optamus, adeóque petimus, vt veſtra Maieſtas eodem noſtrum famulum, vnà cum omnibus ſuis familiaribus, ac bonis, exteris alijs principibus literis ſuis dignetur commendare, præſertim verò atque ſeorſim Magno Sophi, Perſarum Imperatori, in cuius etiam imperia & ditiones idem noſter famulus gratia potiſſimè experiendi peregrina commercia, proficiſci vnà cum ſuis conſtituit.

Confidimus igitur hæc omnia noſtra poſtulata pro famuli ſpe, pro noſtra expectatione, pro veſtra bonitate, pro noſtrorum vtrinque ſubditorum commoditate, fauſta illi, grata nobis, accepta etiam veſtræ Maieſti, & noſtris vtrobique perquam vtilia euaſura. Deus veſtræ Maieſtatis, &c. Datum in celeberrima noſtra Ciuitate Londini, anno mundi 5523. Domini ac Dei noſtri Ieſu Chriſti 1561, regnorum verò noſtrorum tertio.

The ſame in Engliſh.

ELizabeth by the grace of God, Queene of England, &c. to the right excellent, and right mightie Prince, Lord Iohn Baſiliwich, Emperour of all Ruſſia, &c. greeting, and moſt happie increaſe in all proſperitie. Right mightie Prince, the amitie of your Maieſtie towards vs and our ſubiects is very pleaſant to vs to be remembred, which being begun by the goodneſſe of God in the reigne of our moſt deare brother of happie memorie, King Edward the ſixt, and afterwards, through your not onely ſinguler humanitie, fed, and nouriſhed, but alſo through your incredible goodneſſe increaſed, and augmented, is now firmed and eſtabliſhed, with all maner of tokens of your benevolence, that now we doubt not, but that from henceforth, during many ages, the ſame ſhall endure to the praiſe of God, to both our glories, to the publike great commoditie of our Realmes on either part, and to the priuate deſired hope, and certeine felicitie of all our ſubiects. And although that this your goodneſſe hath bene abundantly extended to all our ſubiects, that haue at any time repaired into any part of your Empire, for the which wee giue (as reaſon is) your Maieſtie right heartie thanks, and will againe ſhew the like vnto yours, right willingly, and alſo in entertaining our faithfull and beloued ſeruant, Anthonie Ienkinſon, the bringer of theſe our letters, is vnto vs for him priuately very thankefull. For beſides this, that in all parts of your Empire, he not onely by your Maieſties ſufferance, but alſo by your commandement, enioyed much libertie, and great friendſhip, your goodneſſe not ceaſing in this your domeſticall diſpoſition of clemencie, did right willingly, and of your owne abundant grace, commend the ſame our welbeloued ſeruant, by your letters ſealed with your Imperiall ſeale, to ſundry noble Princes, vnto whom he was minded to iourney: which your magnificence did purpoſely, to the end, and alſo archieuing of his iourney throughout your commendation. Therefore like as we haue bene ſtirred by your ſingular and moſt plentifull goodneſſe, and by your ſuplicated beneuolences, both that one generally exhibited to all our ſubiects frequenting

ting that your Realme, and alſo this the other extended apart to this our right faithfull ſeruant Anthonie Ienkinſon, is right aſſuredly faſtened in our remembrance, not onely for a perpetuall and gratefull memoriall, but alſo for a mutuall and meet compenſation: ſo we deſire of your Maieſtie, to vouchſafe from henceforth to conſerue and continue the geminate diſpoſition of your beneuolences, both generally to all our ſubiects, and alſo priuately to this our beloued ſeruant. And we doubt not, but that at our requeſt, you will againe graciouſly ſhew vnto the ſame Anthony, now admitted into our ſeruice, the like fauor as heretofore your Maieſty of your meere motion did exhibite vnto him, being then a priuate perſon. And therefore we deſire your Maieſty eftſoones to grant to the ſame our ſeruant, your letters of licence, paſport, & ſafe conduct, through the tenour, authority, and helpe whereof, he, his ſeruants, together with their merchandiſes, baggages, horſes, and goods whatſoeuer, that ſhall be brought in, or carried out, by or thorow all your empire, kingdome, dominions, and prouinces, may ſurely and freely iourney, go, paſſe, repaſſe, repart, and there tary ſo long as it ſhall pleaſe him: and from thence returne whenſoeuer it ſhall ſeeme good to him or his: and as we doubt not, but that your Maieſty in the goodneſſe of your nature will graciouſly and abundantly grant all theſe good offices of humanity, ſo we do be earnestly deſire that your Maieſty will likewiſe vouchſafe to commend the ſame our ſeruant, together with all his goods, by your letters to other forren Princes, and ſpecially to the great Sophy, and Emperour of Perſia, into whoſe empire and iuriſdictions the ſame our ſeruant purpoſeth with his ſaid iourney, chiefly for triall of forren merchandiſes.

We therefore doe truſt that all theſe our demands ſhall tend, and haue effect, according to the hope of our ſeruant, and to our expectation, for your wealth, for the commodity of both our ſubiects, lucky to him, thankefull to vs, acceptable to your Maieſty, and very profitable to our ſubiects on either part. God grant vnto your Maieſty long and happy felicity in earth, and euerlaſting in heauen. Dated in our famous city of London the 25 day of the moneth of Aprill, in the yeere of the creation of the world 5523, and of our Lord God Ieſus Chriſt 1561, and of our reigne the third.

The Queenes Maieſties Letters to the Great Sophy of *Perſia*, ſent by M. *Anthonie Ienkinſon*. 1561.

ELIZABETHA Dei gratia, Angliæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ Regina, &c. Potentiſſimo & inuictiſſimo Principi, Magno Sophi Perſarum, Medorum, Parthorum, Hircanorum, Carmanorum, Margianorum, populorum cis & vltrà Tygrim fluuium, & omnium intra Mare Caſpium, & Perſicum ſinum nationum atque Gentium Imperatori ſalutem, & rerum proſperarum fœliciſſimum incrementum. Summi Dei benignitate factum eſt, vt quas gentes, non ſolum immenſa terrarum ſpacia, & inſuperabiles marium vaſtitates, ſed & ipſi etiam cœlorum cardines longiſſimè diſiunxerunt, ipſæ tamen terarum bono & mentis certa cogitata, & humanitatis grata officia, & intelligentiæ mutuæ multa commoda facilè inter ſe & opportunè poſſint communicare. Itaque cùm perdilectus & fidelis noſter famulus Antonius Ienkinſon, qui has literas noſtras perfert, cum bona venia, fauore, & gratia noſtra hoc Angliæ noſtræ regnum excedere, & in Perſiam vſque, veſtráſque alias ditiones Dei benignitate penetrare conſtituerit, hoc illius inſtitutum perlaudabile quidem grato noſtro fauore proſequi, & promouere ſtuduimus: id quod eo nos libentiùs fecimus, quoniam hoc eius propoſitum ex honeſto ſtudio commercij conſtituendi poſſimus cùm veſtris ſubditis, aliiſque peregrinis hominibus, ad veſtra regna confluentibus, omninò ortum ſit. Propterea nobis & ſcribendum ad veſtram Maieſtatem, ab eaque petendum eſt duximus, vt noſtro rogatu dignetur concedere huic famulo noſtro Antonio Ienkinſon literas publicæ fidei, & tutui conductus, quarum authoritate atque præſidio, licitum, liberúmque illi, vnà cum ſuis familiaribus, ſeruis, ſarcinis, mercibus & bonis vniuerſis, per veſtra regna, domicilia, ditiones, atque prouincias liberè, & ſine impedimento proficiſci, ire, tranſire, redire, abire, & iſtic morari, quamdiu placuerit, & inde recedere, quandocunque illi vel ſuis lubitum fuerit. Si hæc ſancta hoſpitalitatis iura & dulcia communis humanitatis officia, inter nos, noſtra regna, noſtróſque ſubditos libentèr conſtitui, ſincerè coli, & conſtantèr conſeruari queat ſperamus nos, Deum Optimum Maximum effecturum, vt ab hijs paruis initijs, grandiorum momenta, nobis ad magna ornamenta atque decus, noſtris ad ſumma commoda vſus, aliquando ſint oritura: liquidem, vt non terra, non mare, non cœlum, ad nos longiſſimè ſeperandos, quàm diuina ratio communis humanitatis, & mutuæ beneuolentiæ ad nos maximè coniungendos plus virium habuiſſe videatur. Deus ſalutem omnem, & fœlicem

terris, & perpetuam in cœlis, veſtræ concedat Maieſtati. Datum in Anglia, in celebri noſtra vrbe Londino, 25 die menſis Aprilis, anno mundi, 5523, Domini ac Dei noſtri Ieſu Chriſti, 1561, regnorum verò noſtrorum tertio.

The ſame in Engliſh.

This letter was alſo written in Hebrew, and Italian.

ELizabeth, by the grace of God, Quéene of England, &c. To the right mighty, and right victorious Prince, the great Sophie, Emperour of the Perſians, Medes, Parthians, Hircans, Carmanians, Margians, of the people on this ſide, and beyond the riuer of Tygris, and of all men, and nations, betweene the Caſpian ſea, and the gulfe of Perſia, greeting, and moſt happie increaſe in all proſperitie. By the goodneſſe of the Almightie God it is ordeined, that thoſe people, which not onely the huge diſtance of the lands, and the inuincible vnkeneſſe of the ſeas, but alſo the very quarters of the heauens do moſt farre ſeparate, and ſet aſunder, may neuertheleſſe through good commendation by writing, both eaſe, and alſo communicate betweene them, not onely the conceiued thoughts, or deliberations, and gratefull offices of humanitie, but alſo mutuall commodities of mutuall intelligence. Therefore whereas our faithfull, and right welbeloued ſeruant Anthonie Ienkinſon, bearer of theſe our letters, is determined with our licence, fauour, and grace, to paſſe out of this our Realme, and by Gods ſufferance to trauell euen into Perſia, and other your iuriſdictions: we haue truely with our good fauour, to ſet forward, and aduance that his right laudable purpoſe: and that the more willingly, for that this his enterpriſe is onely grounded vpon an honeſt intent, to eſtabliſh trade of merchandiſe with your ſubiects, and with other ſtrangers trafficking in your realmes. Wherefore we haue thought good, both to write vnto your Maieſtie, and alſo to deſire the ſame, to vouchſafe at our requeſt, to grant to our ſayd ſeruant, Anthonie Ienkinſon, good paſſports, and ſafe conducts, by meanes, and authoritie whereof, it may be free and lawfull for him, together with his familiars, ſeruants, cariages, merchandiſe, and goods whatſoeuer, throughout your Realmes, Dominions, Iuriſdictions, and Prouinces, freely, and without impeachment, to iourney, go, paſſe, repaſſe, and tary ſo long as he ſhall pleaſe, and from thence to returne whenſoeuer he or they ſhall thinke good. If theſe holy duties of entertainment, and ſweet offices of naturall humanitie may be willingly concluded, ſincerely embraced, and ſtrictly obſerued betweene vs, and our Realmes, and ſubiects, then we do hope that the almightie God will bring it to paſſe, that of theſe ſmall beginnings, greater moments of things ſhall hereafter ſpring, both to our furniture and honours, and alſo to the great commodities, and vſe of our peoples: ſo it will be knowen that neither the earth, the ſeas, nor the heauens, haue ſo much force to ſeparate vs, as the godly diſpoſition of naturall humanity, and mutuall benuolence haue to ioyne vs ſtrongly together. God grant vnto your Maieſtie long and happy felicity in earth, and perpetuall in heauen. Dated in England, in our famous citie of London, the 25 day of the moneth of Aprill, in the yere of the creation of the world, 5523, and of our Lord and God Ieſus Chriſt, 1561, and of our reigne the third.

A remembrance giuen by vs the Gouernours, Conſuls, and Aſſiſtants of the company of Merchants trading into *Ruſſia*, the eight day of May 1561, to our truſtie friend *Anthonie Ienkinſon*, at his departure towards *Ruſſia*, and ſo to *Perſia*, in this our eight iourney.

FIrſt you ſhall vnderſtand that we haue laden in our good ſhip, called the Swallow, one Cheſt, the keyes whereof we doe heere deliuer you, and alſo a bill, wherein are written particularly the contents in the ſayd Cheſt, and what euery thing did coſt: and becauſe, as you know, the ſayd Cheſt is of charge, we deſire you to haue a ſpeciall regard vnto it, and when God ſhall ſend you vnto Moſco, our minds and will is, that you, with the aduiſe of our Agents there, doe appoint ſome ſuch preſents for the Emperour and his ſonne, either wine, cloth of golde, veluet, or plate, as to your good diſcretion ſhall be thought meet, and when you haue deliuered vnto hirs the Queenes Maieſties Letters, and our ſayd preſent in the name of the Company, we thinke it good that you make your humble ſute vnto his Highneſſe in our name, to get a licence or ſafe conduct for you and all other our ſeruants or Agents at all times hereafter with ſuch wares and merchandiſe as you at this time, or they hereafter at all other times ſhall thinke good to paſſe out of his dominions towards Tartaria, Perſia, or other places, and alſo to repaſſe into Moſco with ſuch wares and merchandiſe as you ſhall bring or ſend from any land or countrey that is not in his dominions, and if it be thought good by you and our Agents there

to make composition with the emperor or his officers for some certeine custome or tole vpon such goods as we shall passe by that way, to the intent we might be the better fauored, we refer it to your discretion, foreseeing that the opening of this matter be not preiudiciall vnto our former priuileges.

And for the sale of our cloth of gold, plate, pearles, sapphyres, and other iewels, we put our trust and confidence in you principally to sell them for ready money, time to good debters, or in barter for good wares, so that you make our other Agents priuy how and for what price you sell any of the premisses, and also deliuer such summes of money, billes or wares, as you shall receiue, vnto our said Agents: thinking good further, that if you perceiue that the plate or other iewels, or any part thereof will not be sold for profit before your departure from the Mosco, that then you cause them to be safe packed, and set order they may be sent hither againe in our shippes the next yeere, except you perceiue that there may be some profit in carrying some part of them into Persia, which we would not to be of any great value.

We haue also laden in the said Swallow and the other two ships 80 kardes, conteining 400 kersies, as by the inuoice both appeare, which kardes be packed, and appointed to be caried into Persia: neuertheles, if you chance to finde good sales for them in the Mosco, we thinke it were good to sell part of them there, and to carry the lesse quantity with you, because we be vncertaine what vent or sale you shall finde in Persia or other places where you shall come.

If you obtaine the Emperours licence to passe out of his dominions, and to returne, as aforesaid, and that you perceiue you may safely do the same, our minde is, that at such time as you thinke best and most conuenient for that purpose, you do appoint so many, and such of our hired seruants or apprentises as you thinke necessary and meet for our affaires, and may best be spared, to go with you in your said voyage, whereof we would one to be such as you might make priuy of all your doings for diuers considerations and causes that may happen: which seruants and apprentises, we will and command, by this our remembrance, to be obedient vnto you as vnto vs, not onely to go with you, and to doe such things as you command them in your presence, but also to goe vnto such countreys or places as you shall appoint them vnto, either with wares or without wares, & there to remaine and continue so long as you shall thinke good, and if they or any of them will refuse to do so, things as you do appoint them, as aforesaid, or that any of them (be he hired seruant or apprentise) do misuse himselfe by any maner of disobedience or disorder, and will not by gentle and faire meanes be reformed, we will that you send him backe to the Mosco, with straight order that he may be sent from thence hither, & let vs haue knowledge of his euill behauiour, to the intent that if he be a hired seruant we may pay him his wages according to his seruice, and if he be an apprentise we may vse him according to his deserts.

We will also that you take with you such kersies, scarlet, and other clothes, or any other such wares of ours, as you shall thinke good, and so in the name of God to take your iourney towards Persia, either by the way of Astracan and Mare Caspium, or otherwise, as you shall see cause: and when God sendeth you into Persia, our minde is, that you repaire vnto the great Sophy with the Queenes Maiesties letters, if he be not too farre from the Caspian sea for you to trauell, and that you make him such a present as you shall thinke meet, and if you passe by any other kings, princes, or gouernors, before or after you come to the presence of the Sophy, likewise to make them some present, as you see cause, according to their estate and dignitie, and withall to procure letters, priuiledge or safeconduct of the said Sophy or other princes in as large and ample maner as you can, for the sure establishing of further trade in merchandise by vs hereafter to be made, frequented and continued in those parts, not onely that we may freely sell in all places within his dominions such wares as we carry thither, but also buy and bring away any maner of wares or merchandise whatsoeuer it be, that is for our purpose and commoditie within his dominions, with free passage also for vs at all times, to passe as often as we will with our goods and merchandise into any part of India or other countreys thereunto adioyning, and in like maner to returne thorough his dominions into Russia or elsewhere.

And for the sale of our kersies or other wares that you shall haue with you, as our trust is that you will doe for our most profit and commoditie: euen so we referre all vnto your good discretion, as well in the sale of our said goods, as to make our returne in such things as you shall finde there, and thinke best for our profit. But if passage cannot be had into Persia by Astracan, or otherwise, the next Summer, which shalbe in the yeere 1562, then our minde is, that you procure to sell our kersies, & other such wares as are appointed for Persia, in the Mosco, or other the Emperours dominions, if you may sell them for any reasonable price, and then to employ your selfe with such other of your seruants, as you shall thinke meet for the search of the passage by Nona Zembla, or else you to returne for England as you thinke good. Prouided alwaies, that if you do perceiue or vnderstand, that passage is like to be had into Persia the Summer following, you shall

The passage of Nona Zembla.

ſhalbe in the yere 1563, and that you can not ſell our kerſies in the Emperours dominions, as afore ſayd, at a reaſonable price: then we will rather they may be kept till the ſaid Summer in the yeere 1563, and then you to proceed forwards vpon your iourney towards Perſia as afore ſayd. If paſſage into Perſia cannot be obteined the next yeere, neither good hope of paſſage in the yeere 1563, neither yet in the meane time good ſale of our kerſies in the Emperours dominions, then we thinke good for you to ſee if you can practiſe to cary your ſaid wares by ſafe conduct thorow Polonia, or any other wayes vnto Conſtantinople, or els where you thinke better ſale may be had, then in Ruſſia.

Thus haue we giuen you to vnderſtand our meanings in this intended aduenture: but foraſmuch as we do conſider and know, that if we ſhould preſcribe vnto you any certeine way, or direct either what you ſhould doe, we might ſo worke cleane contrary to our purpoſe and intent: therefore knowing your approued wiſedome with poure experience, and alſo your carefull and diligent minde in the atchieuing and bringing to good ſucceſſe (by the helpe of almighty God) all things that you take in hand, we doe commit our whole affaires concerning the ſaid aduenture wholly vnto your good diſcretion, praying God ſo to proſper you, as may be firſt for his glory, ſecondly for the honour and commoditie of this realme, and next for your profit, with the increaſe of your good name for euer.

And yet further deſiring, and alſo moſt earneſtly requiring you, as you tender the ſtate of our company, that you will haue a ſpeciall regard vnto the order of our houſes & our ſeruants, aſwell at Colmogro and Vologda, as at Moſco, and to ſee and conſider if any miſorder be amongſt our ſeruants or apprentices, whereby you think we might hereafter be put to hinderance or loſſe of a-ny part of our goods or priuilege there, that you doe not onely ſee the ſame reformed, but alſo to certifie vs thereof by your letter at large, as our truſt is in you.

And for the better knowledge to be had in the prices and goodnes of ſuch things as we do ſuppoſe you ſhall finde in the partes of Ruſſia, we doe herewith deliuer you a quantitie of certeine byrugges, whereby you may perceiue how to know the beſt, and alſo there are noted the prices of ſuch wares and byrugges as be here moſt vendible: alſo we deliuer you herewith one pound and one ounce weight in braſſe, to the end, that you may therby, & with the bill of prices of wares, know what things be worth here. As for the knowledge of ſilks, we need not to giue you any inſtructions thereof, other then you know. Waights and byrugs deliuered to M. Fenkinſon.

And if you vnderſtand that any commoditie in Ruſſia be profitable for vs to haue with you into Perſia or other places, our minde is that our Agents ſhall either prouide it for you, or deliuer you money to make proviſion your ſelfe. And becauſe the Ruſſes ſay that in trauelling Eaſtwardes from *Colmogro* thirty or forty dayes iourney, there is the maine ſea to be found, we thinke that Richard Iohnſon might imploy his time that way by land, and to be at Moſco time enough to goe with you into Perſia: for if it be true that he may trauell to the ſea that way, and that he may know how many miles it is towards the Eaſt from Colmogro, it will be a great helpe for vs to finde out the ſtraight and paſſage that way, if any be there to be had. The maine ſea within thirtie dayes Eaſtward of Colmogro.

William Gerard. } Gouernors. { William Merike.
Thomas Lodge. } { Blaſe Sanders.

A compendious and briefe declaration of the iourney of M. *Anth. Ienkinſon*, from the famous citie of *London* into the land of *Perſia*, paſſing in this ſame iourney thorow *Ruſſia*, *Moſcouia*, and *Mare Caſpium*, aliàs *Hircanum*, ſent and imployed therein by the right worſhipfull Societie of the *Merchants Aduenturers*, for diſcouerie of Lands, Iſlands, &c. Being begun the foureteenth day of May, *Anno 1561*, and in the third yere of the reigne of the Queenes Maieſtie that now is: this preſent declaration being directed and written to the foreſayd Societie. 1561

FIrſt imbarking my ſelfe in a good ſhippe of yours, named the Swallow, at Grauеſend, hauing a faire and good winde, our anker then weyed, and committeing all to the protection of our God, hauing in our ſailing diuerſitie of windes, & thereby forced to direct and obſerue ſundry courſes (not here rehearſed, becauſe you haue ben thereof heretofore amply informed) on the fourteenth day of July, the yere aforeſayd I arriued in the bay of S. Nicholas in Ruſſia: and the fifte and twentieth day of the ſame moneth, after conference then had with your Agents there, concerning your worſhips affaires, I departed from thence, paſſing thorow the country of Vago, among the ende day of Auguſt then following, I came to Vologda, which is diſtant from Colmogro, fifteen hundred miles, where I remained foure dayes, attending the arriuall of one of your boates, wherein

wherein was laden a cheſt of iewels with the preſent, by your two ſhips appointed for the Emperors Maieſty: which being arriued, and the cheſt receiued, I therewith departed toward the citie of Moſco, and came thither the twentith day of the ſame moneth, where I immediatly cauſed my comming to be ſignified vnto the Secretary of the Imperiall Maieſty, with the Queenes Highneſſe letters addreſſed vnto the ſame his Maieſtie, who informed the Emperour thereof. But his Highneſſe hauing great affaires, and being at that preſent ready to be married vnto a Ladie of Chircaſsi, of the Mahometicall law, commanded that no ſtranger, Ambaſſadour, nor other, ſhould come before him for a time, with further ſtreight charge, that during the ſpace of three dayes that the ſame ſolemne feaſt was celebrating, the gates of the citie ſhould be ſhut, and that no perſon, ſtranger or native (certeine of his houſhold reſerued) ſhould come out of their ſaid houſes during the ſaid triumph, the cauſe thereof vnto this day not being knowen.

The Queenes letters to the Emperour of Ruſſia.

The firſt of September following, the Emperour made a great feaſt, whereunto were called all Ambaſſadours and ſtrangers being of reputation, and hauing affaires: amongſt whom I was one, but being willed by the Secretary firſt to come, and to ſhew him the Queenes Maieſties letters, I refuſed ſo to doe, ſaying I would deliuer the ſame vnto the Emperours owne hands, and not otherwiſe: which heard, the Secretarie anſwered, that vnleſſe he might firſt peruſe the ſame letters, I ſhould not come into the Emperors preſence, ſo that I was not at the feaſt. Neuertheleſſe, I was aduertiſed by a noble man that I was inquired for by the Emperours Maieſtie, although the cauſe of my abſence was to his Maieſtie vnknowen. The next day following, I cauſed a ſupplication to be made, and preſented it to his Highneſſe owne hands, and thereby declared the cauſe of my comming, ſignified by the Queenes Maieſties letters, and the anſwere of his ſaid Secretary, moſt humbly beſeeching his Grace that he would receiue and accept the ſame her Highneſſe letters, with ſuch honour and friendſhip, as his letters ſent by Oſep Napea were receiued by the hands of our late Souereigne Lady Queene Mary, or elſe that it would pleaſe his Highnes to diſmiſſe me, ſaying that I would not deliuer the ſaid letters but vnto his owne hands, for that it is ſo vſed in our countrey. Thus the matter being pondered, and the effect of my ſupplication well digeſted, I was forthwith commanded to come with the ſaid letters before his Maieſtie, and ſo deliuered the ſame into his owne hands (with ſuch preſents as by you were appointed) according to my requeſt, which were gratefully accepted, & the ſame day I dined in his Graces preſence, with great entertainment. Shortly after, I deſired to know whether I ſhould be licenced to paſſe thorow his Highneſſe dominions into the land of Perſia, according to the Queenes Maieſties requeſt: hereunto it was anſwered, that I ſhould not paſſe thither, for that his Maieſtie meant to ſend an armie of men that way into the land of Chircaſsi, whereby my iourney ſhould be both dangerous & troubleſome, and that if I ſhould periſh therein, it would be much to his Graces diſhonour, but he doubted other matters, although they were not expreſſed. Thus hauing receiued his anſwere, neither to my expectation, nor yet contentation, and there remaining a good part of the yere, hauing in that time ſolde the moſt part of your kerſies and other wares appointed for Perſia, when the time of the yere required to returne for England, I deſired paſſport, and poſt horſes for money, which was granted: but hauing receiued my paſſport, ready to depart, there came vnto our houſe there Oſep Napea, who perſwaded me that I ſhould not depart the day, ſaying that the Emperor was not truely informed, imputing great fault to the frowardneſſe of the Secretary, who was not my friend: before whom comming againe the next day, and finding the ſame Secretary and Oſep Napea together, after many allegations and obiections of things, and perceiuing that I would depart, I was willed to remaine vntill the Emperours Maieſtie were ſpoken with againe touching my paſſage: wherewith I was content, & within three dayes after ſending for me, he declared that the Emperours pleaſure was, that I ſhould not onely paſſe thorow his dominions into Perſia, but alſo haue his Graces letters of commendations to ſundry princes, with certaine his affaires committed to my charge, too long here to rehearſe: whereupon I appointed my ſelfe for the voyage, & the 15 day of March, the yere aforeſaid, I dined againe in his Maieſties preſence in company of an Ambaſſadour of Perſia and others, and receiuing a cup of drinke at his Maieſties hands, I tooke my leaue of his Highneſſe, who did not onely giue me letters, as aforeſayd, but alſo committed matter of importance and charge vnto me, to be done when I ſhould arriue in thoſe countreys whither I intended to go, and hauing all things in readineſſe for the ſame voyage, I departed from the citie of Moſco the 27 day of April 1562, down by the great riuer of Volga, in company of the ſaid Ambaſſadour of Perſia, with whom I had great friendſhip and conference all the way downe the ſame riuer vnto Aſtracan, where we arriued in health the 10 day of June.

Requeſt to paſſe into Perſia thorow his dominions.

Oſep Napea Ambaſſadour from the Emperor of Ruſſia to Q. Mary.

An ambaſſador of Perſia.

Aſtracan.

And as touching the ſituations of the cities, townes, caſtles and countreys, aſwell of Tartaria as alſo of Gentils adioyning to the ſame, whereby I paſſed from Moſco vnto Aſtracan, I

M. Ienkinſons voyage to Boghar.

omit in this breuiat to rehearſe, for that I heretofore haue declared the ſame moſt amply vnto you in my voyage to Boghar. Thus being arriued at Aſtracan, as is aforeſayd, I repaired vnto the captaine there, vnto whom I was commended from the Emperours Maieſty, with great charge that he not only ſhould ayd and ſuccor me with all things needfull during my abode there, but alſo to ſafeconduct me with 50 gunners well appointed in two ſtroogs or brigantines into the Caſpian ſea, vntil I had paſſed certaine dangerous places which pirats & rouers do accuſtome to haunt, and hauing prepared my barke for the ſea, the Ambaſſador of Perſia being before departed in a barke of his owne the 15 day of July, the yeere aforeſayd, I and my company tooke our voyage from the ſayd Aſtracan, and the next day at a Weſt ſunne, paſſed the mouth of the ſaid riuer being twenty miles diſtant, lying next Southeaſt. The 18 at a Southweſt ſunne, we paſſed by three Iſlands being diſtant nine miles from the ſaid mouth of Volga, and Southſouthweſt from thence, ſailing Southſouthweſt the next day, at a Weſt & by North ſun we kel with the land called Challica Oſtriua, being foure round Iſlands together, diſtant from the ſaid three Iſlands forty miles. From thence ſailing the ſaid courſe the next day, we had ſight of a land called Tuke, in the countrey of Tumen, where pirats and rouers do vſe: for feare of whom we haled off into the ſea due Eaſt forty miles, and fell vpon ſhallowes out of the ſight of land, and there were like to haue periſhed, eſcaping moſt hardly: then the 22 day we had ſight of a goodly Iſland called Chatalet, diſtant from the ſaid Challica Oſtriua an hundred miles, the winde being contrary, and a ſtiffe gale, we were not able to ſeize it: but were forced to come to anker to the lee ward of the ſame firſt miles off in three or foure fathom water, being diſtant from the maine land to the Weſt ward of vs, which was called Skaſcaylor Connyk a countrey of Mahometans, about miles, and ſo riding at two ankers a head, hauing no other prouiſion, we loſt one of them, the ſtorme and ſea being growen very ſore, and thereby our barke was ſo full of leaks, that with continuall pumping we had much adoe to keepe her aboue water, although we threw much of our goods ouerboord, with loſſe of our boat, and our ſelues thereby in great danger like to haue periſhed either in the ſea or els vpon the lee ſhore, where we ſhould haue fallen into the hands of thoſe wicked infidels, who attended our ſhipwracke: and ſurely it was very vnlike that we ſhould haue eſcaped both the extremities, but onely by the power and mercy of God, for the ſtorme continued ſeuen dayes, to wit, vntill the thirteeth day of the ſame moneth: and then the winde comming vp at the Weſt with faire weather, our anker weyed, and our ſaile diſplayed, lying South, the next day haling to the ſhore with a Weſt ſunne, we were nie a land called by the inhabitants Shyruanſha, and there we came againe to an anker, hauing the winde contrary, being diſtant from the ſaid Chatalet 150 miles, and there we continued vntill the third day of Auguſt, then hauing a faire winde, winding the ſhore Southeaſt, and ſailing threeſcore miles, the next day at a Southeaſt ſunne we arriued at a citty called Derbent in the king of Hircans dominion, where comming to land, and ſaluting the captaine there with a preſent, he made to me and my company a dinner, and there taking freſh water I departed.

He paſſeth the Caſpian ſea.

The countrey of Tumen.

The Iſland of Chatalet.

The land of Shiruanſha.

Derbent.

This citty of Derbent is an ancient towne hauing an olde caſtle therein, being ſituated vpon a hill called Caſtow, builded all of free ſtone much after our building, the walles very high and thicke, and was firſt erected by king Alexander the great, when he warred againſt the Perſians and Perſians, and then hee made a wall of a wonderfull height and thickneſſe, extending from the ſame city to the Georgians, yea vnto the principall city thereof named Tewflish, which wall though it be now raſed, or otherwiſe decayed, yet the foundation remaineth, & the wall was made to the intent that the inhabitants of that countrey then newly conquered by the ſaid Alexander ſhould not lightly flee, nor his enemies eaſily inuade. This city of Derbent being now vnder the power of the Sophy of Perſia, bordereth vpon the ſea, adioyning to the foreſaid land of Shallcall, in the latitude of 41 degrees. From thence ſailing Southeaſt and Southſoutheaſt about 80 miles, the firſt day of Auguſt, the yere aforeſaid, we arriued at our landing place called Shabran, where my barke diſcharged: the goods layd on ſhore, and there being in my tent keeping great watch for feare of rouers, whereof there is great plenty, being field people, the gouernor of the ſaid countrey named Alcan Murcy, comming vnto me, entertained me very gently, vnto whom giuing a preſent, he appointed for my ſafegard forty armed men to watch & ward me, vntil he might haue newes from the king of Shiruan. The 12 day of the ſame moneth newes did come from the king, with order that I ſhould repaire vnto him with all ſpeed: and for expedition, aſwell camels in the number of nine and forty to carry my goods, as alſo horſes for me and my company were in readineſſe, ſo that the goods laden, and taking my iourney from thence the ſaid twelfe day, on the 18 of the ſame moneth I came to a city called Shamaky, in the ſaid countrey of Hircan, otherwiſe called Shiruan, and there the king hath a faire place, where my lodging being appointed, the goods were diſcharged: the next day being the 19 day, I was ſent for to come to the king, named

Obdolowcan,

M. Ienkinſons voyage to Boghar.

Fortie one degrees.

Shabran.

Alcan Murcy the gouernour.

A mighty wall.

Of Tiphlis.

King Obdolowcan.

Obdolowcan, who kept his court at that time in the high mountaines in tents, distant from the sayd Shamaki twentie miles, to auoyde the iniury of the heat: and the 20 day I came before his presence, who gently intertained me, and hauing kissed his hands, he bad me to dinner, and commanded me to sit downe not farre from him. This king did sit in a very rich pauillion, wrought with silke & golde, placed very pleasantly, upon a hill fiue of fifteene fathom long, and fiue fathom broad, hauing before him a goodly fountaine of faire water, whereof he & his nobility did drinke, he being a prince of a meane stature, and of a fierce countenance, richly apparelled with long garments of silke, and cloth of gold, imbrodred with pearles and stone: upon his head was a tolpane with a sharpe end standing vpwards halfe a yard long, of rich cloth of golde, wrapped about with a piece of India silke of twentie yards long, wrought with golde, and on the left side of his tolpane stood a plume of fethers, set in a trunke of golde richly inameled, and set with precious stones: his earerings had pendants of golde a handfull long, with two great rubies of great value, set in the ends thereof: all the ground within his pauilion was couered with rich carpets, & vnder himselfe was spred a square carpet wrought with siluer & golde, and thereupon was layd two suitable cushions. Thus the king with his nobility sitting in his pauillion with his legs a crosse, and perceiuing that it was painfull for me so to sit, his highnesse caused a stoole to be brought in, & did will me to sit thereupon, after my fashion. Dinner was then approching, diuers clothes were spred upon the ground, and sundry dishes serued, and set in a ranke with diuers kindes of meats, to the number of 140 dishes, as I numbred them, which being taken away with the table clothes, and other spred a banket of fruits of sundry kindes, with other banketting meates, to the number of 150 dishes, were brought in: so that two seruices occupied 290 dishes, and at the end of the sayd dinner & banket, the king said vnto me, Quoshe quelde, that is to say, Welcome: and called for a cup of water to be drawen at a fountaine, and tasting thereof, did deliuer me the rest, demanding how I did like the same, and whether there were so good in our countrey or not: vnto whom I answered in such sort that he was therewith contented: then he proponed vnto me sundry questions, both touching religion, and also the state of our countreys, and further questioned whether the Emperor of Almaine, the Emperor of Russia, or the great Turke, were of most power, with many other things too long here to rehearse, to whom I answered as I thought most meet. Then he demanded whether I intended to goe any further, and the cause of my comming: vnto that I answered, that I was sent with letters from the Queenes most excellent Maiesty of England vnto the great Sophy, to intreat friendship and free passage, and for his safeconduct to be granted vnto English merchants to trade into his Segniories, with the like also to be granted to his subiects, when they should come into our countreys, to the honour and wealth of both realmes, and commodity of both their subiects, with diuers other words, which I omit to rehearse. This sayd king much alleadging this declaration sayd, that he would not onely giue me passage, but also men to safeconduct me vnto the sayd Sophy, tying from the foresayd citie of Shamaki thirtie dayes iourney, vpon the land of Persia, at a castle called Casbin: so departing from the king at that time, within three dayes after, being the foure and twentieth day of August the yere aforesaid, he sent for me againe: vnto whom I repaired in the morning, and the king not being risen out of his bed (for his manner is, that watching in the night, and then banketting with his women, being an hundred and fortie in number, he sleepeth most in the day) did giue one commandement that I should ride on hawking with many Gentlemen of his Court, and that they should shew me so much game and pastime as might be: which was done, and many cranes killed. We returned from hawking about three of the clocke at the afternoone: then risen, and ready to dinner, I was inuited thereunto, and approching nigh to the entring of his tent, and being in his sight, two gentlemen encountred me with two garments of that countrey fashion, fine, downe to the ground, the one of silke, and the other of silke and golde, sent vnto me from the king, and after that they caused me to put off my vpper garment, being a gowne of blacke veluet furred with Sables, they put the sayd two garments vpon my backe, and so conducted me vnto the king, before whom doing reuerence, and kissing his hand, he commanded me to sit not farre from him, and so I dined in his presence, but that time being very merry, and demanding of me many questions, and amongst other, how I like the maner of their hawking. Dinner so ended, I required his highnesse safeconduct for to depart towards the Sophy, who dismissing me with great fauour, and appointing his Ambassadour (which returned out of Russia) and others, to safeconduct me, he gaue me at my departure a faire horse with all furniture, and custome free from thence with all my goods. So I returned to Shamaki againe, where I remained vntill the first of October, to prouide camels, horses, and other necessaries for my sayd intended iourney.

The maiesty & attire of king Obdolowcan.

The Queenes letters to the Sophy.

Casbin.

Multitude of concubines.

The description of Hircania.

But now before I proceed further, I purpose to write something of this countrey of Hircania, now called Shiruan, with the townes and commodities of the same. This countrey of Hircania

in times paſt was of great renowme, hauing many cities, townes, and caſtles init: and the kings thereof in time of antiquity were of great power, able to make warres with the Sophies of Perſia: but now it is not onely otherwiſe (for that the cities, townes, and caſtles be decayed) but alſo the king is ſubiect to the ſayd Sophie (although they haue their proper king) and be at the commandement of the ſayd Sophy, who conquered them not many yeeres paſſed, for their diuerſity in religion, and beſides, caſed the walles of the cities, townes, and caſtles of the ſaid realme to the intent that there ſhould be no rebellion, and for their great terror, erected a turret of free ſtone and flints in the preſence of the ſayd nobility and gentlemen, then executed. This citie is diſtant from the ſea five, with camels, ſeuen dayes iourney, but now the ſame being much decayed, & chiefly inhabited with Armenians, another citie called Arrash, lying vpon the Georgians, is the chiefeſt and moſt opulent in the trade of merchandiſe, & therabouts is nouriſhed the moſt abundant growth of raw ſilke, and thither the Turks, Egyptians, and other ſtrangers do reſort and trafficke. There be alſo diuers good and neceſſary commodities to be prouided & had in this ſayd realme: viz. galles rough and ſmooth, cotton wooll, alome, and raw ſilke of the naturall growth of that countrey: beſides neere all kinde of ſpices and drugges, and ſome other commodities, which are brought thither from out of East India, but in the leſſe quantity, for that they be not aſſured to haue vent or vtterance of the ſame: but the chiefeſt commodities be there raw ſilks of all ſorts, whereof there is great plenty. Not farre from the ſayd citie of Shamaki, there was an olde caſtle called Gulliſtone, now beaten downe by this Sophy, which was eſteemed to be one of the ſtrongeſt caſtles in the world, and was beſieged by Alexander the great, long time before he could win it. And not farre from the ſayd caſtle was a Nunery of ſumptuous building, wherein was buried a kings daughter, named Ameleck Chanim, who ſlew herſelfe with a knife, for that her father would haue forced her (the profeſſed chaſtity) to haue married with a king of Tartaria: vpon which occaſion the maidens of that countrey do reſort thither once euery yeere to lament her death.

Diuers by the ſuperſtition of this gentil.

Barbarous crueltie

The citie of Arrash by name.

The commodities of this countrey.

The ſtrong caſtle of Gouliſtone ouerthrowne.

Alſo in the ſayd countrey there is an high hill called Quiquiſa, vpon the toppe whereof (as is commonly reported) did dwell a great Giant, named Arneoſte, hauing vpon his head two hornes, and eares, and eyes like a horſe, and a taile like a Cow. It is further ſayd, that the ſayd Giant kept a paſſage thereby, vntill there came an holy man, termed Haucoir Hamſhie, a kinſman to one of the Sophies, who mounted the ſayd hill, and combating with the ſayd Giant, did binde and ſtrangle him in examines, but alſo his woman called Lamiſache, with his ſonne named After: for which victory they of that countrey haue this holy man in great reputation, and the hill at this day (as is reported) ſauoureth ſo ill, that no perſon may come nigh vnto it: but whether it be true or not, I referre it to further knowledge.

Now to returne to the diſcourſe of the proceeding in my voyage towards the great Sophie. The 6 of October in the yeere aforeſayd, I with my company departed from Shamachi aforeſayd, and hauing iourneyed threeſcore miles, came to a towne called Yanare, wherein the king hath a faire houſe, with orchards and gardens well replenished with fruits of all ſorts. By this towne runneth a great riuer called Cor, which ſpringeth in the mountaines of the Georgians, & paſſing by one two ancient townes called Shabran and Bachu, ſituate within the realme of Hircane, and from thence ſtretcheth further, paſſing thorow a fruitfull countrey, inhabited with paſturing people, which dwell in the Summer ſeaſon vpon mountaines, and in Winter they remoue into the valleyes without reſorting to townes or any other habitation: and when they remoue, they doe carry in carrauans or troops of people and cattell, carrying all their wiues, children and baggage vpon bullocks. Now paſſing this wilde people ten dayes iourney, comming into no towne houſe, the fiftéenth day of October we arriued at a citie called Ardouill, where we were lodged in an hoſpitall builded with faire ſtone, and erected by this Sophies father named Iſmael, both for the ſuccour and lodging of ſtrangers and other trauellers, wherein all men haue victuals and feeding for man and horſe, for three dayes and no longer. This ſayd Iſmael late prince liued and lieth buried in a faire Meſkit, with a ſumptuous ſepulchre in the ſame, which he cauſed to be made in his life time. This towne Ardouill is in the latitude of eight and thirtie degrees, an ancient citie in the prouince of Aderraugan, wherein the Princes of Perſia are commonly buried: and there Alexander the great did keepe his Court when he inuaded the Perſians. Foure dayes iourney to the Weſtward is the citie Tebris in olde time called Tauris, the greateſt citie in Perſia, but not of ſuch trade of merchandiſe as it hath bene, or as others be at this time, by meane of the great imuaſion of the Turke, who hath conquered from the Sophie almoſt to the ſayd citie of Tauris, which the ſayd Turke once ſacked, and thereby cauſed the Sophie to forſake

The towne of Yanare.

The citie of Ardouill.

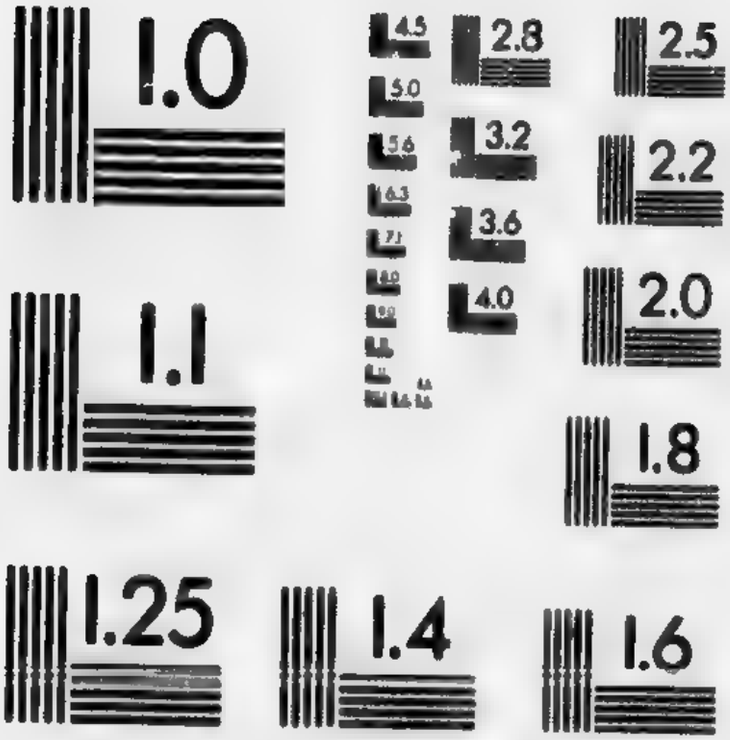
The citie Tebris or Tauris.

the



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the same, and to keepe his court ten dayes iourney from thence, at the sayd citie of Casbin.

The 21 day we departed from Ordowil aforesayd, trauelling for the most part ouer mountaines all in the night season, and resting in the day, being destitute of wood, and therefore were forced to vse for fewell the dung of horses & camels, which we bought deare of the pasturing people. Thus passing ten dayes iourney the yere aforesayd, the second day of Nouember we arriued at the foresayd citie of Casbin, where the sayd Sophie keepeth his court, and were appointed to a lodging not farre from the kings pallace, and within two dayes after the Sophie commanded a prince called Shalli Murzey, sonne to Obdolowcan king of Shiruan aforesayd, to send for me to his house, who asked me in the name of the said Sophy how I did, and whether I were in health, and after did welcome me, and inuited me to dinner, whereat I had great entertainment, and so from thence I returned to my lodging. The next day after I sent my interpreter vnto the Sophies Secretarie, declaring that I had letters directed from our most gracious Soueraigne ladie the Queenes most excellent Maiestie of the Realme of England, vnto the sayd Sophy, and that the cause of my comming was expressed in the same letters, desiring that at conuenient time I might come into his Maiesties presence, who aduertising the Sophy thereof, shortly after answered me that there were great affaires in hand: which being finished, I should come before his presence, willing me in the meane time to make ready my present if I had any to deliuer.

M. Ienkinsons arriuall at the Sophies court 2. Nouember, 1562.

The Turkes Amballadour to the Sophy.

At this time, the great Turkes Amballadour arriued foure dayes before my comming, who was sent thither to conclude a perpetuall peace betwixt the same great Turke and the Sophie, and brought with him a present in golde, and faire horses with rich furnitures, and other gifts, estremed to be worth forty thousand pound. And thereupon a peace was concluded with ioyfull feasts, triumphs and solemnities, corroborated with strong othes, by their law of Alkaron, for either to obserue the same, and to liue alwayes after as sworne brethren, ayding the one the other against all princes that should warre against them, or either of them. And vpon this conclusion the Sophy caused the great Turkes sonne named Baiset Soltan, a valiant Prince (who being fled from his father vnto the Sophie, had remained in his Court the space of foure yeeres) to be put to death. In which time the sayd Turkes sonne had caused mortall warres betwixt the sayd Princes, and much preuailed therein: the Turke demanded therefore his sonne to be sent vnto him, & the Sophy refused thereunto to consent. But now being slaine according to the Turks will, the Sophy sent him his head for a present, not a little desired, and acceptable to the vnnaturall father. Discoursing at my first arriuall with the king of Shiruan of sundry matters, and being intertained as hath bene before declared, the sayd king named Obdolocan, demaunding whether that we of England had friendship with the Turks or not: I answered, that we neuer had friendship with them, and that therefore they would not suffer vs to passe thorow their countrey into the Sophy his dominions, and that there is a nation named the Venetians, not farre distant from vs, which are in great league with the sayd Turks, who trade into his dominions with our commodities, chiefly to barter the same for raw silks, which (as we vnderstand) come from thence: and that if it would please the sayd Sophy and other Princes of that countrey, to suffer our merchants to trade into those dominions, and to giue vs passport and safe conduct for the same, as the sayd Turke hath granted to the sayd Venetians, I doubted not but that it should grow to such a trade to the profit of them as neuer before had beene the like, and that they should be both furnished with our commodities, and also haue vtterance of theirs, although there neuer came Turke into their land, perswading with many other wordes for a trade to be had. The king vnderstanding the matter liked it marueilously, saying, that he would write vnto the Sophy concerning the same: as he did in very deed, assuring me that the Sophy would graunt my request, and that at my returne vnto him he would giue me letters of safe conduct, and priuiledges. The Turks Amballadour was not then come into the land, neither any peace hoped to be concluded, but great preparation was made for warre, which was like much to haue furthered my purpose, but it chanced otherwise. For the Turks Amballadour being arriued, and the peace concluded, the Turkish merchants there at that time present, declared to the same Amballadour, that my comming thither (naming me by the name of Franke) would in great part destroy their trade, and that it should be good for him to perswade the Sophy not to fauour me, as his Highnesse meant to obserue the league and friendship with the great Turke his master, which request of the Turkish merchants the same Amballadour earnestly preferred, and being afterwards dismissed with great honour, he departed out of the Realme with the Turks sonnes head as aforesayd, and other presents.

The Turkes merchants withstand M. Ienkinson.

Shaw Thomas the Sophies name.

The 20 day of Nouember aforesayd, I was sent for to come before the sayd Sophy, otherwise called Shaw Thomas, and about three of the clocke at afternoone I came to the Court, and in lighting from my horse at the Court gate, before my feet touched the ground, a paire of the

Sophies

Sophies owne shoes termed in the Persian tongue Basmackes, such as hee himselfe weareth when he ariseth in the night to pray (as his maner is) were put vpon my feet, for without the same shoes I might not be suffred to tread vpon his holy ground, being a Christian, and called amongst them Gower, that is, vnbeleeuer, and vncleane: esteeming all to be infidels and Pagans which beleeue not as they do, in their false filthie prophets, Mahomet and Murtezalli. At the said Court gate the things that I brought to present his Maiestie with, were deuided by sundry parcels to sundry seruitors of the Court, to carry before me, for none of my company or seruants might be suffered to enter into the Court with me, my interpreter onely excepted. Thus comming before his Maiestie with such reuerence as I thought meete to be vsed, I deliuered the Queenes Maiesties letters with my present, which hee accepting, demaunded of mee of what countrey of Franks I was, and what affaires I had there to doe? Vnto whom I answered that I was of the famous Citie of London within the noble Realme of England, and that I was sent thither from the most excellent and gracious soueraigne Lady Elizabeth Queene of the saide Realme for to treate of friendship, and free passage of our Merchants and people, to repaire and traffique within his dominions, for to bring in our commodities, and to carry away theirs to the honour of both princes, the mutuall commoditie of both Realmes, and wealth of the Subiects, with other wordes here omitted. He then demaunded me in what language the letters were written, I answered, in the Latine, Italian and Hebrew: well said he, we haue none within our Realme that vnderstand those tongues. Whereupon I answered that such a famous and worthy prince (as hee was) wanted not people of all nations within his large dominions to interprete the same. Then he questioned with me of the state of our Countreys, and of the power of the Emperour of Almaine, king Philip, and the great Turke, and which of them was of most power: whom I answered to his contentation, not displaying the great Turke, their late concluded friendship considered. Then he reasoned with mee much of Religion, demaunding whether I were a Gower, that is to say, an vnbeleeuer, or a Muselman, that is, of Mahomets lawe. Vnto whom I answered, that I was neither vnbeleeuer nor Mahometan, but a Christian. What is that, said he vnto the king of the Georgians sonne, who being a Christian was fled vnto the said Sophie, and he answered that a Christian was he that beleeueth in Iesus Christus, affirming him to be the Sonne of God, and the greatest prophet. Doest thou beleeue so, said the Sophie vnto me? Yea that I do, said I: Oh thou vnbeleeuer, said he, we haue no neede to haue friendship with the vnbeleeuers, and so willed me to depart. I being glad thereof did reuerence and went my way, being accompanied with many of his gentlemen and others, and after me followed a man with a Basanet of land, lifting all the way that I had gone within the said pallace, euen from the said Sophies sight vnto the court gate.

The Queenes letters deliuered.

The Sophies questions.

Thus I repaired againe vnto my lodging, and the said night Shally Murzey sonne to the king of Hircan aforesaid, who fauoured me very much for that I was commended vnto him from his father, willed mee not to doubt of any thing, putting mee in hope that I should haue good successe with the Sophie, and good intertainment.

The curtesie of Shally Murzey.

Thus I continued for a time, dayly resorting vnto me diuers gentlemen sent by the Sophie to conferre with me, especially touching the affaires of the Emperour of Russia, and to know by what way I intended to returne into my countrey, either by the way that I came, or by the way of Ormus, and so with the Portingals ships. Vnto whom I answered, that I durst not returne by the way of Ormus, the Portingals and wee not being friendes, fully perceiuing their meaning: for I was aduertised that the saide Sophie meant to haue warres with the Portingals, and would haue charged mee that I had bene come for a spie to passe through his dominions vnto the saide Portingals, thinking them and vs to be all one people, and calling all by the name of Franks, but by the prouidence of God this was preuented.

Warres intended against the Portingals.

After this the said Sophie conferred with his nobilitie and counsel concerning me, who perswaded that he should not entertaine me wel, neither dismisse me with letters or gifts, considering that I was a Franke, and of that nation that was enemie to the great Turke his brother, perswading that if he did otherwise, and that the newes thereof should come to the knowledge of the Turke, it should be a meane to breake their new league and friendship lately concluded: dissuading further because he had no neede, neither that it was requisite for him to haue friendship with vnbeleeuers, whose Countreys lay farre from him, and that it was best for him to send me with my letters vnto the said great Turke for a present, which he was fully determined to haue done at some meet time, meaning to send his Ambassadour vnto the said great Turke very shortly after.

But the king of Hircanes sonne aforesaide, vnderstanding this deliberation, sent a man in post to his father, for to declare and impart the purpose vnto him, who as a gracious prince, considering that I had passed through his dominions, and that I had iourneyed for a good intent, did write the Sophie al that which he vnderstood of his said determination, & that it should not stand with his

The king of Hircans second letters in M. Ienkinsons behalfe.

his Maieſties honour to doe mee any harme or diſpleaſure, but rather to giue mee good entertainment, ſeeing I was come into his land of my free will, and not by conſtraint, and that if hee vſed mee euil, there would few ſtrangers reſort into his countrey, which would bee greatly vnto his hinderance, with many other perſwaſions: which after that the ſaide Sophie had well and throughly pondered and diſgeſted (much eſteeming the ſame king of Hircane, being one of the valianteſt princes vnder him and his nigh kinſeman) changed his determined purpoſe, and the twentieth of March 1562. he ſent to me a rich garment of cloth of golde, and ſo diſmiſſed me without any harme.

Conferences with Indian Merchants.

During the time that I ſoiourned at the ſayde City of Casbin, diuers merchants out of India came thither vnto mee, with whom I conferred for a trade of ſpices: whereunto they anſwered that they would bring of all ſorts ſo much as we would haue, if they were ſure of vent, whereof I did promiſe to aſſure them, ſo that I doubt not but that great abundance thereof may from time to time be there prouided and had.

M. Ienkinſons returne.

The ſame twentieth day of March I returned from the ſaide Citie of Casbin where I remained all the Winter, hauing ſent away all my Camels before, and the thirtieth day I came to the ſaide Citie of Ardouil, and the fifteenth of Aprill vnto Zauat aforeſayd, where king Obdolowcan was at that preſent, who immediatly ſent for me, and demaunding of me many queſtions, declared that if it had not bene for him, I had bene vtterly caſt away, and ſent to the great Turke for a preſent by the Sophie, through the euill perſwaſion of his wicked counſell, that the Zieties and holy men were the chiefe and principal procurers and mouers thereof: but the Sophie himſelfe ment mee much good at the firſt, and thought to haue giuen me good entertainement, and ſo had done, had not the peace and league fortuned to haue bene cõcluded betweene them and the great Turke. Neuertheleſſe, ſayd he, the Sophie hath written vnto me to entertaine you well, and you are welcome into my Countrey, and ſo he intreated mee very gently, in whoſe Court I remained ſeuen dayes, and obteined of him letters of ſafe conductes and priuiledges in your names to bee free from paying cuſtome, which I deliuered vnto your ſeruants Thomas Alcocke and George Wrenne, at their departure towards Perſia for your affaires: and his highneſſe did giue mee two garments of ſilke, and ſo diſmiſſed me with great fauour, ſending with me his Ambaſſadour againe vnto the Emperour of Ruſſia, and committed the chiefeſt ſecret of his affaires vnto me, to declare the ſame vnto the Emperours Maieſtie at my returne: and thus departing the tenth day of Aprill, I came to the City of Shamachi, and there remayning certaine dayes for prouiſion of Camels downe to the Sea ſide, I ſent from thence before men to repaire my Barke, and to make her in a readineſſe. And during my abode in Shammachi, there came vnto me an Armenian ſent from the king of Georgia, who declared the lamentable eſtate of the ſame king, that being enclo-ſed betwixt thoſe two cruell tyrants and mightie princes, the ſaid great Turke and the Sophie, hee had continuall warres with them, requiring for the loue of Chriſt and as I was a Chriſtian, that I would ſend him comfort by the ſaid Armenian, and aduiſe how he might ſend his Ambaſſadour to the ſayd Emperour of Ruſſia, and whether I thought that he would ſupport him or no. and with many other words required me to declare his neceſſitie vnto the ſame Emperour at my returne: adding further that the ſaid king would haue written vnto me his minde, but that hee doubted the ſafe paſſage of his meſſenger. Vnto whom I did likewiſe anſwere by word of mouth, not only perſwading him to ſende his Ambaſſadour to Ruſſia, not doubting but that hee ſhould finde him moſt honourable and inclined to helpe him, but alſo I directed him his way how the ſayde king might ſend by the Countrey of Chircaſſi, through the fauour of Teneruk king of the ſayd Countrey, whoſe daughter the ſaid king had lately married. And thus diſmiſſing the ſaide Armenian, within two dayes after I ſent Edward Cleark your ſeruaunt vnto the Citie of Arraſh, where the moſt ſtore of Silkes is to be had, giuing him Commiſſion to haue paſſed further into the ſaid Countrey of Georgia, and there to haue repaired vnto the ſayde king. And after my commendations premiſed, and my minde declared to haue purſued for ſafeconduct of the ſame Prince for our Merchants to trade into his dominions, and that obteined to haue returned againe with ſpeede. The ſame your ſeruaunt iourneying to the ſayd Citie of Arraſh, and there finding certaine Merchants Armenians, which promiſed to goe to the ſayd City of Georgia, comming to the borders thereof, was perceiued by a Captaine there, that he was a Chriſtian, and thereupon demaunded whither he went, and vnderſtanding that he could not paſſe further without great ſuſpition, anſwered that he came thither to buy Silkes. and ſhewed the king of Hircanes letters which hee had with him, and ſo returned backe againe, and the fifteenth of Aprill came to Shamachi: from whence I departed the ſixteene of the ſame moneth, and the one and twentie thereof comming to the Sea ſide, and finding my barke in a readineſſe, I cauſed your goods to be laden, and there attended a faire winde.

M. Ienkinſon from the king of Georgia.

Teneruk king of Chircaſſi.

Priuiledges obtained of Obdolowcan, which are hereafter annexed.

An Armenian ſent to M. Ienkinſon from the king of Georgia.

But before I proceede any further to ſpeake of my returne, I intend with your fauours ſome-what to treate of the countrey of Perſia, of the great Sophie, and of his countrey, lawes and religion.

This land of Perſia is great and ample, deuided into many kingdomes and prouinces, as Gilan, Coraſan, Shiruan, and many others hauing diuers Cities, townes and caſtles in the ſame. Euery prouince hath his ſeuerall King, or Sultan, all in obedience to the great Sophie. The names of the chiefeſt Cities be theſe: Teueris, Casbin, Keſhan, Yeſſe, Meskit, Heirin, Ardouill, Shamachi, Arraſh with many others. The countrey for the moſt part toward the ſea ſide is plaine and full of paſture, but into the land, high, full of mountaines, and ſharpe. To the South it boordereth vpon Arabia and the Eaſt Ocean. To the North vpon the Caſpian ſea and the lands of Tartaria. To the Eaſt vpon the prouinces of India, and to the Weſt vpon the confines of Chaldea, Syria, and other the Turkes lands. All within theſe dominions be of the Sophies, named Shaw Thamas, ſonne to Iſmael Sophie. This Sophie that now raigneth is nothing valiant, although his power be great, and his people martiall: and through his puſillanimitie the Turke hath much inuaded his countreys, euen nigh vnto the Citie of Teueris, wherein hee was wont to keepe his chiefe court. And now hauing forſaken the ſame, is chiefly reſident at Casbin afore ſaide, and alwayes as the ſaid Turke purſueth him, he not being able to withſtand the Turke in the fielde, truſting rather to the mountaines for his ſafegard, then to his fortes and caſtles, hath cauſed the ſame to bee raſed within his dominions, and his ordinance to be molten, to the intent that his enemies purſuing him, they ſhould not ſtrengthen themſelues with the ſame.

The deſcription of Perſia.

The chiefe Cities of Perſia.

This prince is of the age of fiftie yeeres, and of a reaſonable ſtature, hauing fiue children. His eldeſt ſonne he keepeth captiue in priſon, for that he feareth him for his valiantneſſe and actiuitie: he profeſſeth a kinde of holyneſſe, and ſaith that hee is deſcended of the blood of Mahomet and Murtezalli: and although theſe Perſians bee Mahometans, as the Turkes and Tartars bee, yet honour they this falſe fained Murtezalli, ſaying that hee was the chiefeſt diſciple that Mahomet had, curſing and chiding dayly three other diſciples that Mahomet had called Ouear, Viran, and Abebeck, and theſe three did ſlay the ſaide Murtezalli, for which cauſe and other differences of holy men and lawes, they haue had and haue with the Turkes and Tartars mortall warres. To intreat of their religion at large, being more or leſſe Mahomets lawe and the Alkaron, I ſhall not need at this preſent. Theſe perſons are comely and of good complexion, proude and of good courage, eſteeming themſelues to bee beſt of all nations, both for their religion and folineſſe, which is moſt erroneous, and alſo for all other their faſhions. They be martiall, delighting in faire horſes and good harneſſe, ſoone angrie, craftie and hard people. Thus much I haue thought good to treate of this nation, and nowe I returne to diſcourſe the proceeding of the reſt of my voyage.

The difference of religion.

By Darke being ready at the Caſpian ſea as afore ſaide, hauing a faire winde, and committing our ſelues vnto God the 30. day of May 1563. we arriued at Aſtracan, hauing paſſed no leſſe daungers vpon the Sea in our returne, then wee ſuſtained in our going forth, and remayning at the ſaid Aſtracan, vntill the tenth day of Iune, one hundred gunners being there admitted vnto mee for my ſafegard vp the riuer Volga, the fifteenth of July I arriued at the Citie of Cazan, where the Captaine entertained me well, and ſo diſmiſſing mee, I was conducted from place to place vnto the Citie of Moſco, where I arriued the twentieth day of Auguſt 1563. in ſafetie, thankes bee to God, with all ſuch goods, merchandizes, and iewels, as I had prouided as well for the Emperours ſtocke and accompt, as alſo of yours, all which goods I was commaunded to bring into the Emperours treaſurie before it was opened, which I did, and deliuered thoſe parcels of wares which were for his Maieſties accompt, videlicet, pretious ſtones, and wrought ſilkes of ſundry colours and ſortes, much to his highneſſe contentation, and the reſidue belonging to your houſe, whereof part there remained, and the reſt was laden in your ſhippes lately returned.

The 30. of May 1563.

Shortly after my comming to the Moſco, I came before the Emperours Maieſtie, and preſented vnto him the apparell giuen vnto me by the Sophie, whoſe highneſſe conferred with mee touching the princes affaires which he had committed to my charge: and my proceedings therein pleaſed him ſo to accept, that they were much to his contentation, ſaying vnto mee, I haue performed your good ſeruice, for the which I doe thanke you, and will recompence you for the ſame, willing that I ſhould ſhortly againe in ſuch his other affaires, wherein hee was minded to employ me: to whom I anſwered, that it was to my heartie reioycing that my ſeruice was ſo acceptable vnto his highneſſe, acknowledging all that I had done to bee but of duetie, humbly beſeeching his grace to continue his goodneſſe vnto your worſhips, and euen at that inſtant I humbly requeſted

New priuiledges obtained hereafter following.

sted his Maiestie to vouchsafe to graunt vnto you a newe priuiledge more ample then the first, which immediately was graunted, and so I departed. And afterwards hauing penned a briefe note howe I meant to haue the same priuiledges made, I repaired daily to the Secretary for the perfecting of the same, and obtained it vnder his Maiesties broade seale, which at my departure from thence, I deliuered vnto the custody of Thomas Glouer your Agent there. The copy whereof, and also of the other priuiledges graunted and giuen by the king of Hircan, I haue already deliuered vnto you. Sojourning all that winter at Mosco, and in the meane time hauing bargained with the Emperours Maiestie, I sent away your seruant Edward Clarke hither ouerland with aduise, and also made preparation for sending againe into Persia in meete time of the yeere. And committing the charge thereof vnto your seruants Thomas Alcocke, George Wrenne, and Richard Cheinie, the 28. of June last, I departed in poste from the said Mosco, and comming to Colmogro and so downe to the Sea side, I found your ships laden and ready to depart, where I embarked my selfe in your good ship called the Swallow, the 9. of July, one thousand fiue hundred sixtie foure, and hauing passed the Seas with great and extreme dangers of losse of shippe, goods and life, the 28. day of September last (God be praised) we arriued here at London in safetie.

28. September 1564.

Thus knowing that the courageous and valiant souldier, which aduenture th both fame, member and life, to serue faithfully his soueraigne, esteemeth not the perils and dangers passed (the victorie once obtained) neither for his guerdon desireth any thing more, then that his seruice be well taken of him for whom he enterprised it: So I perceiuing your fauourable benevolence to me extended in accepting my trauels in good part to your contentations, do thinke my selfe therewith in great part recompensed: beseeching Almightie God so to prosper your aduentures, from time to time hereafter to be made for reaping the fruits of my trauels (at your great charges, and to my no small dangers) that ye may plentifully gather in and enioy the same, to the illustrating of the Queenes most excellent Maiestie, the honour and commoditie of this her highnesse Realme, and to the ample benefit and abundant enriching of you and your succession, & posteritie for euer.

A copie of the priuiledges giuen by *Obdolowcan* King of *Hircania*, to the company of Englisth merchants Aduenturers for *Russia*, *Persia*, and *Mare Caspium*, with all the lands and countreys adioyning to the same, obtained by *M. Anthonie Ienkinson* at his being there about the affaires of the said company, April 14. Anno 1563.

WE Obdolowcan by the mightie power of God maker of heauen and of earth, appointed and now raigning king of Shiruan and Hircan, of our meere motion and great goodnes, at the earnest suite and request of our fauoured and welbeloued Anthonie Ienkinson Ambassadour, haue giuen and graunted vnto the right worshipfull Sir William Garret, sir William Chester, sir Thomas Lodge, M. Richard Mallarie, and M. Richard Chamberlaine, with all their company of merchants Aduenturers of the Citie of London in England, free libertie, safe conduct, and licence to come or sende their factors in trade of merchandize into our countreys, and to buy and sell with our merchants and others, either for ready money or barter, and to tary and abide in our countrey, so long as they will, and to goe awaye when they list, without impediment, let, or hinderance, either of body or goods.

And further our commaundement and pleasure is, that the said Englisth merchants with their company, shall pay no maner of custome for wares, which they or their factors shal buy or sel within our dominions. And if at any time our customers or other officers, or any of them, doe disturbe, misuse, force or constraine the said Englisth merchants or any of them, or their factors, to pay any maner of custome or duetie for any wares they bring in or carry out of our dominions contrary to this our commandement, and the same be knowen vnto vs, then we will that the saide customers and officers shall loose & be put out of their said offices, with our further displeasure, and the saide Englisth merchants to haue restored all such money & wares as our customers haue taken of them for our said custome. And whensoeuer the saide Englisth merchants or their factors shall bring any maner of wares meete for our treasurie, then our treasurer shall take the said wares into our treasurie, and shall giue vnto the said Englisth merchants, either ready money or raw silkes, to the value of their saide wares. And wheresoeuer this our letter of priuiledges shall bee seene and read within our dominion, we straightly will and command that it take effect, and be obeyed in al points.

Dated at our place of Iauat, the day and yere aboue written, and sealed with our princely seale, and signed by our Secretarie in the 12. yeere of our raigne.

The

The second voiage into *Persia* made by *Tho. Alcock*, who was slaine there, and by *George Wrenne*, & *Ric. Cheinie* seruants to the worshipfull compaine of *Moscouie* merchants in Anno 1563. written by the said *Richard Cheinie*.

IT may please your worshipps to understand, that in the yere 1563. I was appointed by M. Antho. Ienkinson, and M. Thomas Glouer your Agent in Russia, to goe for Persia in your worshipps affaires, one Thomas Alcock hauing the charge of the voyage committed to him, and I one of your worshipps seruants being ioyned with him in your busines, hauing with vs, as they said 1500. rubbles. And if it shall please you I cannot tell certainly what summe of money we had then of the Emperors: for I receiued none, nor disbursed any of it in wares for the voyage. Also, God I take to record, I could not tell what stocke your worshipps had there, for the bookes were kept so priuily that a man could neuer see them. The 10. of May anno 1563. we departed from a towne called Yeraslaue vpon our voyage toward Persia. The 24. of July we arriued at Astracan: and the second of August wee departed from Astracan, and the 4. of the same moneth we came to the Caspian sea, and the 11. day of the said moneth we arriued at our port in Media: and the 21. of the said August wee arriued at Shammaki, whereas the king Obdolocan lay in the fielde. We were wel entertained of heathen people, for the thirde day after our arriuall at Shammaki wee were called before the king: we gaue him a present, and he entertained vs very well.

A rubble is a marke English.

At our comming to the Court wee were commaunded to come before the king, who sate in his tent vpon the ground with his legs a crosse, and all his dukes round about his tent, the ground being couered with carpets: wee were commaunded to sit downe, the King appointing euery man his place to sit. And the king commaunded the Emperour of Russelands Merchants to rise vp, and to giue vs the vpper hande. The 20. of October Thomas Alcock departed from Shammaki towards Casbin, leauing mee at Shammaki to recouer such debts as the dukes of Shammaki ought for wares which they tooke of him at his going to Casbin. In the time I lay there I could recouer but little. And at Thomas Alcocks comming from Casbin, who arriued at a towne called Leuuacta, whereas the king Obdolocan lay, a day and a halfes iourney from the towne whereas I lay. I hearing of his arriuing there, departed from Shammaki, finding him there in safetie with all such goods as he had with him. During his abode there for seuen dayes he made suite to the king for such money as the dukes ought him. But the king was displeased for that the Emperour of Russelands merchant had slaine a Boserman at his going to Casbin. Thomas Alcocke seeing the king would shewe vs no fauour, and also hearing from Shammaki, that the Russes sent their goods to the sea side, for that they feared that the king of Persia should haue knowledge of the death of the Boserman, willed mee to depart to Shammaki with all such goods as he had brought with him from Casbin, I leauing him at the Court.

Casbin.

Leuuacta.

A Boserman is a Renegado.

The thirde day after mine arriuall at Shammaki, I had newes that Thomas Alcocke was slaine comming on his way towards me. Then the king Obdolocan vnderstanding of his death, demaunded whether he had euer a brother. Some said I was, some saide I was not his brother. When this fell out, your worshipps had no other seruant there but mee among those heathen people. Who hauing such a summe of goods lying vnder my handes, and seeing how the Russes sent their goods with as much hast as they might to the sea side, and hauing but foure men to sende our wares to the sea side, I vsed such diligence, that within two dayes after Thomas Alcocke was slaine, I sent in company with the Russes goods, all your worshipps goods with a Mariner, William Augustt, and a Swethen, for that they might the safer arriue at the seaside, being safely layd in. All which goods afterwards arriued in Russeland in good condition, Master Glouer hauing the receipt of all things which I sent then out of those parties into Russeland. Concerning my selfe, I remained after I had sent the goods into Russeland sixe weekes in Shammaki, for the recouery of such debts as were owing, and at last with much trouble recouered to the summe of fiue hundreth rubbles or there about, which M. Glouer receiued of me at my comming to Mosco, and all such goods as I brought with me out of Keselbash, as by a note of my hand that hee hath may appeare. Also he hauing the receipt of all such goods as I sent into Russeland by the seuen named, he then had that voyage in venter of his owne better then an hundreth rubbles, one Richard Iohnson twentie rubles, one Thomas Petre fiftie rubles, one Euan Chermisin a Tartar twentie rubles. All these had their returne: M. Glouer allowed himselfe God knoweth howe, I being in Persia in your worshipps affaires.

Thomas Alcocke slaine in the way betweene Leuuacta and Shammaki.

Keselbash, as Iesselbash.

And whereas he saith, the Emperour had but for his part a dobble, as farre as I can see, knowe what the wares cost in those partes, hee had treble. If they gaue him so much wares, all charges turned to your worshipps, as well of the Emperours as of their owne returnes. I haue so wen

sowen the seede, and other men haue gathered the haruest: I haue trauailed both by lande and by water full many a time with a sorrowfull heart, aswell for the safegarde of their goods as yours, how to frame all things to the best, and they haue reaped the fruites of my trauaile. But euer my prayer was to God, to deliuer mee out of those miseries which I suffered for your seruice among those heathen people. Therefore knowing my duetie which I haue done, as a true seruant ought to do, I beseech your worships (although I haue but small recompence for my seruice,) yet let me haue no wrong, and God will prosper you the better.

Gillan in Persia.

Also, to informe your worships of your Persian voyage what I iudge: it is a voyage to bee followed. The king of Gillan, whereas yet you haue had no traffique, liueth al by marchandise: and it is neere Casbin, and not past six weekes trauaile from Ormus, whither all the spices be brought: and here, (I meane at Gillan) a trade may be established: But your worships must send such men as are no riotous liuers, nor drunkards. For if such men goe, it will be to your dishonour and great hinderance, as appeared by experience the yeere 1565. when as Richard Iohnson went to Persia, whose iourney had bene better stayed then set forward. For whereas before wee had the name among those heathen people to be such marchants as they thought none like in all respects, his vicious liuing there hath made vs to be counted worse then the Russes.

Againe, if such men trauaile in your affaires in such a voyage, you shall neuer know what gaine is to be gotten. For how can such men implay themselues to seeke the trade, that are inclined to such vices? or howe can God prosper them in your affaires? But when a trade is established by wise and discreet men, then will it be for your worships to traffique there, and not before: for aduisage or market made euil at the first, is the occasion that your worships shal neuer vnderstand what gaine is to be gotten thereby hereafter.

1565. ## The thirde voyage into *Persia*, begun in the yeere 1565. by *Richard Iohnson*, *Alexander Kitchin*, and *Arthur Edwards*.

A letter of *Arthur Edwards* to *M. Thomas Nicols*, Secretarie to the worshipful company trading into *Russia* and other the North parts, concerning the preparation of their voyage into *Persia*.

Iaraslaue a towne vpon the riuer of Volga.

MAster Nicols, my bounden duetie remembred, with desire of God for the preseruation of you and yours: you shall vnderstand that the second of March I was sent by M. Thomas Glouer (your Agent) vnto Iaraslaue, appointed to receiue such goods as should come from Vologhda, as also such kinde of wares as should be bought and sent from Mosco by your Agent, and M. Edward Clarke, thought meete for your voyage of Persia. And further, I was to prouide for biscuit, beere, and beefe, and other victuals, and things otherwayes needful according to aduise. Thus I remained here vntil the comming of your Agent, which was the 12. of May, who taried here three dayes, to see vs set forwards on our voyage, and then departed towards Colmogro, hauing appointed (as chiefe for your voyage of Persia) Richard Iohnson. For my part I am willing, as also haue bene & shalbe content to submit my selfe vnder him, whom the Agent shall appoint, although he were such a one as you should thinke in some respects vnmeete. Thirtie two packes of carseis are all of that kinde of cloth that we shall haue with vs. The other 18. packs that should haue gone, were sold in Mosco. What other goods are shipped for our voyage, you shall vnderstand by your Agents letters. Whereas Edward Clarke (being an honest man) was appointed Agent for Persia, as one for those parts more fit then any I do know here, God hath taken him vnto his mercie, who departed this present life the 16. of March last past. I wished of God for my part he had liued: for my desire was in his company to haue trauailed into

Richard Iohnson chiefe of the third voyage into Persia.

A barke of 30. tunnes made at Iaraslaue 1564. to passe the Caspian sea.

Persia. Your barke or craer made here for the riuer of Volga and the Caspian sea is very little, the burthen of 30. tunnes at the most. It is handsomly made after the English fashion: but I thinke it too litle for your goods and prouision of victuals. If the worshipful company would send hither a Shipwright, being skilfull to make one of the burden of 60. tunnes or more, drawing but sixe foote water at the most when it is laden, I thinke it should be profitable. For if your other goods would not lade the same, here be Marchants that would bee glad and faine to giue great fraight to lade their goods with vs, whereby your charges would be much lessened: And so it may happen, the wages of your men hired here may be saued, and your seruants and goods in far greater assurance: for their boates here are dangerous to saile with and to passe the Caspian sea. There be Carpenters here that will doe well ynough hauing one to instruct them. Your wares bought here, and orders taken for those that goe for your voyage of Persia are yet vnknowen vnto me: wherefore I cannot (as I would at this present) write to you thereof. Yet, (as you do know it is

it was the Gouernors mind I should be acquainted with greater affaires then these. Howbeit I doubt not but I shall be informed of them that are appointed, and all things shall be bought when they shall see time and haue more laisure. Thus in hast (as appeareth) I commit you and yours into the hands of almightie God; who preserue you in perfect health with increase of worship. From Ierusalaue the 15. of May 1565.

By yours to command here or elsewhere during life. *Arthur Edwards.*

Another letter of the said M. *Arthur Edwards*, written the 26. of April 1566. in *Shamaki* in *Media*, to the right worshipful Sir *Thomas Lodge* Knight and Alderman: and in his absence to M. *Thomas Nicols*, Secretarie to the right worshipfull companie trading into Russia, Persia, and other the North and East partes, touching the successe of *Richard Iohnson* in the third voiage into *Persia*. 1566

WOrshipfull Sir, my bounden duetie remembred, with heartie prayer vnto God for the preseruation of you and yours in perfect health with increase of worship. It may please you that my last letter I sent you was from Astracan the 26 of July 1565. From whence Richard Iohnson, my selfe, and Alexander Kitchin, departed as the 30 of the same. And by meanes of contrary windes, it was the 23 of August before we came to our desired port named Nazauoe. There, after we had gotten your goods on land, with much labour and strength of men, as also windlesses deuised and made, we haled your barke ouer a barre of beach or peeble stones into a small Riuer, sending your ships apparell with other things to an house hired in a village thereby. And as soone as we might get camels, being the 1ift of September we departed thence, and came to this towne of Shamaki the 11. of the same: and the 17. day following, we presented vnto Abdollocan the king of this countrey, one timber of Sables, one tunne or nest of siluer cups parsill gilt, three Mozles teeth, 4. Arshines of skarlet, 3. pieces of karsis, with 40. red fores. They departed from Astracan the 30. of July 1565. September. Presents to the king Abdolocan.

He receiued our presents with giuing vs thanks for our good wils, demanding if M. Ienkinson were in good health, and whether he would returne into these parts againe. He willed vs also himselfe to sit downe before him the distance of a quoits cast from his tent, where he sate with diuers of his counsaile and nobilitie, sending vs from his table such meate as was before him: And after certaine talke had with vs, he sayd, if he might perceiue or know any maner of person to doe vs any wrong, he would punish them in example of others, whereby we should liue in quietnesse, and haue no cause to complaine, giuing vs a litle house for the time, vntill a better might be prouided in such place as we should thinke most meete, neuer willing vs to rise or depart, vntill such time as we of our selues thought it conuenient. At the taking of our leaue, hee willed vs to put our whole minds and requests in writing, that he might further vnderstand our desires. But while we were about to doe so, God tooke this good king our friend out of this present life the 2. of October past. The want of him hath bene the cause that as yet wee cannot receiue certaine debts. Howbeit, we doubt not but we shall recouer all such summes of money as are owing vs for this voyage. As for Thomas Alcocks debts they are past hope of recouerie, which had not bene lost if the king had liued. We trust in the place of him, God will send as friendly a king towards vs: who by report (and as we be credibly informed,) shall bee his sonne named the Mursay: who since the death of his father, at our being with him, promised to shew vs more friendship then euer we found: God grant the same. A house giuen our men in Shamaki by the king. The death of Abdollocan the 2. of October 1565. Mursap the new king of Persia.

Great troubles haue chanced in these parts. Of those which were of the old kings counsell or bare any rule about him in these quarters, some are in prison, some are pinched by the purse, and other sent for vnto the Shaugh. These troubles haue partly bene the let that wares were not sold as they might, to more profite. Your Agent Richard Iohnson bought foure horses, minding to haue sent to Casbin Alexander Kitchin, whom God tooke to his mercy the 23. of October last: and before him departed Richard Dauis one of your Mariners, whose soules I trust the Lord hath receiued to his mercy. We are now destitute of others to supply their roumes. Foure Mariners were few enough to saile your barke, whereof at this present we haue but one, whose name is William Smith, an honest yong man, and one that doeth good seruice here. For want and lacke of Mariners that should know their labours, we all were like to be cast away in a storme. For all the hyoad side of our barke lay in the water, and we had much adoe to recouer it, but God of his mercy deliuered vs. Mariners here may doe you good seruice all the winter otherwayes: and merchants here will be gladder to ship their goods in vs giuing good fraight. One merchant at this present is content to pay 20. rubbles for twentie camels lading fraight to Astracan. Such barkes as must passe these seas may not draw aboue fiue foote of water, because that in many places The death of Alexander Kitchin the 23. of October 1565. The Caspian sea very shoald in diuers places.

ces are very shallow waters. We mind hereafter to make the Russian boates more strong, and they shall serue our turnes very well.

And whereas some in times past tooke great paines, trauell and care, and could not haue their desire in the getting of the Shaughs letters of priuiledge: Now, I trust (with Gods helpe) they may be obtained: which being had, will be beneficiall to the company, and great quietnes to those that shal remaine here, although heretofore things haue chanced ill, as the like in other countries hath bene. But I doubt not, this priuiledge once gotten and obtained, we shall liue in quietnesse and rest, and shall shortly grow into a great trade for silkes both raw and wrought, with all kind of spices and drugs, and other commodities here, as to M. Anthonie Ienkinson is well knowen, who (I doubt not) hath long agoe throughly aduertised the Companie thereof.

The murthering of Thomas Alcock.

The trueth of the slaughter of Thomas Alcock your seruant, is not certainly knowen. Some thinke it was by the meanes of a noble man, with whom your sayd seruant was earnest in demanding of your debts: vpon whose words he was so offended, that he procured his death. But other doe thinke verily, that in riding from the Court without companie, false knaues lay in waite, thinking he had much about him, and so slew him. I doubt not though this misfortune hath chanced, that things shall come well to passe, and that we shall be better beloued when we shall be more knowen.

Honest merchants are glad of our being here, and seeke to grow in acquaintance with vs, being glad to further vs in that they may, I haue spoken in our fauours to the chiefest of this Countrey: one being a noble man, with whom your Agent and I are entred into friendship, whose at this time in great fauour with the Shaugh. He hath here and in other places of these parts set a good stay in things since the kings death: he is well knowen to M. Ienkinson, his name is Cozamomet. Also another Duke named Ameddin-beck is our great friend: And his sister is the Shaughes wife. These two haue promised your Agent by their lawe, not onely to procure to get the Shaughes priuiledge, but also that I shall haue the debts paied me of those that went from hence to Casbin, if we would send one with them. In consideration whereof, I was vpon short warning (for want of a better) appointed by your Agent M. Richard Iohnson, all excuses laied apart, presently to put my selfe in readinesse, and to depart in company with these noblemen: with charge, when God should send me to Casbin, to vse my discretion with their aduise, for the recouering of your debts and priuiledge. I shall haue with mee one interpreter and two bought seruants: one of which partly vnderstandeth this tongue, and may be put in trust whatsoeuer should become of me. I haue receiued 6. tumens in ready money, 200. shaughs is a tumen, reckoning euery shaugh for sixe pence Russe. I haue further receiued two timbers of Sables, one to be sold, the other to bee giuen to Thomas the Shaugh: and haue order further to giue as I shall see good to those that shall further my suite, and as occasion serueth. And forasmuch as I am commanded to go, I shall willingly do my best, putting my trust in God that he will send me well to speed in this iourney.

Cozamomet a noble man that fauoured our nation.

The value of a tumen.

For all kind of wares bought or sold, you shal throughly be aduertised by your Agent Richard Iohnson, whose reckonings or accompts at no hands I might see or be priuie vnto. Your barsels were good and well sorted, they are and will be sold from 150. shaughs, to 160. the piece. Two hundred pieces were sold vnder, that needed not: one 100. pieces at 146. and 147. the piece but more would haue bene giuen, if circumspection had bene vsed. They were sold to those noble men aforesayd, when as yet it was not knowen that I should haue gone with them. They may stand vs much in stead, as they haue promised vs their good wils in that they may doe. There is at this time bought for England, 11. packes of rawe silke, 25. and 26. batmans being in euery packe: The batman being 7. pound, which may be 6. pound and a halfe of English waight, being bought here from 66. to 70. shaughes the batman. It is fine and good, litle course at this time was to be had. And where course silke might be had being at Grosin, we could not send thither for that time was neglected at the first. When wee shall haue lodgers here to remaine in Sommer, we may buy it at the first hand of the countrey people that bring it to sell hither, and to other places. I would to God the Companie could find the meanes to haue a vent to make sales for the one halfe that we may buy here. The Companie may haue for 30. or 40. thousand pounds yerely. And as appeareth by your Agents wordes being at Varas, he and others sawe there so great abundance, that by report of diuers, you may bestow (if it were not for the Turkes) for a three hundred thousand pounds: besides silke of all colours died in graine, bound vp in pound waights. I thinke 15. of our ounces to their pound waight, and here sold for 23. shaughs, at 6. d. the shaugh may be 11. s. 6. pence.

What a batman is.

Varas a great mart for silke.

From Astracan in 7. or 8. dayes, wee may saile with our barke to a place named Gilan: the which place in time to come, (I thinke) shall serue our purpose best to goe vnto. Alom is there

Gilan 7. dayes sailing from Astracan. Alom.

good cheape, being brought from thence hither to Shamaki, and sold here for two bills their batman, which may be 5. pence in our money: and so I haue bought to bee sent home 223. batmans for example. And at Gilan there is rawe silke enough for the companies stocke. I beleeue, if any great store of wares be sent from you, that must be the place: & from thence a man may trauell in 4. dayes to Casbin, and there make quicke and better sales, at which place your commodities are to be sold. For there be the chiefe and best merchants, and diuers other cities round about, to wit, Teueris, Ardouil, and Casthan, being the heart of the countrey, where there is more ciuilitie and merchants are better vsed. Concerning this point I haue inquired of diuers merchants both Russes and others that haue bene in those parts, and found them all agreeing in one tale, and perfite the same to be true, and that all kind of wares come from thence into these parts. And from Casbin to Ormus, is about 30. daies trauelling with camels. I haue written the prices of wares in my letter to the gouernour both for spices and some drugs which I do know.

Ollan 4 dayes iourney from Casbin.

From Casbin to Ormus a moneths trauel with camels.

Also you shall vnderstand here is plentie of pelt for to wilkaues. I caused three horse loades to be bought vs for to know the truth: but they were cut out of season this moneth of April, the sap being in them. Three moneths I neuer left speaking to the Countrey men to bring some. Your Agent will send some home for example.

This day being the 26. of April I departed towards Casbin: God giue me a good houre and well to speed, with a merry heart in returning againe, as my hope is I shall. I haue written my mind to M. Giouer your Agent, what Russian wares I thinke best to be bought for this Countrey, and to send some one hither that hath the Russe tongue, for we haue need. And the companie shall do well hereafter in taking of seruants to be sent hither, to see that they be such as haue discretion, and be something broken in the world, and seene in the trade of merchandise, and one (if they can get some such) as can speake the Portingall tongue, may do them as good seruice, as those that shall be here two yeeres before him: for then we may buy a slaue that can speake this language and the Portingal tongue also, which shall then interprete vnto vs in all your secret doings, not making the Russes privy: for they are sory that we doe trade into these parts, for we are better beloued then they are: because they are giuen to be drunkards, they are much hated of these people. It is to be wished that none should serue your worships in these parts that be giuen to that kind of vice: And that your chiefe Agent and Factor should be able to rule and gouerne families, that no dishonestie should be imputed to him and vs. By his euill vsage he paied here 24. rubbles, being in this Countrey 4. tumens for a boy, that he was charged to haue conueied away from a Tesicke one of this countrey men, who willed him to sweare that he knew not where the boy was become, and he should not pay it. If he were honest he might do your worships good seruice because of his Russian tongue.

The secret doings of the Moscouia company.

Your London reds are not to be sent hither, for they will not giue aboue 18. shaughes their arshine. Here be reds of more orient colour, being Venice die. The people are giuen much to weare cloth: the common people specially weare karseis, and the merchants of more wealth weare broad cloth. You shall doe well to send fiue or sixe broad clothes, some blackes, pukes, or other sad colours, that may be affoorded at 20. shaughes the arshine, and not aboue. It is here reported that King Philip hath giuen the Turkes a great ouerthrow at Malta, and taken 70. or 80. of his chiefe captains.

Orient reds of Venice die.

Thus withing I had more time to write, I pray you to beare with this my scribled letter, and after you haue red it, that M. Nicols may haue a sight thereof.

By your seruant to command,

Arthur Edwards.

Commodities to be caried out of England into Persia, *with their prizes there.*

1. Karseis are sold there for 180. shaughes: so that a karsey is sold there in Persia for foure pound ten shillings: for euery shaugh is sixe pence English, and euery Bill is two pence halfepeny English, and in Russe money three pence. A shaugh is 6.d. English.
2. Tinne is sold in Persia for 14. and 18. shaughes the batman. The batman containing as I haue mentioned before.
3. Vaall is at 10. and 12. shaughes the batman.
4. Red cloth fine, at 25. and 30. shaughes the paru.
5. Copper at 20. and 25. shaughes the batman.

Commodities

Commodities to be brought out of Persia for England.

1 Raw silke at 60. shaughs ℔ batman.
2 Pepper at 32. shaughs ℔ batman.
3 Ginger at 18. & 20. shaughs ℔ batman.
4 Nutmegs at 30. shaughs the batman.
5 Synamome at 4. shaughs the great batman. The great batman is 12. li. English.
6 Allom at 2. bists and a halfe the batman and lesse.
7 Rice at halfe a bist the batman.
8 Gals at halfe a bist the batman.
9 Cloues at 40. shaughs the batman.
10 Yew for bow staues, at

A letter of M. *Arthur Edwards*, written the 8. of August 1566. from the towne of *Shamaki* in *Media*, to the right worshipfull the Gouernours, Consuls, Assistants, and generalitie of the companie of Russia, &c. Shewing his accesse vnto the Emperour of Persia, his conference with him, his obtaining of a priuiledge, with diuers other good obseruations.

His arriuall at Casbin the 25. of May.

RIght worshipfull Sirs, my bounden dutie remembred, with most humble commendations and like requeſt to God for the preseruation of your good worships, with the rest of the companie, &c. It may please you to vnderstand, that the last letter which I sent you from hence was of the 26. of April of this present yeere by Richard Iohnson at my departure towards Casbin: to which citie I came the 25. of May following, not slacking any day, houre, nor moment, to procure and make friends for the speedie bringing me before the presence of the Shaugh, being the 29. day of the same moneth brought before him, with whose maiestie I was in talke (as I thinke) two houres. He willed me twise to come neerer him, demanding what were my requests: and hauing heard them, he promised me his gracious letters. Afterwards he called me twise againe to come neerer him, and talked with me of our Queenes maiestie and Countrey, and what commodities we had, and what other commodities we desired: and then of other countries adioyning to vs and their commodities, as also of king Philip, what ouerthrow he gaue the Turks at the siege of Malta. And how long we had traded into Russeland and Moscouia, and in what space we might saile out of England into Russeland, & how many weekes trauell it is from Colmogro to Astracan: and then came to discourse of Russeland, and what townes the Emperour had wonne, &c.

Conference & demands of the Shaugh.

All sorts of cloth to be sent, specially Westerne dozens died into skarlet.

Broad clothes much talked of in Persia.

Much Venice cloth worne in Persia.

Hauing vnto me himselfe most of our commodities. In the end he willed that your worships should send him of all sorts of clothes, but of one especially which maidens do make (as he sayd:) He named it Karengi. I thinke it is Westerne dozens died into scarlets. Time will not permit me to write at large the conference which I had with his maiestie. It was strange to his people (knowing our religion) to see me so long in talke with him, willing his Secretarie before mee to write what he was desirous of: to wit, of London clothes, three or foure of all sorts for example, being well shorne and dressed. Violets in graine and fine reds be most worne, but other good colours will away, when they shall see them. I wore a garment of London russet, being much esteemed. You shall doe well to send such sorts as be liuely to the sight, and some blacks for womens garments, with some Orenge colours and tawneis. Here is much broad cloth worne. They talke much of London clothes, and they that know the wearing, are desirous of them before the cloth of the womens making, for they find it nothing durable. For when it commeth to weare on the three, it renteth like paper. Here is much Venice cloth worne, being crompliked a yard and a halfe broad, and sold here from 24. to 30. shaughs their arshine, being longer by two inches then the Russe arshine is. I wish also that you send some good chamlets & veluets died in graine, with purple colours & fine reds: because these are most worne. Also some blacks with other colours: some cloth of gold, tissue & bocky, some veluets wrought with gold, with sattins and damaskes, most purple and reds of all sorts. You may not forget to send some Western karseis, to wit, dozens, which be thicked well, and close shut in the weauing, being died into fine reds, and some skarlets: for I thinke there is no such cloth for their caps.

The second admission to the Shaughs presence, the 29. of June 1566. at which time he receiued the priuiledge.

Your worships shall vnderstand, that after my first departure from the presence of the Shaugh I neglected no time in daily attendance on them, who had my priuiledge in writing, that I might haue it in readinesse at such time as I should againe bee called before the presence of the Shaugh, which was the 29. of June last. I was in apparell that he gaue vnto me, with other garments mine interpreter, and one of your seruants, and then I receiued your letters or priuiledge, according to my desire, sealed and firmed with the Shaughs owne hand. Praysed bee God who hath wrought with me, and for me, in all my doings.

The 29. of June is one of their chiefe festiuall daies, so that all his nobilitie was there pre-

with two Ambassadors in company with his maiestie, who sayd vnto me that if my letters were not to my mind, in time to come they should be mended. Whereupon I made my reuerence, and gaue his highnesse most humble and heartie thanks, saying, that with as much speed as might bee, our Queenes Maiestie should vnderstand of his goodnesse towardes her Merchants, which I thought would write their letters of request vnto his Highnes, in such forme & order as by them should be thought meete and requisite for their good assurance in the trade of merchandizes: who replied with these words; when wee shall see their reasonable requests, we will shew them our further good will, and so I departed. The Shaughs promise to increase the priuiledge.

Since the receiuing of the Shaughs letters, I haue eaten in company of good Dukes and others, who before would not come neere me. And euery day some would come to my Shop, and eate and drinke with me out of mine owne dish. Likewise in riding from Casbin hither, on the way when I sate downe to dinner, they would come and eate with mee vnbidden, when I wished them further off: for I spared them that, which gladly I would haue eaten my selfe. I doubt not but we shall liue here from henceforth in quietnes: for now in all places where I come, I am friendly vsed with the best.

I was asked by the Shaugh if you were able to bring him yeerly one hundred thousand pieces of karsies, and clothes. And I answered him, saying, your worships were able to furnish his countrey with two hundred thousand. Whereat his highnesse reioyced: for the Turkes Ambassador the last yere, as diuers haue told me, did put the Shaugh in despaire, saying, that the Turke would not permit any cloth to be brought into his countrey.

There is a citie in Syria named Aleppo, wherein continually are many Venetians dwelling, besides other that come yeerely and there buy wools, gals, tallow, saffron, skins, cotton wooll, and other wares, and great store of spices. Also the Armenians yeerly receiue at the Venetians hands, karsies in barter for raw silks, giuing sometimes 60. pieces of karsies for 70. bales of silke of this country, and 40. pieces for Grosin silke. And karsies sold commonly for ready money in Aleppo, at 11. and 12. duckets the piece, (the ducket being here worth 12. shillings) may cost the first penny 132. and 144. Shaughs a karsie. By report it is one moneths trauel from this towne of Shamaky to Aleppo, and from thence to Tripolis, six dayes iourney: and from Tripolis to Venice by water, a moneth or fiue weekes sailing. As I learne, from hence to Venice may easily be trauelled in lesse then three moneths. Therefore I wish your worships to procure some trustie and assured friend there, to whom from hence letters may be sent. For I can haue them here to put in sureties to deliuer my letters, and to bring answere. If I had any other here with me, I would nothing haue doubted to haue brought you the Shaughs letters that way.

Aleppo a citie of great trade.

Armenians barter with the Venetians

The distance from Shamakie to Aleppo.

The Armenians and other are desirous to barter with vs, giuing like for karsies, and also will serue vs of all kind of spices, we giuing them sufficient warning to fetch it in the Indies, and will deliuer it vs in Shamaky at these prizes.

Armenians and other, desirous to barter silke and spices for karsies.

Pepper this townes batman for 18. Shaughs, euery Shaugh is sixe pence.
Maces large for 40. Shaughs, and 45. the batman.
Cloues for 40. Shaughs the batman.
Nutmegs for 16. and 18. Shaughs the batman.
Sinamom for 40. Shaughs the batman.

I doubt not but there will be profite and good done in spices, with drugs and other like in time.

From Casbin to Ormus is six weeks trauel, and from hence to Casbin is 16. dayes with camels laden: but if one trauell with a good Mule vnladen, it may be gone in seuen or eight dayes. And I thinke to Ormus and other places, may be trauelled in like order and proportion, with camel vnladen. But here in all places as men trauel, they must carie their owne prouision on horses, which they are to buy, and thus they trauell but a footepase.

The Shaugh himselfe is desirous to bargaine with you, who will giue money, silke, and other wares as we will, and take our wares as we may afford them, willing me himselfe to bring such things as we might gaine by him. The Armenians by report, and as I perceiue, bring from Aleppo yeerely, foure, fiue, and six thousand pieces of karsies and clothes, besides those which other men bring. If your Worships might procure and find vent or sales for raw silke, and silke died or graine, besides other silkes wrought and made here, by which, profite may be made: then you might send a great substance of wares hither. But I feare you shall be hindered by the Venetians, that they may: for I know it will grieue them that you doe trade into these partes: for in short time it shall cleane alter their trade, and hinder the sales of their clothes in Aleppo and other places adioyning. You shall vnderstand that 60. batmans of silke is a Mules lading: and as it is reported, one village of the Armenians yeerly carieth 400. and 500. Mules lading of silke to Aleppo, and bringeth thence 800. or a thousand Mules laden with karsies & Venice clothes. And 18.

The Shaugh desirous to bargaine for our commodities.

pieces

2000. pieces of karfles to be fent into Perfia.

pieces of karfles are a Pules lading. But I wifh you not to fend aboue 2000. pieces of karfles, although I haue bene willed to write for more. If I might haue had any vnderftanding what your Worfhips had written for in your letters fent this yeere, I fhould in this my letter haue bene better able to haue anfwered you. They which be now in Aftracan, might haue written fome thing vnto me hither, if it had pleafed them, or elfe haue fent me fuch letters of mine, as I hope fome of my friends haue written to me: for here are arriued eight weekes paft, two boates with wares and Ruffes, by whom they might haue written, had it bene but 3. or 4. lines. They promifed the Ruffes to write, but promife was not kept. I would be forry that any boat fhould depart out of thefe partes, and not write vnto them, waping how all things ftand. I heare they haue bought a boat, which coft 40. rubbles, and fhipped certaine wares to come hither. God fend them in fafetie. I do tarie their comming, or els I had thought to haue come to Aftracan in thofe boates which departed hence lately.

He departed from Cafbin the 15. of July.

The fifteenth of July laft, I departed from Casbin, and came to this towne the 29. of ꝑ ſame. And the fourth of Auguſt I found meanes to arreſt the falſeſt knaue in this countrey, to wit, the Cuſtomer for 22. tumens, and 100. fhaughs, (200. fhaughs is a tumen.) I haue cauſed him to put in ſuerties for his foorth comming at all times, what ende I ſhall haue with him, God knoweth, the debt will be recouered, but not yet, for he muſt pay the Shaugh 1000. rubbles. Theſe partes as yet are in no ſtay for lacke of a Gouernour or head to rule, which I thinke ſhall bee the Murſey. Within 5. or 6. dayes we ſhall know, for it is time, becauſe men are in feare to trauell for being robbed. If there were a prince placed, I ſhould ſoone get in your debts, for they dare not diſobey the Shaughs letters or priuiledge: wherein he hath not onely written that our debts ſhall be paied, but alſo that we ſhall be taken heed to, ſo as we need not to doubt (God willing) in time to come, to be here as wel vſed as we are in Ruſſeland. The bils of debts that Rich. Iohnſon left with me, had neither the parties name nor ſumme of mony in two of them, and in other bils but his owne name. If I had not vſed diſcretion in cauſing to be written in our priuiledge, that ſuch debtes as are owing, ſhould be paied any of vs in the abſence of the other, ſome men would not haue paied one penie, but onely to Richard Iohnſon, who hath written but his owne name onely in the bils. I receiued in Casbin of Foracan in part of 29. tumens, 300. fhaughs in money: the reſt he will deliuer me here in ſilke, and this is all that I haue receiued to this day. And as for Hawrambecks twelue tumens, I make accompt, that if I could ride to ſpeake with him, I ſhould be paid in money and wares. Touching Ackons money by meanes of Duke Ameddinbeck, who firſt owed the debt, becauſe they meant not to pay a penie, he did rather ſeeke to hinder my ſute then to further mee, but I found out a preſent remedie: for God ſent me friends that were alwayes about the Shaugh, and daily put on his apparell, who opened all my ſute, and brought mee to the preſence of the Shaugh before that Cozomomet ſawe the Shaughs eyes. But Cozomomet in the end was my friend: for he was ſent for, and declared vnto the Shaugh what good merchants we were, vſing trueth in all our doings, and how we were in great fauour with the Emperour of Ruſſia, and what good commodities wee might bring into his Countrey, with other talke. And daily he was ſent for to the Shaugh about the affaires in thoſe partes, for no man was able to aduiſe the Shaugh of the ſtate and affaires of thoſe Countreys ſo much as hee was. He tolde your Worſhips ſeuen tumens and 48. fhaughs, which was not all this time to be gotten at his hands: for hee was at great charges in riding to Casbin, and giuing great gifts ſince his comming, which he twiſe declared vnto me. I feeling his griefe became Phyſicion to eaſe his paine, and forgaue him his debt aboue ſayd, in recompence of ten pieces of karſies, that were promiſed him by Richard Iohnſon and me, to giue him at the comming of our goods, in conſideration that he ſhould with ſpeed doe what lay in him, to diſpatch me away: for I perceiue he procured rather that did helpe me in my ſute to delay me of, till time he had his purpoſe. I neuer was in quiet, till I had the Princes priuiledge, and had got mee out of Casbin: for victuals, and all other things are very deare there, becauſe they are brought thither from farre off. As for all other ſmall debts (which may be about 7. tumens) when our Merchants are come hither, we ſhall ſeeke to get them in as we may. I wiſh your Worſhips to ſend ſome bullion to bee coyned here, it will pleaſe the prince there, and be profitable to you. Silke is better cheape by two or three ſhaughs the batman, then it was the laſt yeere. You ſhall vnderſtand that I haue written two letters of all my proceedings, which I ſent from Casbin long ſince: to wit, the 24. and 29. of June laſt, by one of your ſeruants to Gilan, there to take ſhip and to goe to Aſtracan, and to deliuer the ſame vnto your Factors, which might haue bene to their quietnes and mine, long agoe. But I am right ſorie to heare ſince my comming hither, that he hath plaied the loitering merchant in Gilan, not going in thoſe boats that went firſt, but taried for the laſt boats. But I will teach him, to the example of other, how he ſhall make haſte hereafter in ſuch affaires. The karſies which you ſent laſt, being

Rich. Johnſons great negligence.

Cozomomet was Arthur Edwards friend to the Shaugh.

Victuals and all things deare at Casbin.

being bought of M. Quarles, were good and full lengths and well sorted. The Princes Ambassador of Gilan was in Casbin, at my being there. I hope in God, if I remaine here, and may goe to Gilan, to obtaine for your Worships the like priuiledge as the kings hand there also. For I haue something moued the matter, being put in such comfort, that I doubt not the getting thereof with small charges, which I had done at this time if I had had other here with me to put in trust: for from Casbin to Gilan is but 5. dayes riding, which Countrey may be profitable to your Worships. There is in that Prouince good store of silke, better cheape, & better in goodnesse then this countrey silke is. Also great store of Alom, being there sold this townes batman, for one bill and a half. I haue made reckoning, al charges borne from hence to Colmogro, & from thence fraight into England at three pounds the tunne, al charges accounted, will not stand you in aboue 18. and 20. shillings the hundreth. You haue yeerly by report two or three hundred tunnes lading. Other commodities there for England I heare not of. As for gals here to bee bought, there is no profit to be done by them. They be brought from Aleppo, and sold here not vnder 3. or 4. shaughs their batman, being six pounds English waight. Graine that you die scarlet withall is worth the batman. Your Worships may send some portion of mony, if you may buy, as I thinke you may, for 12. and 13. s. a pound the berries, so you shall gaine both in the price and waight. If one Englishman more had bene here with me, to whom I might haue deliuered our bils of debts and other things, whatsoeuer should haue chanced of me, I would then haue become seruant to mine Interpreter, and so haue gone to Ormus and Aleppo, which both lyeth on the borders of this countrey, being the chiefe part townes, whereunto from all places merchants resort. And thus would I haue spent 4. or 5. months in trauelling for further knowledge of things for to haue certified your Worships of. I hope in God to vse things in such order, that yeerly you shall haue returne of your goods from hence, as you haue forth of Russeland, and in those ships. For if we may, as I doubt not with diligence, prouide to make sales in time, and with speed receiue silke at the Shaughs hand, and other mens, that it may be sent from hence to be in Astracan at the beginning of Aprill, from whence it may be sent to Colmogro in three moneths and lesse, and there to be ready with the rest of your goods by the end of June for your ships to receiue, that will be time inough. This I doubt not to bring to passe within a yeere or two, when we are throughly setled in these parts, and better known. Moreouer you shall vnderstand, that at my last being in the presence of the Shaugh, it was said to mee that M. Anthonie Ienkinson did proffer to take all the rawe silke in those parties, deliuering cloth and other commodities for the same. I assure you there is in those parts to be had three or foure thousand horses lading, euery horse load being 50. or 60 batmans, beside silke of Grosin. Great abundance of silke at times is sent out of these parts, to 4. or 5. hundred horse lodes at a time by the Turkes, who bring great store of siluer to be coined, to wit, Dollars at ten shaughs the piece. The Hungarie Ducket is at 12. shaughs. And hauing money in readines at the time of the yeere, they buy silke the better cheape, when the countrey men bring it first to be sold. If your Worships may bargaine with the Venetians to take silke at your hands, or otherwise deale with them, I doe not mistrust but to haue at the Shaughs hand fire batmans of silke for two pieces and a halfe of karsies. Your good aduise herein, and in other matters, I trust you will write with conuenient speed. Master Anthonie Ienkinson hath deserued great commendation at all your Worships hands: for the good report of his well and wise doings in those parts, was oftentimes a comfort to me to heare thereof, and some good helpe to me in my procedings. To this day I neuer heard from any of our merchants. God graunt me in health to see your Worships, for I haue had a carefull trauell, with many a sorowfull day and vnquiet sleepes. Neither had I the company of one English person, to whom sometimes I might haue eased my pensiue heart, as God well knoweth, who hath deliuered me from mine enemies. Thus almightie God graunt you in health and wealth long to liue.

The Ambassador of the Prince of Gilan.

Gilan but fiue dayes riding from Casbin.

Gals.

Graine.

Ormus. Aleppo.

M. Anthonie Ienkinsons offer to the Persian.

M. Anthonie Ienkinson commended.

Your humble seruant at commandement during life, *Arthur Edwards.*

Another letter of *Arthur Edwards* written in Astracan the 16. of *Iune, 1567 at his returne in his first voiage out of Persia, to the right worshipfull Company* trading into Russia, Persia, and other the North and Northeast parts.

IT may please your Worships that herein I haue written not onely certaine articles of your priuiledge, but also the Gouernours names, with the Consuls, Assistants and generalitie. Also such commodities as the Prince or Emperour of the Countrey hath written in one of his letters directed to your Worships to be sent him, with other notes which I thought good to be remembred,

The Shaughs letters to the Moscouy company.

bred, as may appeare hereafter following. Your priuiledge is written, graunted, and giuen in the names of these fiue persons following: to wit, sir William Garrard, sir William Chester, gouernours, sir Thomas Lodge, master Anthony Ienkinson, master Thomas Nicols and Arthur Edwards.

1 First, it is granted that you shall pay no maner of customes or tols, any kinde of wayes, now, nor in time comming, vnto his heires after him. And that all English merchants, such as you shall appoint now and hereafter, shall and may passe and repasse into all places of his dominions and other countries adioining in the trade of merchandize, to buy and sell all maner of commodities, with all maner of persons.

2 Item, that in all places where any of our merchants shall haue their resort, or abiding, his chiefe Gouernours, Rulers and Iustices shall take heed vnto vs, being our aide & defence against all euil persons, punishing those that shall do vs any wrong.

3 Item, that for all such debts as shall be owing by any maner of person, iustice shal be done on the partie, and we paid at the day.

4 Item, that no maner of persons of whatsoeuer estate or degree they be of, shall be so hardie as to take any kind of wares, or any gifts, without any leaue and good will.

5 Item, if by chance medley any of our merchants or seruants, as God forbid, should kill any of his subiects, that no part of your goods shall be touched or medled withall, neither any partie but the offendour, and true iustice to bee ministred, and being any of vs, not to suffer without the Princes knowledge and aduise.

6 Item, that all such debts as are now owing, or hereafter shall be, are to be paied vnto any of vs, in the absence of the other, be the partie dead or aliue.

7 Item, that no person returne any kind of wares backe againe, being once bought or sold.

8 Item, that when God shall send your goods to those, presently his people shall helpe vs on land with them.

These articles before written, I trust in God wil content your minds, vntill your farther letters be hitherto written vnto the Prince, who I am assured will graunt your farther reasonable requests, which his maiestie hath promised. For I moued the question, declaring vnto him that I thought your Worships would write your letters of requests, to craue his farther good will, as should be thought meet for your better assurance in the trade of merchandize: you will hardly beleeue what long and gracious talke he had with mee, which I assure you continued two houres, which was strange vnto the people & other merchant strangers. For betwixt euery question that his maiestie moued, when I had answered him, hee would talke with his Nobles and other his seruants, hauing some knowledge of our Westerne parts & commodities, and then againe would demaund other questions. He caused his Secretarie to write the articles before named, in all of his foure letters giuen me (whereof two as I required, are in the Turkish tongue to be sent you.) On the backe side of one, hee hath written what wares his Maiestie would haue you to send him. He held me one houre within night before I departed from him.

These bee the names of the wares or commodities which on the *backe side of one of his letters the* Shaugh *hath written to you to be sent him.*

FIrst, some cloth of Gold, with cloth of Tissue, and cloth of Borky, as Veluets wrought with gold.

Item, good veluets, to wit, crimosins, purples, reds, greenes and blackes. These colours his maiestie requireth, for they are most worne. And though there be some of these wares made in his citie of Cassan, yet nothing like in goodnes, to those that you may procure for him. Small profite I thinke will be in these wares: yet for diuers considerations, as also to satisfie the Princes mind, I wish you to send some, and those that be especiall good.

Item, good damasks and sattins of all sortes, with an hundred pieces of good chamlets, which are worth here 80. shaughs the piece, at fiue pence the shaugh, and those likes to bee of those colours aboue written, to wit, crimosins, purples, reds, greenes, blackes, with some light watchet colours.

Item, three or foure complete harneses that will abide the shot of a handgun with 10. or 12. targets of steele, being good.

Item, ten or twelue good shirts of male being very good or else none, that may abide the shot of an arrow, and two buffe ierkins.

Item, ten or twelue pieces of Westerne karsies, being thicked well and close shut in the weauing, and died into scarlets and fine reds. I thinke there will be no such cloth for noblemens cap[s]

The prince named them *karangies, ſaying, that maidens did make them, & is deſirous of them.

Item, ſix pieces of fine Holland cloth for the Prince, with ſome other for noblemen, of a lower price.

Item, twentie handguns being good, ſome of them with fire locks, and alſo ſix good bags, with locks to trauel withall.

Item 100. buſhes for garments (none made of ſwines haire,) for gifts, and otherwiſe to be ſold.

Item, ſix ſtone bowes that ſhoot leade pellets.

Item, a mill to grind corne in the field as they goe, finely deuiſed: for Cozomomer willed me to write for one to be ſent, to giue the Prince.

Item, the Prince requireth of all ſortes and colours of London clothes. I wiſh you to ſend no leſſe then 40. or 50. for I know they will be ſold to profit, eſpecially ſuch cloth as may be affoorded for 20. ſhaughs the arſhine, which is longer by two of our yardes then Ruſſia arſhine is. Let there be fine ſkarlets, violets in graine, fine reds, blacks, browne bluewes, fource or fiue of euery ſort, for the prince and other lords: the reſt of other colours liuely to the ſight, as London ruſſets, tawnies, lion colours, good liuely greenes, with other, as you ſhall thinke good: for the prince deſireth to ſee of all ſorts, which will be an occaſion that the Venetians and Turkes ſhall bee in leſſe eſtimation then they are: for they themſelues do feare, and ſecretly ſay the ſame. And truely the Princes ſubiects intend to enter into trade with vs for ſpices and other commodities that they were woont to ſell vnto the Venetians and Turkes.

Thus I commit you all to God, who ſend you health with increaſe of worſhip. Written in Aſtracan the 16. of June, 1567.

* 23p the word Karangies, I thinke they meane hatſes.

By your ſeruant during life to command,

Arthur Edwards.

Diſtances of certaine places in Ruſſia.

The way from Saint Nicholas *Baie to Moſco.*

	verſts
To Colmogro	100
To Vſtiug	500
To Torna	250
To Vologhda	250
All by the riuer of Dwina	1100
To Yeraſlaue	180
To Roſtoue	60
To Peraſlaue	60
To Mosko	120
By land Eaſt and Weſt	440

The way from Mosko to Smolensko.

To Moram	300
To Smolensko	200

The way from Mosko to Nouogrod.

To Ottuer	180
To Torzhoke	60
To Wiſnouolloko	60
To Nouogrod	150
Southeaſt and Nozhweſt	450

The way from Nouogrod to Narue.

To Teſeua	50
To the Friers	60
To Yria Niagorod	40
To Narue	15
Southweſt and Northeaſt	165

From Nouogrod to Vobsky, is 180. verſts by Eaſt. verſts

The way from Vobski to Ry in Liefland.

To Newhouſe	50
To Gouen on ꝑ borders.	
To Wenden	
To Trecado	All is 200. verſts
To Newſlot	
To Rie	

The way from Moſco to Aſtracan.

To Coſtrom	
To Niſnouogrod	
To Cazan	
To Aſtracan in all is	2800. verſts

The way from Vologhda to Narue.

To Belozerco	140
To Batag	80
To Witergen	40
To Ladiski	60
To Onega lake	80
To Oher	90
To Narue	180
Southweſt and Northeaſt	770. verſts

To go with a ſmall boat within the land from S. Nicholas *to Wardhouſe.*

To Newnox riuer	
To Ouſca Gouba	
To Lobſhanga	
To Ouſt Naulocki	
To Orlouanos	

To Solitca Monasterie.
To Candelox
To Ouft Colla
To Zhemaker
To Poganna Volocki
To Chibe Nauolocke
To Kegor
} To Wardhouse in all 800. verſts Northweſt and Southeaſt.

To Velcom
To Soyaua
To Coula
To Nendega
To Lampas
To Sloboda
} All is 230. verſts

The way from Colmogro to Mizenske Sloboda, where the Samoeds keep their Mart.

The way to Vromo from Mezamske Sloboda, where the Loſh hides are gotten.

To Vſt Pinnego
To Palango
To Leunona

To Lampas
To Pogorel
To Zapolle
To Vromo
} All is 115. verſts Northeaſt and Southweſt.

The way and diſtances from Saint Nicholas, *to the Caſpian Sea.*

IF you goe ſtraight from Saint Nicholas to the Caſpian Sea, you muſt goe to Vologhda by water, as by the eaſieſt paſſage, and that is accomplished, paſſing day and night, in foureteene dayes and foureteene nights, in boates cut out of a tree: (the boates are called Stroogs) 1100. verſts it is.

By horſe and ſleds in 8. dayes you may paſſe it in Winter. In Summer the way is dangerous by meanes of mariſhes and bogs, and not ſafely then to be paſſed. Then from Vologhda to Yeraſlaue, 180. verſts ouer land. This Yeraſlaue ſtandeth vpon the riuer of Volga, 180. verſts I ſay vntkant from Vologhda.

To the Caſpian ſea are 2700. verſts from Yeraſlaue.
So from S. Nicholas to the Caſpian ſea, are } 3800. 80. verſts.

The iourney from S. Nicholas to Yeraſlaue is accomplished in foureteene dayes by water, and two dayes by land. } 16. dayes.

From thence to Aſtracan men trauell by water in 30. dayes and 30. nights.
So between S. Nicholas and the Caſpian ſea, are } 46. dayes iourney.

There paſſe downe Volga euery Summer, 500. boats great & ſmal, from all the vpper parts of the riuer, whereof ſome be of 500. tunne. They go for Pinerall ſalt and for Sturgeon.

The ſalt lieth in rocks (and is whitiſh red, and in fine ſand) as it were 30. miles from Aſtracan toward the Caſpian ſea. They dig it themſelues and pay nothing for it, but to the prince a penie pood, viz. 40. pound waight.

Fiſhing for Sturgeon for 3. moneths.

The Sturgeon which they call Ocetera is taken fiftie miles on this ſide Aſtracan. Along the riuer the ſpace of 20. miles, they make their bootes in plaine grounds, & fiſh for the ſpace of three moneths, viz. from the end of May till the end of Auguſt, and hauing ſalt they vſe to ſalt them.

The riuer is there 5. or 6. miles broad, but with ſome Iſlands.

The riuer below Yeraſlaue, where it is moſt narow, is a mile broad from ſide to ſide.

The riuer runneth vpon red clay, all woods of birch and oke on the riuer ſides, ſaue about the townes of the fiſhing places.

Dwina from S. Nicholas to Vſtiug runneth all on chalke and ſand: the fiſh are ſweete & fat. The Mene a fiſh with a great head a foot long breedeth about Vologda, and is fat and delicate.

Between Vobsko and Nouogrod, the ſpace of an 180. miles, groweth flaxe: the whole ſoile in length is ſo imploied, and as much in breadth: this is vpon a flat ſoile.

The hempe groweth about Smolensko vpon the Poliſh border, 300. miles in compaſſe: much of the ſoile is ſo imploied.

Of this hempe they bying in Winter to Vologda and Colmogro, and we ſet in worke in making of cables aboue 100. men.

The Engliſhmen in making of cables, ſet on worke a 100. men in Ruſſia.

The Ruſſians do ſpin and hachell it, and the Engliſh carre it in threed and lay the cable. And one cable of thoſe is worth two of Danzick, becauſe the Danzickers put in old cable and rotten ſtuffe, which in fowle weather is found of no ſtrength.

Soſnoua tree, excellent for the cure of the woife.

Soſnoua, a tree that cureth the woife with the ſhauings of the wood, groweth in theſe parts and of the barks they make ropes as big as a mans arme for their boats.

The Samoeds lacking linnen make handkerchiefs and towels of the very wood of this tree.

The wood of this tree is as beaute as hollie, and the shautings rough.

Rose Island in S. Nicholas Baie is full of Roses damaske and red, of violets and wild marie: This Island is neere 7. or 8. miles about, and good pasture, and hath the name of the roses, The description of Rose Island.

The snow here about the midst of May is cleared, hauing bin two moneths in melting, then the ground is made dry within 14. dayes after, and then the grasse is knee high within a moneth. The after September the frost commeth in, the snow is a yard deepe vpon plaine ground. The Island hath Firre and Birch, and a faire fresh spring neere the house built there by the English.

The way discouered by water by vs *Thomas Southam* & *Iohn Sparke*, *from the towne of Colmogro, by the Westerne bottome of the Baie of S.* Nicholas, vnto the citie of Nouogrod in Russia, containing many particulars of the way, and distance of miles, as hereafter foloweth. *Anno 1566.*

WE departed from Colmogro about 10. of the clocke afore noone in a Lodia or Barke, which we hired to bring vs along the coast to a place called Soroka, & in the sayd barke we hired 6. mariners, and a boy to conduct vs to the place before rehearsed.

The Lodia or barke was of the burden of 25. tunnes or thereabout, wherewith we valed downe the riuer of Dwina, the winde being then calme, vnto a monasterie called S. Michael where we were constrained to anker because of a contrary wind which there met vs.

From Colmogro to this monasterie are 50. versts or miles of Russia, at which place we tarried till the 21. day in the morning, and then hauing the wind some what faire, we set saile and departed thence. A verst is but 3. quarters of an english mile.

21 We departed from the monasterie of S. Michael, hauing the wind somwhat faire, and arriued at Rose Island, ouer and against the monasterie of S. Nicholas, the 22. day at 2. of the clocke in the morning, which is 35. miles distant from the monasterie of S. Michael. By reason of contrary wind and tide we were constrained to tary there all that day.

23 We departed from the monasterie of S. Nicholas at 7. of the clocke in the euening, & came to an anker at the Beacons, & continued there vntil halfe an houre past 10. of the clocke, and then set from thence, the wind being South: our course was West vntil 5. of the clock in the morning, when as we came to an anker against Newnox towne, where we continued vntil the 25. day.

The sayd towne of Newnox is from the monasterie of S. Nicholas 35. miles. At this towne Kelwinor Richard Chancellor in his first voyage, with his companie ashipboard were relieued.

25 We departed frō Newnox hauen at one of the clocke in the after noone, the wind at South and Southeast, and our course Northwest and by West.

The point of Tolstick which is the headland before the entrance of Newnox hauen, and the headland of Seusemski lie neere Southeast and by South, Northwest and by North. We came to an anker there this day at 4. of the clock in ꝑ afternoone, being from Newnox hauen 15. miles, where we continued in harbour til the 27. day of the moneth, by reason of contrary winds.

27 We departed from Seusemski in the morning at 5. of the clocke, the wind next at East and by North, and our course Northwest and by West.

The said land of Seusemski & the headland going into Owna riuer lieth East and by South, west and by North, and between them is 25. miles.

This day at Sunne set we came to an Island called Sogisney passing betwirt it & the maine, with the wind at South and by East, our course was West and by South, being 85. miles from Owna riuer.

Being past the said Island 10. miles, the wind came contrary, whereupon we returned to the Island of Sogisney, where we remained vntil the 29. day.

29 The 29. day we departed from Sogisney afore sayd, at 5. of the clocke in the afternoone, the wind at East northeast, & our course was South west & by west, passing by an Island called Anger, being 30. miles from Sogisney, and keeping on our course, we came by the headland of an Island called Abdon, being from the Island of Anger 15. miles, where we found many rocks: amongst them in the night time, and our pilot none of the perfectest, which was contrary to his profession as we found it.

But whosoeuer will trauell that way must either keepe hard aboord the shore, for that there is a channell which goeth along the coast within the rocks, or els giue the headland a birth of 6. miles at the least, and so goe a seaboord all: for there are leages of rocks that lie fiue miles from the headland.

We gaue the headland a birth of 3. miles, notwithstanding there lay two rockes two miles to

ſea boord of vs, ſo that we were incloſed with them, and ſate vpon the higheſt of them: but it pleaſed God to make it calme, and giue vs the day alſo, or els we had miſcaried.

30 We departed from the headland of the Iſland of Abdon, at 4. of the cloche in the morning, directing our courſe Weſt, and at 10. of the cloche before noone, we arriued at a monaſterie named Solofky, which is 15. miles from Abdon.

At this monaſterie we continued vntill the 31. day of this moneth. We had here deliuered vs by the chiefe monkes of the monaſterie, their letter and houſe ſeale, and a ſeruant of theirs to conduct vs ſafely through the dangerous riuer of Owiga.

The people of all thoſe parts are wild, and ſpeake another kind of language, & are for the moſt part all tenants to the monaſterie. The effect of the letter was, that they ſhould be ready to helpe and aſſiſt vs in all dangerous places, and carie our boats and goods ouer land in places needfull, as in deed they did, as hereafter ſhall appeare.

Note, that at our being at the monaſterie, there was no Abbot for the place as then choſen: for 15. dayes before our arriual there, the Abbot was ſent for by the Emperour, and made Metropolitane of the realme, as he now is. The number of monkes belonging to the monaſterie are at the leaſt 200.

31 Wee departed from the monaſterie of Solofky, as is aforeſayde, to a faire ſtone houſe of theirs, which is 5. miles from the monaſterie, lying from it South and by Weſt.

August. 1 We departed from the Stone houſe at 3. of the cloche in the morning: our courſe was Weſt ſouth 60. verſts, and then paſſing betwixt diuers and ſundry rocks, with many ſmall Iſlands round about vs for the ſpace of 20. miles, keeping moſt commonly the ſame courſe ſtill, we then ſhaped a new courſe, and yet ſundry times ſhifting, but we alwayes kept the Southweſt, and neereſt of all South ſouthweſt, vntil we came within two miles of the entrance of the riuer Owiga, where we were to beare in, Weſt and by North.

The riuer Owiga. From the riuer Owiga, to the Iſlands and rocks before mentioned, are 20. miles.

We arriued about 4. of the cloche in the after noone within the riuer of Owiga, at a place named Soroka, at which place we forſooke our barke or Lodia, & continued there in making proviſion for ſmall boates to carie vs vp the riuer vntill the 3. day of the ſame.

3 We departed from Soroka at two of the cloche in the afternoone, with 3. boats and 12. men to rowe, and ſet the foreſaid boates vp the riuer of Owiga, which we hired.

We went this day 7. miles to a place called Oſtroue, where we lay all night, but in the way 4. miles from Soroka, at a place where the water falleth from the rocks, as if it came ſteepe downe from a mountain, we were conſtrained to take out our goods and wares out of the ſaid boats, and cauſed them to be caried a mile ouer land, and afterwards alſo had our boates in like ſort caried or drawen ouer land by force of men which there dwelled, being tenants to the monaſterie aforeſaid.

The fall of a riuer.

And when our boats were come to the place where our wares were laid, we lanched our boats and laded our wares againe, and went to the place before named, where we continued and remained that night.

We departed from Oſtroue in the morning before Sunne riſing, rowing and ſetting vp the riuer 5. miles, where we came to a place whereas we were againe conſtrained to take out our wares, and to carie them and our boats three miles ouer land, ſo that with rowing, drawing and ſetting, we went this day [illegible] miles more to a place called Sloboday, where we lay all night.

5 We departed from Sloboday in the morning at Sunne riſing, and at ſixe of the cloche in the afternoone, we came to a village called Paranda, which is from Sloboday 30. miles, where we remained all that night.

6 We departed from Paranda at 6. of the cloche in the morning, and all that day what with ſetting and drawing our boats, we went but 11. miles, for twiſe vnladed our wares, & drew our boats ouerland, in one place a mile & an halfe, in another place as it were the eight part of a mile, and ſo we came to a place called Voyets, where we caried all that night.

7 We departed from Voyets at 4. of the cloche in the morning, & ſo came to an Ozera or lake, called after the name of the riuer, & vnto a place called Quequenich, wee rowed all this day, and came thither by one of the clock in the afternoone, which is 25. miles from Voyets, and there we remained all night to hire men and boats to carie vs forward on our iourney.

Here departed backe from vs the ſeruant which we had at the Monaſterie, being ſent by the monkes to go thus far with vs. And after that he had hired the boats and taken the mens names that ſhould conduct vs, & giuen them charge to deliuer vs with all things in ſafetie, at a place being a little towne called Pouenſa, then he departed from vs without taking any reward for his paines, for ſo he was charged and commanded by the monkes.

8 We departed from Quequenich at ſunne riſing, & all that day rowed vpon the lake amongſt many

many Iſlands. The inhabitants doe there report that there are as many Iſlands in their lake, as there are dayes in the yeere. In the euening we came to a village named Tellekina, which is 60. miles from Quequenich. A lake very full of Iſlands.

9 We departed from Tellekina in the morning at 5. of the clocke, and ſo entring into a riuer, we went that day 13. miles. In one place we caried our boates and goods ouer land 3. miles. At euening we came to a place called Oreiche na maelay, where we lay all night.

10 Wee departed thence at 5. of the clocke in the morning, and ſo rowing, came to a place where the riuer ended, being 20. miles diſtant from the place where wee lay all night, at which place wee ſoſoone our boates and vnladed our wares, and ſent a man to the towne of Pouenſa, which was ſeuen mile off, for horſes to carry vs and our wares to the ſaid place. The horſes came, and we laded our goods, and at ſixe of the clocke in the afternoone wee arriued at the towne of Pouenſa, with all things in ſafetie.

This towne of Pouenſa ſtandeth within one mile of the famous lake or Ozera of Onega, which is 320. miles long, and in ſome places 70. miles ouer. But where it is narroweſt it is 25. miles, you ſhall haue 40. and 45. fathoms of deph. The famous lake of Onega.

Here it is to bee noted that from this place of Pouenſa vnto the village of Soroka downe thoſe dangerous riuers which wee came through, at no time of the yeere can or may any man carry or tranſport any goods that come from Nouogrod, or the Narue, and ſuch other places: for in the Sommer it is impoſſible to carry downe any wares by reaſon of the great falls of water that doe deſcend from the rockes. Likewiſe in the Winter by reaſon of the great force and fall of waters which make ſo terrible raiſes, that in thoſe places it neuer freezeth, but all ſuch wares as come from Nouogrod to Pouenſa, are tranſported by land to a place called Some in the Winter, which Some ſtandeth on the ſea ſide, as doth Soroka. The ready way from Pouenſa by land to this place of Some, with the diſtance of miles I will ſhew hereafter.

12 We departed from Pouenſa at 9. of the clocke in the morning, with 2. ſmal boats which we hired to carry vs to a place called Toluo vpon the lake of Onega, being 50. miles from Pouenſa, where we arriued the 13. day in the morning, where wee bought a boate that caried vs and all our wares from thence to the Citie of Nouogrod.

14 We departed from Toluo at 3. of the clocke in the afternoone, and at the euening arriued at a certaine Iſland named Salaſalma, vpon the ſaid lake 7. miles from Toluo, and by reaſon of contrary winds we there caried vntill the 16. day of this moneth.

16 We departed from Salaſalma, at 8. of the clocke in the morning, and came to an Iſland the 17. day in the morning, named Vorronia, where wee continued by reaſon of contrary winds, vntill the 21. day of the ſaid moneth, and it is 60. miles from Salaſalma.

21 We departed from Vorronia Iſland two houres before day, and arriued at S. Clements Monaſterie at 2. of the clocke in the afternoone, being from Vorronia 48. miles. S. Clements his Monaſterie.

22 We departed from S. Clements Monaſterie at the breake of the day, hauing a faire wind all along the lake: we ſailed without ſtriking of ſaile vntil two houres within night, and then entred into a riuer called Swire, at a Monaſterie called Voſneſſino Chriſto, fiue miles from the entrance of the riuer, where we caried al night. It is from S. Clements Monaſtery 160. miles: the ſtreame of that riuer went with vs.

23 Wee departed from Voſneſſino Chriſto before Sunne riſing, and baled downe the riuer ſometime ſailing, and ſometime rowing, ſo that this day wee went 90. miles and lay at night at a place called Vaſſian.

24 Wee departed from Vaſſian at the breake of the day, and came to a place called ‖ Selucax, where we lay all night, and is 10. miles from Vaſſian. ‖ Or, Semaxe.

25 We departed from Selucaxe at 4. of the clocke in the morning, and entred vpon the Lake of Ladiskaie, the winde being calme al that day ſauing 3. houres, and then it was with vs, ſo that we ſailed and rowed that day 10. miles, along vpon the ſaid lake, and entred into the riuer of Volhuſki, which riuer hath his beginning 20. miles aboue Nouogrod, and runneth through the midſt of the Citie, and ſo falleth into this lake, which is farre longer then the lake of Onega, but it is not ſo broad. This lake falleth into the ſea that commeth from the Sound: where any veſſel or boat, hauing a good pilot, may goe through the Sound into England. The riuer of Volhuski. The lake of Ladeskai.

26 As ſoone as we were entred into the riuer, we came to a Monaſterie called S. Nicholas Medued, where we lay all that night.

27 Wee departed from S. Nicholas Medued, at fiue of the clocke in the morning, rowing and hauing our boates all day, and came at night to another Monaſterie called Goſnopoli, which is 60. miles from S. Nicholas Medued, where we lay all that night. The Monaſterie of Goſnopoli.

27 We

27 We departed from Goſnopoli at 6. of the clocke in the morning, and at euening came to a place called Moiſlaue, where we lay all night, being 46. miles from the Monaſterie of Goſnopoli.

28 We departed from Moiſlaue, and the ſame day at night came to a place called Gruſſina, 35. miles from Moiſlaue where we lodged.

29 Wee departed from Gruſſina in the morning, and the ſame day at euening came to a place called Petroe Suetoe, where we lay all night, being 40. miles from Gruſſina.

30 We departed from Petroe Suetoe in the morning, and at two of the clock in the afternoone we arriued at the Citie of Nouogrod, being twentie miles from Petroe Suetoe. Here we found William Rowlie Agent to the company, who was there ſtayed with all his company, and was not licenced to depart thence for the Moſco, by reaſon that the plague was then in the Citie of Nouogrod. Unto him we deliuered all the wares that wee brought from Colmogro, for by the way we ſold not a penyworth, the people of the countrey euery where be ſo miſerable.

The Citie of Nouogrod.

The right way to bring and tranſport wares from Nouogrod to Roſe Iſland into S. Nicholas bay, where our Ships yeerely lade, with the diſtance of miles from place to place, is as followeth:

20 Miles from Nouogrod to Petroe Suetoe.
40 Miles from thence to Gruſina.
35 Miles from thence to Moiſlaue.
46 Miles from thence to the Monaſterie Goſnopoli.
15 Miles from thence to Ladega towne.
15 Miles from thence to Selunaz ouer the lake of Ladega, albeit there be many villages all along the lake.
180 Miles from Ladega towne vp the riuer of Swire, vnto the Monaſterie of Voſneſſino Chriſto, albeit there are many villages vpon the riuer: for within euery fiue or ſixe miles you ſhall haue villages or ſmall townes.
160 Miles from Voſneſſino Chriſto to S. Clements Monaſtery, albeit there be many villages all along the lake of Onega.
48 Miles from thence to Voronia.
67 Miles from thence to Toluo towne: and there are diuers villages al along the lake where the carriers may lie, and haue meate for man and horſe.
50 Miles from thence to Pouenſa, where Onega lake endeth.

The way from *Pouenſa* to *Some* towne is this:

30 Miles from Pouenſa to Maſtelina.
10 Miles from thence to Tellekina.
30 Miles from thence to Toluich.
35 Miles from thence to Carraich.
20 Miles from thence to Varnich.
10 Miles from thence to Oſtrouo.
15 Miles from thence to Lapina.
20 Miles from thence to Some it ſelfe.

Note, that from the Citie of Nouogrod vnto the towne of Some is 936. miles, and from the towne of Some vnto the Monaſterie of S. Nicholas or Roſe Iſland, ouer and againſt where our Ships do ride, is iuſt as many miles as is Soroka village from S. Nicholas, as the Ruſſes doe accompt it, as alſo we do iudge it, namely 325. miles. So that from Nouogrod to S. Nicholas road, is by our accompt 1261. miles or verſts.

Trauel by Sleds.

Furthermore it is to be noted that all ſuch wares as ſhall be bought at Nouogrod, and ſent to Some towne, muſt be ſent by ſled way in the Winter: for if any ware ſhould be ſent from Nouogrod by water in the ſpring of the yeere after the yce is gone, then muſt the ſaid wares remaine at Pouenſa towne al that Summer, by reaſon that in the Summer there is no way to goe from Pouenſa vnto Some towne.

At Pouenſa there are many warehouſes to be hired, ſo that if there were as much goods as ten ſhips could carry away, you might haue warehouſes to put it in: but if there ſhould remaine much ware all the Summer, to be caried in the Winter to Some towne, then horſes are not eaſily to be gotten at that place to carry it thither: ſo that your wares once bought at Nouogrod, you muſt haue carriers there to carry it to the towne of Some by Sleds, whereof you may there haue 2000. if you will, by the report of the Ruſſes.

2000. Sleds belonging to one towne.

For from Nouogrod yeerely there go many Sleds in the Winter to fetche ſalt from Some, with carriers and emptie Sleds there to buy it, and to bring it to Nouogrod to ſell it in the market or otherwiſe.

From Nouogrod vnto Some towne you may haue a poud of wares carried for eight pence or nine pence: but in any wiſe your wares muſt bee ſent from Nouogrod by the firſt of January, ſo that

that the wares may bee at Some by Candlemas, or soone after: for if your wares should tary by the way vntill the 15. of Februarie when the Sunne is of same power, then is it dangerous: for cleane: and if there should come then a sudden thaw, as oftentimes in that time of the yeere doeth, then doe these lakes open and breake, whereby many men are lost, and both men and horse drowned, although other riuers do remaine frozen a long time after.

A good caueat for seasonable trauell.

In the towne of Some also there are many warehouses, whereof we cannot be destitute for the repasing of our wares, as also as many barkes as you will to transport your wares from thence to vnto S. Nicholas road, and that for three pence a pouds carryage: so that from the Citie of Nouogrod to S. Nicholas road you may haue wares [illegible] for two altines. The pood commeth vnto 23. altines the tunne.

Nouogrod within 180. miles of the Narue.

Prouided alwayes, that you buy your wares there your selfe, and send it thence: for there is no hope that the natiues will bring their wares from Nouogrod to Some, in hope to sell vnto vs, considering the great trade that they haue at the Narue, which is within 180. miles off them.

Written by *Thomas Southam* a seruant to the company.

An Act for the corporation of Merchants aduenturers for the discouering of new trades, made in the eight yeere of Queene *Elizabeth*. Anno 1566.

WHereas diuers very good Subiects of this Realme of England in the latter ende of the reigne of the late right high and mightie prince our Soueraigne Lord king Edward the first, at the gracious incouragement, and right good liking of the said king, and by his Maiesties liberall example, did at their aduenture, and to their exceeding great charges, for the glory of God, the honor and increase of the reuenues of the Crowne, and the common vtilitie of the whole Realme of England, set forth three ships for the discouery by Sea, of Iles, lands, territories, dominions, and Seignories vnknowen, and by the Subiects of the said late king not commonly by seas frequented: and after that Almightie God had called to his mercie the said king, who died before the finishing and sealing of his most ample and gracious letters of priuiledges promised to the said Subiects, as wel in consideration of the said enterprise, as for diuers other respects it pleased our late soueraigne Q. Mary, at the humble suites of the same subiects, to graunt by her letters Patents vnder the great Seale of England, bearing date at Westminster the 26. day of February, in the second yeere of her raigne, for the considerations mentioned in the said letters Patents, to the saide subiects being specially named in the saide letters Patents, and to their successors, that they by the name of Merchants aduenturers of England, for the discouerie of lands, territories, Iles, dominions, and Seignories vnknowen, and not before their late aduenture or enterprise, by seas or Nauigations cõmonly frequented, should be from thence forth one body, and perpetual felowship and communaltie of themselues, both in deed and in name, and that the same felowship and communaltie from thence forth should and might haue one or two gouernours, foure Consuls, and 24. assistants, of the said felowship and comminaltie of Merchants aduenturers, and that they by the name of the Gouernour, Consuls, assistants, felowship, and comminaltie of Merchants aduenturers, for the discouery of lands, territories, Iles, dominions, and Seignories vnknowen, by the seas and Nauigations, and not before their said late aduenture or enterprise, by Seas frequented, should or might be able in the lawe to implead and to bee impleaded, to answere and to be answered, to defend and to be defended, before whatsoeuer Iudge or Iustice temporall or spirituall, or other persons whatsoeuer, in whatsoeuer court or courts, and in all actions, real, personal, and mixt, and in euery of them, and in all plaints of Nouel deseison, and also in all plaints, suites, quarrels, affaires, businesse, and demaunds whatsoeuer they be, touching and concerning the said felowship and comminaltie, and the affaires and businesse of the same, only in as ample maner and forme, as any other corporation of this Realme might doe, giuing also, and graunting vnto them by the said letters Patents, diuers authorities, powers, iurisdictions, preheminences, franchises, liberties and priuiledges, as by the same letters Patents more at large will appeare. And among other things mentioned in the said letters Patents, whereas one of the three ships, by the said fellowship before that time set forth for the voyage of discouery aforesaid, named the Edward Bonauenture, had arriued within the Empire and dominion of the high and mightie prince Lord Iohn Vasiliwich, Emperour of all Russia, Volodimersky, great duke of Musky, &c. who receiued the Captaine and Merchants of the saide shippe very graciously, granting vnto

them

them freely to traffique with his subiects in all kinde of merchandizes, with diuers other gracious priuiledges and liberties: therefore the said late Queene by the same letters Patents, for her her heires and successors, did graunt that all the maine lands, Iles, ports, hauens, creeks and riuers of the said mighty Emperour of all Russia, and great duke of Moico, &c. and all and singular other lands, dominions, territories, Iles, ports, hauens, creeks, riuers, armes of the seas, of al and euery other Emperour, king, prince, ruler, or gouerner whatsoeuer he or they be, before the said late aduenture or enterprise not knowen, or by the aforesaid merchants and subiects of the said king and Queene, by the seas not commonly frequented, nor any part or parcell thereof, and lying Northwards, Northeastwards, or Northwestwards, as in the said letters patents is mentioned, should not be visited, frequented nor haunted by any the subiects of the said late Queene, other then of the said company and fellowship, and their successors, without expresse licence, agreement, & consent of the Gouerner, Consuls, and Assistants of the said felowship, and communaltie, or the more part of them, in maner & forme, as is expressed in the saide letters patents, vpon paine of forfeiture and losse aswell of the ship and ships, with the appurtenances, as also of the goods, merchandizes, and things whatsoeuer they be, of those the subiects of the said late Queene not being of the saide fellowship and communaltie, which should attempt or presume to saile to any of those places, which then were, or after should happen to be found and trafficked vnto, the one halfe of the same forfeiture to be to the vse of the said late Queene, her heires & successors, and the other halfe to be to the vse of the said felowship & communaltie, as by the same letters patents more plainly will appeare.

Since the making of which letters patens, the said fellowship haue, to their exceeding great costes, losses and expences, not onely by their trading into the said dominions of the saide mighty prince of Russia, &c. found out conuenient way to saile into the saide dominions: but also passing thorow the same, and ouer the Caspian sea, haue discouered very commodious trades into Armenia, Media, Hyrcania, Persia, and other dominions in Asia minor, hoping by Gods grace to discouer also the countrey of Cathaia, and other regions very conuenient to be traded into by merchants of this realme, for the great benefite and commodities of the same.

This is meant by Alderman Bond the elder.

And forasmuch as diuers subiects of this realme, vnderstanding the premises, and perceiuing that now after the charge and trauel aforesaid, diuers wares and merchandizes are brought by the saide fellowship into this Realme, out of the dominions already discouered, which bee within this realme of good estimation, minding for their peculiar gaine, vtterly to decay the trade of the sayde fellowship, haue contrary to the tenor of the same letters patents, in great disorder traded into the dominions of the said mightie prince of Russia, &c. to the great detriment of this common wealth: And for that the name by which the saide felowship is incorporated by the letters patents aforesaid, is long, & consisteth of very many words: Therfore be it enacted by the Queenes most excellent Maiestie, the Lords spiritual and temporal, & the commons in this present parliament assembled, and by authoritie of the same, that the said felowship, company, society & corporation made or created by the said letters patents, shal at al time & times from henceforth be incorporated, named and called onely by the name of the fellowship of English merchants, for discouery of new trades, and by the same name for euer shall and may continue a perpetuall body incorporate in deede and name, and onely by the same name from henceforth, shall implead, and be impleaded, answere and be answered, defend and be defended, sue and bee sued, in whatsoeuer courts and places, and shall and may by the same name bee inabled to purchase, haue, holde, possesse, receiue, and enioy whatsoeuer manors, landes, tenements, rents, reuersions, seruices, & hereditaments not exceeding a yearely marks yeerely, not being holden of the Queenes maiestie, her heires, or successors by knights seruice in Capite, and all goods, merchandizes, chattels, and other things whatsoeuer, and shall and may by the same name make and do all things as any other corporation may do, and also shall haue and enioy all and singular the liberties, priuiledges, iurisdictions, franchises, preheminences, powers, authorities, and things, and may doe and execute all other matters and things in the sayd letters patents mentioned, or in any wise conteined. And that no part nor parcell of the maine lands, Iles, ports, hauens, roades, creekes, riuers, armes of the seas of any Emperour, king, prince, ruler or gouernor whatsoeuer he or they be, before the said first enterprise made by themerchants of the saide corporation, not knowen by the merchants and subiectes of this Realme, or by them not commonly by seas frequented, and lying from the City of London Northwards, Northwestwards, or Northeastwards, nor any part or parcel of the maine lands, dominions, iles, ports, roades, hauens, creeks, armes of the Seas, that now be subiect to the said high and mightie prince Lord Iohn Vasiliwich, his heires or successours, or to the Emperour, chiefe gouernour or ruler of the said country of Rusia for the time being, his heires or successors, nor the countries of Armenia maior or minor, Media, Hyrcania, Persia, or the Caspian sea, nor any part of them shall be sailed or traffiqued vnto, visited, frequented, or haunted by any person being of that shalbe a subiect or re-

English Merchants for discouery of new trades.

nizen of this realme, by themſelues, their factor or factors, or any other to their vſe or commoditie, by any wayes or meanes, directly or indirectly, other then by the order, agreement, conſent, or ratification of the gouernour, Conſuls and aſſiſtants of the ſaide fellowſhip and comminaltie, or the more part of them, and their ſucceſſors for the time being: vpon paine that euery perſon and perſons offending in this behalfe, ſhall forfeit and loſe, ipſo facto, euery ſuch ſhip and ſhips, with the appurtenances, and all ſuch goods, Merchandizes, and things whatſoeuer, as by any ſuch perſon or perſons ſhalbe by any wayes or meanes, directly or indirectly, prouided, caried, conducted, brought or exchanged, in, at, to, through or from any of the places prohibited, as is aforeſaide, contrary to the true intent of this Statute: the one moitie of all which forfeitures to bee to our ſaid ſouereigne Lady the Queenes Maieſtie, her heires and ſucceſſors, and the other moitie thereof to the ſayde fellowſhip of Engliſh Merchants for diſcouery of newe trades, and their ſucceſſors, to be ſeized and taken whereſoeuer they may be found, by any perſon or perſons, to the vſe of our ſaid Soueraigne Lady, her heires and ſucceſſors, and of the ſaid fellowſhip of Engliſh merchants for diſcouery of newe trades, and of their ſucceſſors, or the ſame or the value thereof to bee demaunded or ſued for by the Queenes highneſſe, her heires and ſucceſſors, or by the ſaide fellowſhip of Engliſh Merchants for diſcouery of newe trades, or their ſucceſſors, or their atturney or atturneis, or by any perſon or perſons being of the ſame fellowſhip of Engliſh Merchants for diſcouery of newe trades, or their ſucceſſors in any court of Record, or in any other Court or courtes within this Realme, or els where, by Action of debt, action of detinue, bill, plaine, information, or otherwiſe in which ſuite no eſſoine, protection, wager of lawe, or iniunction ſhall be allowed, for, or on the behalfe of the partie or parties defendant.

Prouided alwayes, that whereas diuers Subiects of this Realme being nat of the fellowſhip aforeſaid, haue heretofore made aduentures to and from ſome of the places prohibited by the ſaid letters patents, that the ſaid ſubiects, their heires, executors, adminiſtrators and aſſignes, or any of them ſhall not be impeached, impleaded, troubled, ſued, nor moleſted for the ſame in their goods or perſons in any maner of wiſe, either by our ſaide ſouereigne Lady, her heires or ſucceſſors, or the ſaid fellowſhip, or their ſucceſſors.

Prouided alſo, that it ſhall be lawfull for any ſubiect of this Realme, hauing preſently any ſhipping, goods, wares, or ready money, remayning at or in any place, of or within the dominion of the great mighty Prince of Ruſſia, or in any other of the places prohibited to be viſited or traffiqued vnto by this ſtatute or the ſaid letters Patents, to fetch, bring, and conuey the ſame, or cauſe the ſame to be brought or conueyed from thence by ſea or otherwiſe, before the feaſt of S. Iohn Baptiſt, which ſhalbe in the yeere of our Lord God 1568, any thing conteined in this ſtatute, or in the ſaid letters Patents to the contrary not withſtanding.

Prouided alſo, that it ſhall be lawfull for any of the ſubiects of this Realme, to ſaile to the porte, towne, territorie, or caſtle of Wardhouſe, or to any of the coaſtes, townes, hauens, creekes, riuers, Illands, and land of Norway for trade of fiſhing, or any other trade there vſed by the ſubiects of this Realme, any thing in this ſtatute to the contrary notwithſtanding.

And for the better maintenance of the Nauie and Mariners of this Realme, be it prouided and enacted, that it ſhall not be lawfull to the ſaide fellowſhip and company, nor to any of them to carry and tranſporte, or cauſe to be caried and tranſported any commodie of this Realme to their newe trade, but onely in Engliſh ſhips, and to be ſailed for the moſt part with Engliſh Mariners, nor alſo bring into this Realme nor into Flanders from their ſaide new trade, any merchandizes, or other commodities but in Engliſh ſhips, and ſailed for the moſt part by the Engliſh Mariners, on paine to forfeit for euery ſuch offence two hundred pounds, whereof the one moitie ſhall be to the Queenes Maieſtie, her heires and ſucceſſors, the other moitie to the head officers of any porte towne, hauing any hauen or harborough decayed, by what name ſoeuer they bee incorporate, to the reparation of ſuch harborough, that will ſue for the ſame in any Court of Record, by action, bill, plaint or information, wherein no eſſoine, protection, or wager of lawe for the defendant ſhall be admitted or allowed.

Prouided alſo, and be it enacted, that no maner of perſon or perſons ſhall from hence forth carry or tranſporte, or cauſe to bee carried or tranſported out of this Realme of England, any maner of clothes or karſies into any of the partes where the ſaid fellowſhip and ſocietie is priuiledged to trade by this Act, before the ſame clothes and karſies ſhall be all dreſſed, and for the moſt part died within this Realme, vpon paine of forfeiture for euery ſuch clothand karſie, otherwiſe caried and tranſported, fiue pounds: the one halfe thereof to the Queenes Maieſtie, her heires and ſucceſſors, the other halfe to the Maſter and Wardens of the Clothworkers in the Citie of London for the vſe being, by what name ſoeuer they be incorporate that will ſue for the ſame.

Prouided alſo that whenſoeuer the ſaid ſocietie or company ſhall willingly withdraw, and diſcontinue

continue wholy by the space of three yeeres in time of peace, the discharging of their merchandizes at the road of S. Nicholas bay in Russia, and doe not discharge their said merchandizes at some other poze or roade lying on that Nozth coast of Russia, or other territozie nowe subiect to the saide mightie prince of Russia, &c. hitherto by the subiects of this realme not commonly frequented, that then during the time of any such discontinuance and withdrawing, as is afozesaid, it shalbe lawfull to all the subiects of this realme to trade to the Narue onely in English bottoms, any thing in this Act to the contrary notwithstanding.

Prouided also, that euery of the Quenes Maiesties subiects inhabiting within the Citie of Yorke, the townes of Newcastle vpon Tine, Hull and of Boston, hauing continually traded the course of merchandize by the space of ten yeeres, and which before the 25. of December that shalbe in Anno D. 1567. shal contribute into, and put in stocke, to, with, and amongst the said company, such summe & summes of money as any of the said company, which hath throughly continued and contributed to the saide new [illegible], from the yeere 1552. hath done, and before the saide 25. of December 1567. shall be [illegible] the furniture of one ordinary full and entire portion, or share, and so in all things behaue himselfe as others of the said societie be bound to doe, and hereafter shall be bound to do by the priuiledges, ordinances and statutes of the saide company, shall from the same 25. day of December 1567. be, and be accompted free, and as one of the said societie and company, and subiect to the priuiledges, ordinances and statutes of the saide company, reasonably made and to be made, any thing in this present Act to the contrary notwithstanding.

A very briefe remembrance of a voyage made by *M. Anthony Ienkinson*, from *London* to *Moscouia*, sent from the Quenes Maiestie to the Emperour, in the yeere 1566.

THe fourth day of May in the yere afozesaid, I imbarked my selfe at Grauesend in the good ship called the Harry of London, and hauing had a prosperous voyage arriued at the bay of S. Nicholas in Russia the 10. day of July following, and immediatly I sent in poll to the Emperor to aduertise of my comming, and trauelling then thozowe the countrey, I with my company came to the Mosco where the Emperour kept his court, the 23. of August, and foozthwith gaue the Secretarie to vnderstand of my arriuall, who aduertised the Emperours Maiestie of it, and the first day of September, being a solemne feast among the Russes, I came before the Emperours Maiestie, sitting in his seate of honour, and hauing kissed his hand, and done the Quenes Maiesties commendations, and deliuered her Graces letters and present, he bad me to dinner, which I accepted, and had much honour done vnto me both then and all the time of my abode in Russia.

The Priuiledges graunted by the Emperour of *Russia* to the English merchants of that company: obteined the 22. of September, Anno 1567. by M. *Anthony Ienkinson*.

ONe onely strengthener of all things, and God without beginning, which was before the worlo, the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghoit, our onely God in Trinitie, and maker of all things, whom we worzhip in all things, and in all places, the doer and fulfiller of all things, which is the perfect knowledge giuer of the true God, our Lozde Iesus Christ, with the comfozter the holy Spirit, saue thou which art the strengthener of our faith, keepe vs together, & giue vs health to preserue our kingdome, thou giuer of all good fruites, and helper of all Christian beleeuers.

We great lozd by the grace of God, and great duke Iohn Vasiliwich of all Russia, Volodimer, Mosco, Nouogrod, Cazan, Astracan, Plesco, Smolensko, Tweria, Yougorie, Vadika, Bulgar, Sybier and others, Emperour and great duke of Nouogrod of the lower land, of Chernygo, Rezan, Polotski, Rostoue, Yereslaue, Bealozera, Oudoria, Obdoria, Condensa, and lozd of many other lands, and of all the Nozth parts, commander and lozd of Liffe-land.

Whereas our sister Quene Elizabeth, by the grace of God, Queene of England, France and Ireland, hath written to vs her letters, that wee would graunt her merchants, William Gerrard, William Chester, Rowland Heyward, Lawrence Hussie, Iohn Marsh, Anthony Ienkinson, William Rowly, and their company of England, to come in ships into this kingdome, and that our merchants, William Gerrard and his company haue required of vs that we would graunt and licence them to come into our countrey of Dwina, with all kind of wares at will, to our city of Mosco, and to all our castles in our kingdomes, we for our sisters sake Elizabeth, by the grace of God Queene of England, France and Ireland, haue licenced her merchants, William Gerrard and

his company to passe in ships to our kingdome of Colmogro, and to the land of Dwina, and to all other our inheritances in the North parts, with all kind of wares to our city of Mosco, and to all castles and townes in our kingdome. And sir William Garrard & his company desired of vs, that we would grant them licence to passe to our inheritance of Cazan and Astracan, and into our inheritance of Nouogrod the great, and to our inheritance of Liffland to Narue and Dorpe, and to other our castles and townes of Liffland, with all kinde of wares, and the trade to be without custome. which request we haue granted to sir William Garrard and his company, and haue giuen them licence to passe to our inheritance of Cazan and Astracan, and Nouogrod the great, and into our inheritance of Liffland, Narue and Dorpe, and other places of our inheritance in Liffland with all kinde of wares, to buy, barter and sell at will, without custome: and what wares soeuer they bring out of England, or out of any other countrey, needfull or necessary for our treasury, & all those wares needfull or necessary to our treasury, & those wares there to be opened, and then to take out of the same, such wares as shalbe needfull for our treasury, and the rest being deliuered againe, to sell and barter at their pleasure, and to sell none of the fine wares before they be seene by our chancellers, except sorting clothes, and other wares not meet for our treasury: and when our chancellor will send our treasure out of our treasury with them, they shall take it with them, and so sell and barter it for wares meet for our treasury, and bring it to our treasury, and they to take no other mens wares to barter or sell with them, nor yet our people to buy or sell for them their wares: and if those English merchants do desire to passe out of our kingdome of Astracan to Boghar, Shamaky, Chaday, or into any other countreys, or els to go into their owne countrey, then they to take their treasure with them, and to barter and sell it for wares necessary for our treasury, and to bring it and deliuer it to our chancellor, and when they come backe againe to our inheritance of Cazan and Astracan, or to any other of our castles and townes, that then our captaine of Cazan and Astracan, and all other our people of charge shall not holde them, but with speed let them passe without taking custome of them or their wares, and without opening or looking vpon them in any wise: and when they haue not our treasure with them, that then likewise no custome shalbe taken of them nor their wares to be seene of any man.

And likewise we haue granted them to buy and sell in all our kingdomes and castles, with all kinde of wares: and we haue also licenced them, that when those English merchants do desire to buy & sell with our merchants wholly together, that they shall haue liberty so to do wholly together: and they that do desire to sell their owne wares by retaile in their owne house, that then they sell it in their own house by retaile to our people & other strangers, as they can agree: and weights and ells to be kept in their house with our seale, and they themselues to barter and sell their owne wares: and no Russe merchant in Mosco, or any other place in our kingdome to sell for them any wares, nor to buy or barter any wares for them, nor couler any strangers goods. And wheras those merchants of England, sir William Garrard and his company do desire to sell their wares at Colmogro, Dwina, Vologda, Yeraslaue, Costrum, and in Nouogrod the lower, Cazan, Astracan, great Nouogrod, Plesko, Narue, Dorpe, and in other our townes & castles, they shall haue their will to sell it: and of their wares of England and Russeland no custome shalbe taken, neither they nor their wares shalbe staied in any place: and when they depart out of Mosco, to aduertile our chancellor thereof, and not to giue any note or inuentory of any kinde of their wares they carry away: and when the English merchants, sir William Garrard and his company do come vpon the sea, and by misfortune haue their ships cast away vpon those coasts of the North parts, then we will their goods to be sought out with trueth, and to be deliuered to sir William Garrard and his company, which ag then shall be found in our countrey: and if that sir William Garrards company be not in the Mosco nor in our countrey, then we will and command that those goods of theirs shall be layd vp in a place of safegard vntill such time as the said sir William Garard or his company come to demand the same: and then at their comming we will that it shall be deliuered. And whereas heretofore we haue giuen sir William Garrard and his company in this our kingdome of Mosco the new castle by the church of S. Maxim behinde the market, they shall there still holde their house as heretofore we haue giuen them, paying no custome for the same: and we also do licence them to keepe one Russe porter or two, or els of their owne countrey, and those porters shall dwell with them, and not sell for them, nor barter, nor buy for them: And also we haue granted them to buy a house at Vologda and at Colmogro, or in any other place where they can finde them selues any good harbour, and there they to set vp those houses in those places of their owne, or els two or three Russes, and their wares to be layed vp in those houses, and to sell their owne wares at will: and the porters without them to sell none of their wares, neither yet to buy any for them. And our officers of Colmogro and Dwina, and of other our castles & townes

shall not looke ouer the wares, nor take any custome thereof: neither shall those English merchants sir William Garrard and his company be iudged by any of them. And when the English merchants shall send from our kingdome their owne people into their owne countrey by land ouer other kingdomes whatsoeuer they be, they may without ware send their owne people at their pleasure. And when any matter of law doth fall out in their trade of merchandise, then they shall be iudged by our chancellers, and law shalbe done with equitie betwixt our people and them: and when they cannot be iudged by law, they then shalbe tried by lots, and whose lot is first taken out, he shall haue the right. And if it happen any of those merchants to haue any matter of law in any other part of our dominions for trade of merchants, then our captaines, iudges, and chiefe officers shall heare the matter, and administer iustice with equity and trueth, and where law can take no place, to be tried by lots, and his lot that is first taken out to haue the right, and for their matters of law no custome to be payed.

Triall by lots.

Furthermore, we for our selfes sake Elizabeth haue granted, that none beside sir William Garrard and his company, out of what kingdome soeuer it be, England or other, shall come in trade of merchandise nor otherwise to Colmogro, nor to the riuer Ob, nor within Wardhouse, nor to Petzora, nor Cola, nor Mezen, nor to the abbey of Petchingo, nor to the Iland of Shallawy, nor to any mouth of the riuer of Dwina, nor to any part of the North countrey of our coast. And if any merchant, out of what countrey soeuer it be, doe come with ship or shippes, busses, or any other kinde of vessell to any of our harbours, within all our North parts, we will that then the people and goods, ship or ships, shalbe confiscate, and forfeited to vs the Emperour and great Duke.

The riuer of Ob traffikable.

Giuen in our kingdome and house of Mosco, the yeere from the beginning of the world 7076, in the moneth of September, and in the 34 yeere of our reigne, and in our conquest of Cazan 16, and in our conquest of Astracan 15.

Perused and allowed by vs:
- Anthonie Ienkinson.
- William Rowly.
- Thomas Hawtry.
- Thomas Sowtham.
- Rafe Rutter, translatour hereof out of the Russe tongue.

A letter of M. *Henrie Lane* to M. *Richard Hakluit*, concerning the first ambassage to our most gracious Queene *Elizabeth* from the *Russian* Emperour *anno* 1567, and other notable matters incident to those places and times.

Worshipfull sir, because I finde you haue the successe and proceedings of Osep Napea the first ambassadour of the Russian Emperour to the Maiesties of King Philip and Queene Marie, at what time and at his returne I was remaining in Russia, & do not finde that the perfect knowledge of the first ambassage from thence to this our Souereigne Ladie Queene Elizabeth is come to your hands, betweene whose Highnesse and the ambassadours I was interpretour, I thinke good to expresse it. In August Anno 1567 arriued at London with their retinue two especiall authorised messengers, named Stephen Twerdico, and Theodore Pogorella, with letters and presents to her Maiesty, at that time being at Otelands, where diuers of the chiefe merchants of the Russian company did associate them, and I there doing my duetie and office of interpretour, her Maiestie gaue them audience. First they rehearsed the long stile and Maiesty of their Master, with his most friendly and hearty commendations to her Highnesse, and then they testified the singular great ioy and pleasure that he conceiued to heare of her most princely estate, dignitie and health: and lastly, they deliuered their letters and presents. The presents sent vnto her Maiesty were Sables, both in paires for tippets, and two timbars, to wit, two times fortie, with Luserns and other rich furres. For at that time that princely ancient ornament of furres was yet in vse. And great pitie but that it might be renewed, especiall in Court and among Magistrates, not onely for the restoring of an olde worshipfull Art and Company but also because they be for our climate wholesome, delicate, graue and comely: expelling dignitie, comforting age, and of longer continuance, and better with small cost to be preserued then these new sliks, shagges, and ragges, wherein a great part of the wealth of the land is hastily consumed.

The vse of furres wholesome, delicate, graue and comely.

These ambassadours were appointed lodging and entertainement by the Moscouie company at their house then in Seething Lane, and were sundrie times after permitted to be in presence

at

Anno in May 1568 tooke their leaue at Greenwich, where they vnderſtood and had the Queenes Maieſties minde, letters and reward. At the latter part of her talke, her Highneſſe conſidering that our trade to Saint Nicholas ſince the beginning had bene offenſiue to diuers princes, ſtates, and merchants Eaſtward, vſed theſe ſpeeches or the like: Who is or ſhall be more touched by detractours, with flying tales and vntrue reports, then Princes and Rulers, to the breach of loue and vnitie? your Maſter and I in things that paſſe by word and writing, I doubt not will keepe and performe promiſes. If he heare the contrary of me, let him ſuſpend his iudgement, and not be light of credit, and ſo will I. Theſe words they termed her Maieſties golden ſpeech: and kneeling downe, kiſſed her hand, and departed.

The trade to S. Nicholas offenſiue to diuers princes & ſtates Eaſtward.

The letters that theſe two meſſengers brought, were deliuered to me by my Lord Treaſurer, being then Secretarie, to be tranſlated, the copies whereof I had, but now cannot finde. The copie of the Queenes Maieſties letter I ſend incloſed herewith vnto your worſhip. I alſo haue ſent you a copy of a letter written from the king of Polonia to the Queenes Maieſtie, with other letters from ſome of our nation and factours, declaring the diſpleaſure for our trafficke to the Ruſſes from anno 1558 to the yere 1566, eſpecially by the way of the Narue: in which yere of 1566, hauing generall procuration and commiſſion from the Company, I was in the Low countrey at Antwerpe and Amſterdam, and ſometimes in company with Polacks, Dankers, and Eaſterlings: and by reaſon I had bene a lodger in Ruſſia, I could the better reply and proue, that their owne nations and the Italians were moſt guiltie of the accuſations written by the king of Poland.

This king Sigiſmundus (whoſe ambaſſadours very ſumptuous I haue ſeene at Moſco) was reputed to be too milde in ſuffering the Moſcouites. Before our trafficke they ouerranne his great dukedome of Lituania, and tooke Smolenſco, carrying the people captiues to Moſco. And in the yere 1563, as appeareth by Thomas Alcocks letter, they ſuffered the Ruſſe likewiſe in that Duchy to take a principall citie called Polotzko, with the lord and people thereof. Likewiſe the ſaid Sigiſmundus and the king of Sweden did not looke to the protection of Liuonia, but loſt all, except Rie and Reuel, and the Ruſſe made the Narue his port to trafficke, not onely to vs, but to Lubec and others, generall. And ſtill from thoſe parts the Moſcouites were furniſhed out of Dutchland by enterlopers with all arts and artificers, and had few or none by vs. The Italians alſo furniſhed them with engines of warre, and taught them warrelike ſtratagemes, and the arte of fortification. In the dayes of Sigiſmund, the Ruſſe would tant the Polacks, that they lourd their eaſe at home with their wiues, and to drinke, and were not at commandement of their king. This Sigiſmund had to wife the daughter of Ferdinando, Charles the fifts brother, and he died without iſſue. Since which time their late elected king Stephanus Batore kept the Ruſſe in better order, and recouered Polotzko againe in the yere 1579. Thus with my heartie fare-well I take my leaue of your worſhip.

Smolenſco won by the Ruſſe.

Polotzko taken.

Polotzko recouered by Stephanus Batore.

Your aſſured friend *Henrie Lane.*

A Letter of the moſt excellent Maieſtie of Queene *Elizabeth*, ſent by *Stephen Twerdico* and *Pheodata Pogorella*, meſſengers of the Emperour of *Ruſſia*, vnto their Maſter the ninth of May 1568.

1568

Imperatori Moſcouitarum, &c.

ELIZABETHA &c. Literas veſtræ Maieſtatis ſuperiori anno 1567, decimo die menſis Aprilis datas, veſtri mercatores Stephanus Twerdico, & Pheodata Pogorella, qui has noſtras perferunt, nobis tradidêre. Quos veſtros mercatores in omni ſuo apud nos & noſtros obeundo negotio, ita tractari, & libenti voluntate, & expreſſo noſtro mandato curauimus, vt non ſolum veſtræ Maieſtatis pro illis poſtulationi, ſed eorundem etiam hominum expectationi plenè ſatisfactum eſſe confidamus. Id quod eò fecimus ſtudioſius, quod plane perſpectum, probèque cognitum habeamus, noſtros omnes, qui bona cum tua noſtra, noſtrarúmque literarum commendatione, iſtuc, ſub veſtro imperio negotiaturi iunt, pari, cum veſtræ Maieſtatis fauore, tum veſtrorum ſubditorum humanitate, vbiuis accptos eſſe. Quæ noſtra vtrobíque, & mutuæ inter nos amicitiæ, & gratæ inter noſtros benelentiæ officia, vt crebra & perpetua exiſtant, nos admodum poſtulamus. Quem animi noſenſum ſuſius hi veſtri, & opportunius ſuo ſermone coram declarabunt: Quibus non damus, quin veſtra Maieſtas amplam fidem ſit tributura. Deus &c. Grenouici nono die Maij 1567.

The Ambassage of the right worshipfull Master *Thomas Randolfe*, Esquire, to the Emperour of *Russia*, in the yeere 1568, briefly written by himselfe.

In this voyage went Thomas Bannister, & Geofrey Ducker, for their voyage into Persia.

The 22 day of June, in the yere of our Lord 1568, I went aboord the Harry, lying in the road at Harwich with my company, being to the number of fortie persons or thereabout: of which the one halfe were gentlemen, desirous to see the world.

Within one dayes sailing, we were out of the sight of land, and following our course directly North, till we came to the North Cape, we sailed for the space of twelue dayes with a prosperous winde, without tempest or outrage of sea: hauing compassed the North Cape we directed our course flat South east, hauing vpon our righe hand Norway, Wardhouse, Lapland, all out of sighe till we came to Cape Gallant: and so sailing betweene two dayes, the two and thirtieth day after our departure from Harwich, we cast ancre at Saint Nicholas road. In all the time of our voyage, more then the great number of Whales ingendering together, which we might plainly beholde, and the Sperma Ceti, which we might see swimming vpon the sea, there was no great thing to be wondered at, Sometimes we had calmes, wherein our Mariners fished, and tooke good store of diuers sorts. At S. Nicholas we landed the 23 of July, where there standeth an abbey of Monks (to the number of twentie) built all of wood: the apparell of the Monks is superstitious, in blacke hoods, as ours haue bene. Their Church is faire, but full of painted images, tapers, and candles. Their owne houses are low, and small roomes. They lie apart, they eat together, and are much giuen to drunkennesse, vnlearned, write they can, preach they doe neuer, ceremonious in their Church, and long in their prayers.

The abbey of S. Nicholas of 20 Monks.

At my first arriuall I was presented from their Prior with two great rie loaues, fish both salt and fresh of diuers sorts, both sea fish and fresh water, one sheepe aliue, blacke, with a white face, to be the more gratefull vnto me, and so with many solemne words inuiting me to see their house, they tooke their leaue.

The English house at S. Nicholas.

Towne or habitation at S. Nicholas there is none more then about foure houses neere the abbey, and another built by the English Company for their owne vse.

This part of the countrey is most part wood, sauing here and there pasture & arable ground, many riuers and diuers Illands vnhabited, as the most part of the countrey is, for the colnesse in Winter.

The riuer of Dwina.

S. Nicholas standeth North east: the eleuation of the pole 64 degrees. The riuer that runneth there into the sea is called Dwina, very large, but shallow. This riuer taketh his beginning about 700 miles within the countrey, & vpon this riuer standeth Colmogro, and many prety villages, well situated for pasture, arable land, wood, and water. The riuer pleasant betweene his bankes either side inwardly inhabited, and in a maner a wildernesse of hie tirre trees, and other wood.

Colmogro.

At Colmogro being 100 versts, which we account for three quarters of a mile euery verst, we taried three weeks, not being suffered to depart before the Emperour had word of our coming, who sent to meet vs a gentleman of his house, to conuey vs, and to see vs furnished of victuals, and all things needfull, vpon his owne charge.

The allowance of meat and drinke was for euery day two rubbles, besides the charge of boat by water, and foure score post horses by land, with aboue 100 carts to cary my wines, and other cariage.

Colmogro is a great towne builded all of wood, not walled, but scattered house from house. The people are rude in maners, and in apparell homely, sauing vpon their festiuall, and marriage dayes.

The people of this town finding commodity by the English mens traffike with them are most at their commandement, giuen much to drunkennesse, and all other kinde of abominable vices.

An English house with lands at Colmogro.

In this towne the English men haue lands of their owne, giuen them by the Emperour, and faire houses, with offices for their commodity, very many.

Of other townes vntill I come to Vologda, I write not, because they are much like to this, and the inhabitants not differing from them.

I was fiue whole weeks vpon the riuer of Dwina till I came to Vologda, being drawen with men against the streame, for other passage there is none.

Vologda standeth vpon the riuer of Vologda, which commeth into Dwina. The towne great and long, built all of wood, as all their townes are.

In this towne the Emperour hath built a castle inuironed with a wall of stone, and bricke, [wall]

walles faire and hie, round about. Here (as in all other their townes) are many Churches, ſome built of bricke, the reſt of wood, many Monks and Nunnes in it: a towne alſo of great traffike, and many rich merchants there dwelling.

From hence we paſſed by land towards Moſco in poſte, being 500 verſts great, which are equall with our miles. In their townes we baited or lay, being poſt townes.

The countrey is very faire, plaine & pleaſant, well inhabited, corne, paſture, meadowes enough, riuers, and woods, faire and goodly. The deſcription of the iſland of Moſcouie.

At Yeraſlaue we paſſed the riuer of Volga, more then a mile ouer. This riuer taketh his beginning at Beal Ozera, & deſcendeth into Mare Caſpium, portable thorow of very great veſſels with flat bottomes, which farre paſſe any that our countrey vſeth.

To ſaile by this riuer into Mare Caſpium the Engliſh company cauſed a barke to be built of 27 tunns, which there was neuer ſeene before: This barke built, and ready rigged to the ſea with her whole furniture coſt not the company aboue one hundreth marks there.

To Moſco we came about the end of September, receiued by no man, not ſo much as our owne countreymen ſuffered to meet vs, which bred ſuſpition in me of ſome other courſe intended, then we had hitherto found. His arriuall at Moſco.

We were brought to a houſe built of purpoſe by the Emperour for Ambaſſadours, faire and large, after the faſhion of that countrey. A ſpecial houſe at Moſco, built for Ambaſſadours.

Two gentlemen were appointed to attend vpon me, the one to ſee vs furniſhed of victuals, and that we lacked nothing of the Emperors allowance: the other to ſee that we ſhould not goe out of the houſe, nor ſuffer any man to come vnto vs, in which they left nothing vndone that belonged to their charge. But ſpecially he that looked to our perſons ſo ſtraightly handled vs, that we had no ſmall cauſe to doubt that ſome euill had bene intended vnto vs. No ſupplication, ſute, or requeſt could take place for our liberty, nor yet to come to his preſence.

Hauing paſſed ouer 17 weeks in this ſort, the Emperour ſendeth word that we ſhould be ready againſt Tueſday the 20 of Februarie, at eight a clocke in the morning.

The houre being come that I ſhould goe to the Court, the two gentlemen Priſtaues (as they call them) came vnto me apparelled more princely then before I had euer ſeene them. They bad vs to depart, and mounted vpon their owne horſes, and the Ambaſſador vpon ſuch a one as he had borrowed, his men marching on foot, to their great griefe. Two Priſtaues.

The Ambaſſadour (being my ſelfe) was conueyed into an office where one of the chancellors doth vſe to ſit, being there accompanied with the two foreſayd gentlemen: I taried two long houres before I was ſent for to the Emperor. In the end meſſage being brought that the Emperour was ſet, I was conueyed by my gentlemen vp a paire of ſtaires thorow a large roome, where ſate by my eſtimation 300 perſons, all in rich attire, taken out of the Emperors wardrobe for that day, vpon three ranks of benches, ſet round about the place, rather to preſent a maieſtie, then that they were either of quality or honor.

At the firſt entry into the chamber I with my cap gaue them the reuerence, ſuch as I iudged their ſtately ſeeing, graue countenances, and ſumptuous apparell required, and ſeeing that it was not anſwered againe of any of them I couered my head, and ſo paſſing to a chamber where the Emperor was, there receiued me at the doore from my two gentlemen or gouernors, two of the Emperors counſellors, and ſhewed me to the Emperor, and brought me to the middle of the chamber, where I was willed to ſtand ſtill, and to ſay that which I had to ſay. I by my Interpretor declared my meſſage as I receiued it from the Queene my Miſtreſſe, from whom I came, at whoſe name the Emperor ſtood vp, and demanded diuers queſtions of her health and ſtate: whereunto anſwere being made, he gaue me his hand in token of my welcome, and cauſed me to ſit downe, and further aſked me diuers queſtions. His admiſſion to the Emperors preſence.

This done, I deliuered her Maieſties preſent, which was a notable great Cup of ſiluer curiouſly wrought, with verſes grauen in it, expreſſing the hiſtories workmanly ſet out in the ſame. All being ſayd and done (as appeared) to his contentement, he licenced me and my whole company to depart, who were all in his preſence, and were ſaluted by him with a nod of his head, and ſpake vnto me: I dine not this day openly for great affaires I haue, but I will ſend thee my dinner, and giue leaue to thee and thine to go at liberty, and augment our allowance to thee, in token of my loue and fauor to our ſiſter the Queene of England. The Queenes preſent.

Then with reuerence tooke my leaue, being conueyed by two other of greater calling then thoſe that brought me to the Emperors ſight, who deliuered me to the two firſt gentlemen, who conueyed me to the office where I firſt was, where came vnto me one called the Long duke, with whom I conferred a while, and ſo returned to my lodging. The Emperors ſpeech to the Ambaſſadour.

Within one houre after in comes to my lodging a duke richly apparelled, accompanied with

little perſons, euery of them carying a ſiluer diſh with meat, and couered with ſiluer. The duke firſt deliuered twenty loaues of bread of the Emperors owne eating, hauing taſted the ſame, and deliuered euery diſh into my hands, and taſted of euery kinde of drinke that he brought.

This being done, the duke and his company ſate downe with me, and tooke part of the Emperors meat, and filled themſelues well of all ſorts, and went not away from me vnrewarded.

Within few nights after the Emperor had will to ſpeake ſecretly with me, and ſent for me in the night by the Long duke: The place was farre off, and the night colde, and I hauing changed my apparell into ſuch as the Ruſſes do weare, found great incommoditie thereby.

A ſecond conference with the Emperor.

Hauing talked with him aboue three houres, towards the morning I was diſmiſſed, and ſo came home to my lodging, where I remained aboue ſix weeks after, before I heard againe from the Emperour, who went the next day to Slouoda, the houſe of his ſolace. After the end of which ſixe weeks, which was about the beginning of Aprill, the Emperour returned from Slouoda afore ſayd, and ſent for me againe to make repaire vnto him. And being come, I dealt effectually with him in the behalfe of our Engliſh merchants, and found him ſo graciouſly inclined towards them, that I obtained at his hands my whole demands for large priuileges in generall, together with all the reſt my particular requeſts. And ther. he commended to my conduct into England, a noble man of his, called Andrew Sauin, as his Ambaſſadour, for the better confirmation of his priuileges granted, and other negotiations with her Maieſty. And thus being diſpatched with full contentment, the ſayd Ambaſſadour and my ſelfe departed, and imbarked at S. Nicholas about the end of July, and arriued ſafely at London in the moneth of September following.

Andrew Sauin Ambaſſadour to the Queene.

A copie of the priuiledges granted by the right high and mightie Prince, the Emperour of *Ruſſia*, &c. vnto the right worſhipfull fellowſhip of Engliſh merchants, for the diſcouerie of new trades: and hither ſent by *Thomas Randolfe* eſquire, her Maieſties Ambaſſadour to the ſayd Emperour, and by *Andrew Sauin* his Ambaſſadour in the yere of our Lord God 1569.



One God euerlaſting, and without and before the beginning, the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghoſt, the bleſſed Trinitie, our onely God, maker, and preſeruer of all things, and repleniſher of all things euery where, by thy goodneſſe vouchſafe cauſe all men to loue the giuer of wiſedome our onely Mediatour, and leader of vs all vnto bleſſed knowledge by the onely Sonne his word, our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, holy and euerlaſting Spirit, and now in theſe our dayes teacheſt vs to keepe Chriſtianitie, and ſuffereſt vs to enioy our kingdoome to the happy commodite of our land, and wealth of our people, in deſpight of our enemies, and to our fame with our friends.

We Iohn Vaſiliwich by the grace of God, great lord, Emperour, and great duke of all Ruſſia, Volodemer, Moſcouia, Nouogrod, Emperour of Cazan, Tuersky, Vgorsky, Permisky, Vadsky, Bulgaria, and many others, lord and great duke of the Low countreys of Nouogrod, Chernigosky, Reſansky, Polotsky, Raſtow, Yeraſlaue, Bealoſera, Owdorsky, Condinsky, and all Siberland, great commander of all the North parts, lord of Leifland, and many other Northward, Southward and Weſtward.

Whereas our ſiſter Elizabeth by the grace of God Queene of England, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, hath written vnto vs her letters for her merchants, who hath made ſuite that we ſhould grant our goodneſſe to the merchants which are of one Company, and giue them leaue to come to traffike in our kingdome to Colmogro, and to the countrey of Dwina, and to our great citie of Moſcouia, and to all the cities in our dominions, and thorow our country to Boghar, to Perſia, Casbin, and Charday, and to all other countreys.

1 We Iohn Vaſiliwich Emperour and great duke of all Ruſſia (for our ſiſter Elizabeth ſiſter Queene of England) haue giuen and granted to the Engliſh merchants, the Gouernours, Conſuls, Aſſiſtants & fellowſhip, ſir Wil. Garrard Knight, Rowland Hayward Alderman, Ioh. Thamworth Eſquire, Iohn Riuers Alderman, Henry Beecher Alderman, Conſuls: Sir Wil. Chelſe Knight, Edward Iackman Alderman, Lionel Ducker Alderman, Edward Gilbert, Laurence Huſe, Francis Walſingham, Clement Throgmorton, Iohn Quarles, Nicholas Wheeler, Thomas Baniſter, Iohn Harriſon, Francis Burnham, Anthony Gamage, Iohn Somers, Richard Wilkinſon, Ioh. Sparke, Richard Barne, Robert Woolman, Thomas Browne, Thomas Smith, Thomas Allen, Thomas More, William Bully, Richard Yong, Thomas Atkinſon, Aſſiſtants: Iohn Merſh Eſquire, Geofrey Ducket, Francis Robinſon, Matthew Field, & all the reſt of their company and fellowſhip, and to their ſucceſſours and deputies, to come with ſhips and other veſſels

into our Countrey, at Colmogorod, & Dwina, and to all the North parts now being ours, or that hereafter shall at any time be in our possession, by sea, riuer or land, euen to our great Citie of Mosco, in all the townes of our Countrey, to Cazan and Astracan, to Nouogorod the great, to Pleskou & Leifland, Vriagorod, to Narue, and all other townes of Leifland. 2 And to passe through our land to Boghar, Persia, Casbin, Charday, and other Countreyes: And where soeuer they come there to be and abide freely, and to barter and bargaine freely all wares of sale, without custome of all people, and Marchants strangers whatsoeuer.

And if so be they bring any fine wares out of Englande, or any other Countrey from Boghar, Persia, Casbin, or from any other place, & those their wares that come by the way of Narue, or any other part into our Dominion, to bring the same wares into our treasure, and our Treasurers to view the same wares, and to take into our Treasurie of the same such as shalbe needfull for vs. And all such wares as we shal not need, our Chancellour to reueliuer ꝑ same: And after the view of our Chancellours, to barter it freely to whom they will, not selling any of their wares needful for vs, before our Chancellour haue seene the same. And all other grosse and heauy wares that shall be needfull to our vse, not being brought to Mosco, to declare & tell our Chancellour of the same wares: And to giue a note thereof by name, and how much they leaue there, not brought to Mosco: and then if we neede not the said wares, the English Marchants, their seruants & Factors, to conuey their wares the neerest way to Vstiug the great, and so to Colmogorod, or elsewhere at their pleasure, there to barter and sell the same. But those wares that shalbe needfull for our Treasurie, they shall not hide from vs in any case.

And when our Chauncellours shall send our aduenture, with the said Marchants or their Factors, they to take our aduentures with them, and to sell, & to barter for such wares as shalbe mecte for our Treasurie, and to returne it into our Treasurie.

And when we shall sende any aduenture into England then our Chauncellour to giue them a yeres warning, that their ships may be prouided thereafter, that by taking in of our wares, they leaue not their owne behind them.

And to take our aduenture peerely when they goe into Persia,

Neither shall the English marchants receiue or colour any of our peoples goods, nor barter nor sell it in any wise: likewise our people not to barter for the sayd English marchants or occupy for them.

3 And when they shall come into our Empire of Casan and Astracan, and other places of our Dominions, then our Captaines of Casan and Astracan, and our authorised people, quietly to let them passe, not taking any toll or custome of their wares, nor once to make search thereof.

And when we shal send no aduenture with them, yet to suffer them freely to passe, not viewing their wares, nor taking any kinde of custome. And whatsoeuer English marchant will bargaine without Marchants or Factors ware for ware to barter the same at their pleasure.

And whatsoeuer their Marchant or Factors will sell their wares at their house at Mosco, which house I granted them at S. Maxims at the Mosco, they to sel the ware to our people, either strangers as they may best vtter it, keeping within their house, arshines, measures, and waights vnder seales.

4 We haue granted them the saide house at S. Maxims in the halfe free, and without standing rent, as heretofore we did graunt it the said English Marchants, sir Wil. Garrard, and the Company, maintayning in the said house one housekeeper a Russe, and two Russe seruants, or some of their owne countrey men, and none other Russes besides the aforesayde. And the said housekeepers that shal liue at their house with the English marchants, neither to buy nor sel any wares for them, but that the said marchants themselues or their factors, shall buy, sell, and barter their owne wares: And our Moscouie marchants not to take the said Englishmens wares to sell them in our townes, nor to buy any wares for them, neither the English marchant to colour any Russes wares at any towne.

5 And whatsoeuer English marchant will sell his wares at Colmogorod, Dwyna, Vologda, Yeraslaue, Castran, Nouogorod the lower, Casan, Astracan, Nouogrod the great, Vopsko, the Narue, Vriagorod, or at any other townes, they to sel their wares there at their pleasure: And of all wares aswell of other countreis as of Russia, no officer or other to take any custome, neither in any place to stay them in any wise, neither take any kinde of toll of them for their wares whatsoeuer.

6 And whatsoeuer marchant shall bargaine or buy any wares of English marchants: The said Russe not to returne those wares vpon the marchants hands againe, but to giue ready money for the said wares, otherwise they to craue the Iustice to giue right, and to execute the lawe vpon the same with all expedition. And when the English marchants or factors shal trauaile from Mos-

couie

coule after the diſpatch of their wares and buſineſſe, then to ſhew themſelues vnto our Chancellours, whatſoeuer wares of theirs ſhall goe from Moſco, they not to ſhew the ſame wares to any our officers, nor pay no cuſtome nor toll in any place.

7 If it ſo happen the Engliſh marchants haue any wracke, and the ſhippes be brought to any port of our Dominions, we to command the ſaid goods to be enquired and ſought out, and to be giuen to the Engliſh merchants, being here abiding at that time in our Countrey, the factors, ſeruants, or deputies, of the Company aforeſayd, to whom we haue granted this our gratious letter.

And if there happen none of the Engliſh marchants, factors, ſeruants, or deputies to be in our Countreis at ſuch time, then we will all the ſaid goods to be ſought out and beſtowed in ſome conuenient place, and when any of the Company aforewritten, bringing theſe our letters, ſhall come for their goods, we to command their goods to be reſtored vnto them.

8 Likewiſe wee haue graunted leaue to the Engliſh merchants, their Gouernours, Conſuls, and aſſiſtants, namely, ſir William Garrard knight, Rowland Hayward, and to the Compame, to builde houſes at Vologda, Colmogro, and the ſeaſide, at Iuangorod, at Cherell, and in all other places of our Dominions, as ſhall be needefull for their trade. And they to keepe at the ſaid houſe one houſekeeper, a Ruſſe, and two or three men to keepe their wares at the ſaid houſes, making ſale thereof to whom they will, they, their Factors or deputies: the ſaid houſe keeper not to buy or ſell for them.

9 Alſo we haue giuen and graunted to the Engliſh Merchants, their houſe which they haue by our goodneſſe at S. Maximes in the Zenopski, and other their houſes in the towne of Zenopski, made for the better aſſurance of their goods, and all ſuch as they ſhall ſet vp hereafter ſhal be of the Opreſſini, and will make them knowen to all them of Opreſſini.

Or, choſen ſite.

10 And whereas by our goodnes we haue graunted them a Ropehouſe at Vologda, being farre from the Engliſh Merchants houſe, now we haue giuen them to build a houſe for that vſe by the ſaid Engliſh houſe, and haue giuen and graunted them (of our goodneſſe) ground, one hundreth and foureſcore fadome long, and fiftie fadomes in breadth, according to their owne requeſt.

11 Alſo, we haue of our goodneſſe giuen and graunted to the Engliſh Merchants, leaue to buy them a houſe at Wichida, and there to ſearch out mines of yron. And where they ſhal happily find it, there to ſet vp houſes for the making of the ſame yron: and to make the ſame, of our goodneſſe haue graunted them woods, fiue or ſixe miles compaſſe about the ſayd houſes, to the making of the ſayd yron, and not to exceede theſe bounds and limits: And where they ſhall cut the ſayde wood, not to ſet vp any village or farme there, bringing the artificers for making of their yron, out of their owne Countrey, and to learne our people that arte, and ſo freely occupying the ſaid yron in theſe our Dominions, tranſporting alſo of the ſame home into Englande, allowing for euery pound one dingo, or halfe penie.

12 And if any of the ſaid yron ſhalbe needfull for our workes, then we to take of the ſaid yron to our worke, vpon agreement of price, paying money out of our Treaſurie for the ſame: And when the ſaid Engliſh Merchants or Factors ſhal ſend their owne people out of our Realme into other Countrey, ouer land through any Countrey whatſoeuer, freely to ſend the ſame with our words.

13 Alſo, we of our goodneſſe haue graunted, that if any man miſuſe the ſaid Engliſh, the Factors or ſeruants, or the ſaide Engliſh Merchants, their Factors or ſeruants abuſe any other at Moſcouie, or any other out townes whatſoeuer within our Dominions in trade of Marchandiſe or otherwiſe, then they to haue wright iuſtice in all ſuch matters of our counſaile the Opreſſini without all let or delay: But if our Juſtice may not agree the parties, then lots to be made, and to whoſe lotte it ſhall fall, to him the right to be giuen, and that only our counſaile at Moſcouie, and none of our Captaines, or authoriſed people, or officers in any other our townes, giue iudgement vpon the ſaid Engliſh Merchants for any thing.

14 Alſo, if any ſtranger ſhall haue matter of controuerſie with any Engliſh Merchant, Factors ſeruant, abiding within theſe our Realmes, or contrariwiſe any Engliſh Merchant, Factor or ſeruant, againſt any other ſtranger, in all thoſe cauſes our Counſaile of the Opreſſini, to giue them Juſtice, and to make an agreement & end betweene the parties, without all delay: And none to deale therein, ſaue our Counſaile of the Opreſſini. 15 And if any man haue action againſt any Engliſh Merchant being abſent, that then in his abſence it ſhalbe lawful for any other Engliſhman at his aſſignation to anſwere his cauſe.

16 If any Engliſhman happen to be wounded or beaten to death, or any Ruſſe or ſtranger ſlaine or beaten, 17 Or any ſtollen goods to be found in the ſaid Engliſh houſes, then our Counſellers to cauſe the guiltie perſons to be ſought out, and to doe right and Juſtice in the cauſe, and the partie that is guiltie, if he deſerue puniſhment, to be corrected accordingly after his offence: That the ſaid Engliſh Merchants, factors and ſeruant, ſuſtaine thereby no hinderance or damage.

18 And

18 And whatsoeuer English Marchant, Factor, seruant, or deputie, shalbe guiltie or any fault, deseruing our displeasure, then our Counsellers to cause the guiltie partie to goe vnder suerties, and their goods to be sealed and kept, vntill our pleasure be further knowen, and our Counsaile to examine their offence, and so to report it vnto vs, that we may command what shall be done therein, and none other to be arrested or haue their goods sealed, which are not guiltie of that offence, nor to stay or apprehend them in any of our Dominions for the same.

19 If any English Marchant, Factor or seruant shall offend, it shalbe lawfull for their Agent to doe iustice vpon the said partie, or to send him home into England at his pleasure.

20 If any English Marchant, Factor or seruant, haue lent or hereafter shall lende money to any of our people, or credite them with wares, and so depart into any forreigne Countrey, or die before the debt be due to be payde, then our people and Marchants to paye the sayde debt, to whom soeuer shall be appointed to the sayd roome or charge, and the saide English Marchant, factor, or seruant, to bring his bill of debt to our Counsell, to shewe them what is due, and what money is owing them for any wares: and thus to doe truly, not adding any whit to the debt, and our Counsel to command the debt to be discharged vnto the English Marchant, factor, or seruant, without delay.

21 And whatsoeuer English Marchant shall be arrested for debt, then our Counsell to command the partie vnder arrest to be deliuered to the Agent: and if he haue no suertie, to binde the Agent with him, for the better force of the bond.

And if any Englishman be endebted, we will the Creditor not to call him in prison, or to deliuer him to the Sergeant, lest the officer lose him, but to take ware in pawne of the debt.

22 Also of our goodnes, we haue granted the English Marchants to send our Commission to all our Townes, Captaines, and authorised men, to defende and garde the said Marchants from all theeues, robbers, and euill disposed persons.

23 If in comming or going to and fro our dominions, the Marchants, the factors, or seruants be spoyled on the sea, our Counsell shall send our letters, and will them to be sought out, and where they shall finde the goods, cause it to be restored againe, and the offender to be punished, according to our commandement.

24 Also of our goodnes, we haue granted the saide Merchants to take vp Brokers, Packers, Clappers, and such like labourers, as shall be needefull for them, paying for their hier as the labourers and they shall agree.

25 We likewise of our goodnes, haue licensed the English Marchants in our Townes of Mosco, Nouogorod the great, and Plesko, that the Coiners of the said Townes shall melt Dollers, and coine money for them, without custome, allowing for coales, and other necessaries, with the workemanship.

26 Also of our goodnes, we haue granted to the sayd English Merchants, to take poste horse at needfull times, leauing with our officers a note how many they take, and not else, in no case hindering or diminishing our treasurie.

27 Also for our sister Queene Elizabeths sake, we of our goodnes haue granted to the merchants within written, this our letter, and to their successors, that no Englishman, nor any other stranger, come without the Queenes leaue to Colmogorode, the riuer of Vob, Vasiagy, Pechora, Colua, Mezena, Pechingo, Zeleuetskyes Iland, the riuer of Shame, nor to no other hauen of Dwina, nor to any part of the northside of Dwina, by herherward of Wardhouse, to any hauen, with shippe, Busse, or any other vessell, nor to occupie in any kind of waies, but only the said English companie, and their successors, to whom we of our goodnes haue granted this priuiledge.

28 Also that no English Merchant, without the Queenes leaue, shall come with any wares, to the Narue, or Vriogorod.

29 And whatsoeuer English Merchant, stranger, or other, of whatsoeuer Countrey he be, shall come with any shippe, Busse, or any other vessel, to any of the said hauens, of the north side, to any part of Dwina, by North the Narue, or Vriogorod, without the Queenes leaue or knowledge, not being of the company aboue written, we to apprehende and take the same vessell from those strangers and Merchants, the one halfe to vs the Emperour, and great Duke, and the other halfe to the company of English Merchants.

30 Also of our goodnes we haue granted the said company of English merchants, that no English merchants or strangers shall passe through our dominions, to Boghar, Persia, Casbin, Charday, or other Countreys, saue onely the company of English merchants, and our owne seruingers.

31 Also whatsoeuer Englishman, comming out of England or any other Countrey, into our dominions, without the Queenes leaue, and knowledge, not being of the sayd company, written

within

within those our letters, mind, and purpose, to abide in our realme, contrary to the Queenes will and pleasure, or any way abuse himselfe, the Agent shall freely send him home, to the Queene his Soueraigne: which if the Agent of himselfe be vnable to do, let him pray for ayd of the captaines and officers of our townes there being, and so send him to prison, and will the sayd captaines not to hinder the sayd Agent from sending home such euill persons into England.

32 And if any man within our countrey runne away to any other towne or place, the English merchants and factours, to haue free liberty to apprehend him, and take their goods from him againe.

33 And as for our priuilege giuen to Thomas Glouer, Ralfe Rutter, Christopher Bennet, Iohn Chappell, and their adherents, we haue commanded the same priuileges to be taken from them.

34 Also we of our goodnesse haue granted the sayd company of English merchants, their successours, seruants and deputies, that doe or shall remaine at Mosco, or elsewhere within our dominions freely to keepe their owne law: and in any wise none of ours to force them to our law or faith against their will.

Moreouer, besides and with the company of English merchants, we permit all strangers, to trade to our towne of Narue, Iuanogorod, & other our townes of Liefland, as they haue done beforetime. Giuen from the beginning of the world 7077, in the moneth of June 20, Indiction 12, the yere of our lordship and reign 35, and of our Empire of Russland 23, Cazan 17, Astracan 15.

Other speciall grants by his Maiesties priuate letters at the sute of M. *Randolfe* Ambassadour.

RElealement out of prison of Fitzherbert, that was accused for writing of letters against the Emperour.

Liberty giuen to Thomas Greene that was accused and troubled vpon suspition of his dealing with the Ambassadour, and licence giuen to him to trafficke as he was accustomed.

Andrew Atherton and his sureties released at the Narue and his seruant at the Mosco, that were in trouble for sending the merchants letters into England.

A letter granted to Thomas Southam to the Councell, for iustice against them that stole the pearles.

His Maiesties fauor promised to the Artificers, and liuings to be appointed them as they can best deserue.

A letter to the merchants that went into Persia, to passe freely without impeachment in his dominions, as also letters of fauour to the great Shaugh of Persia.

A grant vnto the company that at what time soeuer they send to the discouery of Catay, they shalbe licenced to repaire vnto this countrey, and haue such conducts and guides, mariners, vessels, men and victuals as they shall stand in need of.

It is also promised by Knez Alfanas, and Peter Gregoriwich in the Emperours name, that if Benet Butler or any English man complaine, deface, hinder in way of traffike or otherwise go about to discredit the worshipfull company, and their doings, that therein they shall not be heard, and the doers to be punished, as in such cases they shalbe iudged to haue deserued.

Certaine persons granted to be sent home into England that serued the company, and were practisers against them in that countrey.

A Commission giuen by vs *Thomas Randolfe* Ambassadour for the Queenes Maiestie in *Russia*, and *Thomas Bannister*, &c. vnto *Iames Bassendine*, *Iames Woodcocke* and *Richard Browne*, the which *Bassendine*, *Woodcocke*, and *Browne* we appoint ioyntly together, and aiders, the one of them to the other, in a voyage of discouery to be made (by the grace of God) by them, for searching of the sea, and border of the coast, from the riuer *Pechora*, to the Eastwards, as hereafter followeth *Anno* 1588. The first of August.

INprimis, when your barke with all furniture is ready, you shall at the beginning of the yere (alloone as you possibly may) make your repaire to the Easterne part of the riuer Pechora, where is an Iland called Dolgoieue, and from thence you shall passe to the Eastwards alongst by the Sea coast of Hugorie, or the maine land of Pechora, and sailing alongst by the same coast, you shall passe within seuen leagues of the Iland Vaigats, which is the straight, almost halfe way from the coast of Hugorie, vnto the coast

No

Noua Zembla, which Iland Vaigats and Noua Zembla you shall finde noted in your plat, therefore you shall not need to discouer it: but proceed on alongst the coast of Hugory, towards the riuer Obba.

There is a Bay betweene the sayd Vaigats, and the riuer Obba, that doth bite to the South-ward, into the land of Hugory, in which Bay are two small riuers, the one called Cara Reca, the other Naramsy, as in the paper of notes which are giuen to you herewith may appeare: in the which Bay you shall not need to spend any time for searching of it, but to direct your course to the riuer Ob (if otherwise you be not constrained to keepe alongst the shore) and when you come to the riuer Ob you shall not enter into it, but passe ouer vnto the Easterne part of the mouth of the sayd riuer. Cara Reca. Naramsi Reca.

And when you are at the Easterne part of the mouth of Obba Reca, you shall from thence passe to the Eastwards, alongst by the border of the sayd coast, describing the same in such perfect order as you can best do it. You shall not leaue the sayd coast or border of the land, but passe alongst by it, at least in sight of the same, vntill you haue sailed by it so farre to the Eastwards, and the time of the yeere so farre spent, that you doe thinke it time for you to returne with your barke to Winter, which trauell may well be 3000 or 400 leagues to the Eastwards of the Ob, if the Sea doe reach so farre as our hope is it doth: but and if you finde not the said coast and sea to trend so farre to the Eastwards, yet you shall not leaue the coast at any time, but proceed alongst by it, as it doth lie, leauing no part of it vnsearched, or vnseene, vnlesse it be some bay, or riuer, that you doe certainly know by the report of the people, that you shall finde in those borders, or els some certeine tokens whereby you of your selues may iudge it to be so. For our hope is that the land that sir Hugh Willoughby found in those parts, and the sea doth in short space after you passe the Ob, incline East, and so to the Southwards. And therefore we would haue no part of the land of your starreboord side, as you proceed in your discouery, to be left vndiscouered.

But and if the said border of land do not incline so to the Eastwards as we presuppose it, but that it doe proue to incline and trend to the Northwards, and so ioyne with Noua Zembla, making the sea from Vaigats to the Eastwards but a bay: yet we will that you do keepe alongst by the said coast, and so by ing vs certaine report of that forme and maner of the same bay.

And if it doe so proue to be a bay, and that you haue passed round about the same, and so by the trending of the land come backe vnto that part of Noua Zembla that is against Vaigats, where-as you may from that see the said Iland Vaigats, if the time of the yeere will permit you, you shall from thence passe alongst by the said border and coast of Noua Zembla to the Westwards, and so to search whether that part of Noua Zembla doe ioyne with the land that sir Hugh Willoughby discouered in anno 53, and is in 72 degrees, and from that part of Noua Zembla 120 leagues to the Westwards, as your plat doeth shew it vnto you: and if you doe finde that land to ioyne with Noua Zembla, when you come to it, you shall proceed further along the same coast, if the time of the yere will permit it, and that you doe thinke there will be sufficient time for you to returne backe with your barke to Winter either at Pechora or in Russia, at your discretion: or we refer the same to your good iudgements, trusting that you will lose no time, that may further your knowledge in this voyage.

Note you, it was the 20 of August, 56 yer the Serchthrift began to returne backe from her discouerie, to Winter in Russia, and then she came from the Iland Vaigats, being forcibly driuen from thence with an Easterly winde and yce, and so she came into the riuer Dwina, and arriued at Colmogro the 11 of September, 56. If the yce had not bene so much that yere as it was in the streights, on both sides of the Iland Vaigats, they in the said pinnesse would that yeere haue discouered the parts that you are now sent to seeke: which thing (if it had pleased God) might haue bene done then: but God hath reserued it for some other. Which discouerie, if it may be done by you, it shall not only proue profitable vnto you, but it will also purchase perpetuall fame and renowme both to you and our countrey. And thus not doubting of your willing desires, and forwardnesse towards the same, we pray God to blesse you with a lucky beginning, fortunate successe, and happily to end the same. Amen.

Necessarie notes to be obserued, and followed in your discouerie, as hereafter followeth.

WHen your barke with all furniture and necessaries shall be in readinesse for you to depart to the sea (if it be that you take your barke at S. Nicholas, or any part of Dwina Reca) you shall from thence, euen as timely in the spring as the yce will permit you, saile, & make all expedition that may be, vnto the mouth of the riuer Pechora (as your

commission

commission doth leade you) and as you passe by the coast all alongst (notwithstanding the plat that sheweth you the description of the said coast, from Dwina unto Vaigats) yet you shall seeke by all the meanes that you can, to amend the same plat, using as many obseruations, as you possibly can do: and these notes following are to be obserued by you principally.

1 First, that you do obserue the latitude as often, and in as many places as you may possibly do it, noting diligently the place where you do so obserue the same.

2 Also that you doe diligently set with your compasse, how the land doth lie from point to point, all alongst as you goe, and to vse your iudgements how farre there may be betweene each of them.

3 Item, that you do alwayes vse to draw the proportion, and bending of the land, as well the lying out of the points, and headlands, unto the which you shall giue some apt names (at your discretion) as also the forme of the Bayes, and to make some marke in drawing the forme, and border of the same, where the high cliffes are, and where low land is, whether sandy hilles, or whatsoeuer: omit not to note any thing that may be sensible and apparant to you, which may serue to any purpose.

4 In passing along by any coast, that you keepe your lead going often times, and sound at the least once euery glasse, and oftener if you thinke good as occasion doth serue, and note diligently the depth with the maner of the ground, and at euery time, how farre the same sounding may be from the next shore to it: and how the next point or headland doth beare from you. And in the sea after you set off from your port, you shall orderly at the end of euery foure glasses sound, and if you finde ground, note the depth and what ground, but if you can finde no ground, you shall also note in what depth you could find no ground.

5 Also that you do diligently obserue the flowing, & ebbing in euery place, and how the tides do set, which way the flood doth come, and how much water it doth high in euery place, and what force the same tide hath to driue a ship in an houre, as neere as you can iudge it.

6 Also that you doe seeke to obserue with the instrument which I deliuer you herewith, according as I taught you at Rose Island, the true plat formes, and distances, in as many places as conueniently you may, for it serueth very aptly your purpose.

7 Also that you take with you paper and pnke, and keepe a continuall iournall or remembrance day by day, of all such things as shall fall out worth the knowledge, not forgetting or omitting to write it, and note it, that it may be shewed and read at your returne.

8 These orders if you shall diligently obserue, it will be easie for you to make a plat and perfect description of your discouery, and so shall your notes be sufficient to answere that which is looked for at your hands. But withall you may not forget to note as many things as you can learne and vnderstand by the report of any people whatsoeuer they be, so that it appertaine any way to our desires. And thus the Lord God prosper your voyage. Amen.

Certaine letters in verse, written by Master *George Turberuile* out of *Moscouia*, which went as Secretarie thither with Master *Tho. Randolph*, her Maiesties Ambassadour to the Emperour 1568, to certeine friends of his in *London*, describing the maners of the Country and people.

To his especiall friend Master Edward Dancie.

MY Dancie deare, when I recount within my brest,
My London friends, and wonted mates, and thee aboue the rest:
I feele a thousand fits of deepe and deadly woe,
To thinke that I from land to sea, from blisse to bale did go.
I left my native soile, full like a retchlesse man,
And vnacquainted of the coast, among the Russes ran:
A people passing rude, to vices vile inclinde,
Folke fit to be of Bacchus traine, so quaffing is their kinde.
Drinke is their whole desire, the pot is all their pride,
The lobzell head doth once a day stand needfull of a guide.
If he to banket bid his friends, he will not shrinke
On them at dinner to bestow a douzen kindes of drinke:
Such licour as they haue, and as the countrey giues,
But chiefly two, one called Kuas, whereby the Mouske liues.
Small ware and water like, but somewhat tart in taste,

Therest is Mead of home made, wherewith their lips they bathe.
And if he goe vnto his neighbours as a guest,
He cares for little meate, if so his drinke be of the best.
No wonder though they vse such vile and beastly trade,
Sith with the hatchet and the hand, their chiefest gods be made.
Their Idoles haue their hearts, or God they neuer call,
Vnlesse it be (Nichola Bough) that hangs against the wall.
The house that hath no god, or painted Saint within,
Is not to be resorted to, that roofe is full of sinne.
Besides their priuate gods, in open places stand
Their crosses vnto which they crooche, and blesse themselues with hand.
Deuoutly downe they ducke, with lopehead to the ground,
Was neuer more deceit in ragges, and greasie garments found.
Almost the meanest man in all the countrey rides,
The woman eke, against our vse, her trotting hoyle bestrides.
In sundry colours they both men and women goe,
In buskins all, that money haue on buskins to bestoe.
Eth woman hanging hath a ring within her eare,
Which all of ancient vse, and some of very pride doe weare.
Their gate is very braue, their countenance wise and sadde,
And yet they follow fleshly lustes, their trade of liuing badde.
It is no shame at all accompted to deflie
Anothers bedde, they make no care their follies to conceile,
Is not the meanest man in all the land but hee,
To buy her painted colours doeth allow his wife a fee.
Wherewith she deckes her selfe, and dies her tawnie skinne,
She praunks and paints her smoakie face, both brow, lip, cheeke, & chinne.
Yea those that honest are, if any such there bee
Within the land, doe vse the like: a man may plainely see
Vpon some womens cheekes the painting how it lies,
In plaister sort, for that too thicke her face the harlot dies.
But such as skilfull are, and cunning Dames indeede,
By sapie practise doe it well, yea sure they doe exceede,
They lay their colours so, as he that is full wise,
May easily be deceiu'd therein, if he doe trust his eyes.
I note a little mule, what maruelle makes them paine
Their faces, waying how they keepe the doores by meere constraint,
For seldom when, vnlesse on Church or marriage day
A man shall see the Dames abroade, that are of best aray.
The Russie meanes to reape the profit of her pride,
And so he mewes her to be sure, she lye by no mans side.
Thus much, friend Nancie, I did meane to write to thee,
To let thee weete in Russia land, what men and women bee.
Hereafter I perhaps of other things will write
To thee, and other of my friends, which I shall see with sight:
And other stuffe beliues, which true report shall tell,
Meane while I ende my louing lines, and bid thee now farewell.

To Spencer.

IF I should now forget, or not remember thee,
Thou Spencer might'st a foule rebuke, and shame impute to mee.
For I to open shew did loue thee passing well,
And thou wert he at parture, whome I loathde to bid farewell.
And as I went thy friend, so I continue still,
No better proofe thou canst then this desire of true good will,
I doe remember well when neede I should away,
And that the Poste would licence vs, no longer time to staye
Thou wrongst me by the skirt, and holding fast my hand,
Didst craue of me to send thee newes, and how I liked the lande.

It is a sandie soile, no very fruitfull thing,
Woze walke and woodie grounds there are, then closes fit for graine.
Yet graine there growing is, which they untimely take,
And cut or eare the corne be ripe, they make it on a stacke.
And laying sheafe by sheafe, their harueſt so they dry,
They make the greater haſte, for feare the frost the corne destroy.
For in the winter time, so glarie is the ground,
As neither grasse, nor other graine, in pastures may be found.
In comes the cattell then, the sheepe, the colt, the cowe,
Fast by his bed the Mowlike then a lodging doth allowe,
Whom he with fodder feeds, and holds as deere as life:
And thus they weare the winter with the Mowlike and his wife.
Seuen months the Winter dures, the glare it is so great,
As it is May before he turne, his ground to sowe his wheate.
The bodies eke that die vnburied lie they then,
Laid vp in coffins made of firre, as well the poorest men,
As those of greater state: the cause is lightly found,
For that in Winter time, they cannot come to breake the ground,
And wood so plenteous is, quite throughout all the land,
As rich, and poore, at time of death allurd of coffins stand.
Perhaps thou muſeſt much, how this may stand with reason,
That bodies dead can vncorrupt abide so long a season.
Take this for certaine truthe, as soone as heate is gone,
The force of colde the body binds as hard as any stone,
Without offence at all to any liuing thing:
And so they lye in perfect state, till next returne of Spring.
Their beasts be like to ours, as farre as I can see
For shape, and shewe, but somewhat lesse of bulke, and bone they be.
Of watrish taste, the flesh not firme, like English beefe,
And yet it seru's them very well, and is a good releefe:
Their sheepe are very small, sharpe singled, handfull long,
Great store of fowle on sea and land, the moorish reedes among.
The greatnes of the store doth make the prices leſſe,
Besides in all the land they know not how good meate to dreſſe.
They vse neither broach nor spit, but when the stone they heate,
They put their victuals in a pan, and so they bake their meate.
No pewter to be had, no dishes but of wood,
No vse of trenchers, cups cut out of birche are very good.
They vse but wooden spoones, which hanging in a case
Eache Mowlike at his girdle ties, and thinkes it no disgrace.
With whittles two or three, the better man the moe,
The chiefeſt Russies in the land, with spoone and knives doe goe.
Their houses are not huge of building, but they say,
They plant them in the loftieſt ground, to shift the snow away,
Which in the Winter time, eache where full thicke doth lie:
Which makes them haue the more deſire, to set their houses hie.
No stone worke is in vse, their rookes of rafters bee,
One linked in another fast, their wals are all of tree.
Of masts both long, and large, with mosse put in betweene,
To keepe the force of weather out, I neuer earſt haue seene
A grosse deuise so good, and on the rooke they lay
The burthen barke, to rid the raine, and sudden showres away.
In euery roome a stoue, to serue the Winter turne,
Of wood they haue sufficient store, as much as they can burne.
They haue no English glasse, of slices of a rocke
Right Sluda they their windowes make, that English glasse doth mocke.
They cut it very thinne, and sow it with a threed
In prettie order like to panes, to serue their present need.
No other glasse, good faith doth giue a better light:

An

And ſure the rocke is nothing rich, the coſt is very ſlight.
The cheefeſt place is that, where hangs the god by it,
The owner of the houſe himſelfe both neuer ſit,
Unleſſe h[illegible] better come, to whom he yeelds the ſeat:
The ſtranger bending to the god, the ground with brow muſt beat.
And in that very place which they moſt ſacred deeme,
The ſtranger lies: a token that his gueſt he doth eſteeme.
Where he is wont to haue a beares ſkinne for his bed,
And muſt, in ſtead of pillow, clap his ſaddle to his head.
In Ruſſia other ſhift there is not to be had,
For where the bedding is not good, the boalſters are but bad.
I muſed very much, what made them ſo to lie,
Sith in their countrey Downe is rife, and feathers out of crie:
Unleſſe it be becauſe the countrey is ſo hard,
They feare by niceneſſe of a bed their bodies would be mard,
I wiſht thee oft with vs, ſaue that I ſtood in feare
Thou wouldſt haue [illegible]athed to haue layd thy lummes vpon a beare,
As I and Stafford did, that was my mate in loue:
And yet (we thanke the God of heauen) we both right well haue ſpen.
Loe thus I make an ende: none other newes to thee,
But that the countrey is too colde, the people beaſtly bee.
I write not all I know, I touch but here and there,
For if I ſhould, my penne would pinch, and eke offend I feare.
Who ſo ſhall read this verſe, coniecture of the reſt,
And thinke by reaſon of our trade, that I do thinke the beſt.
But if no traffique were, then could I boldly pen
The hardneſſe of the ſoile, and eke the maners of the men.
They ſay the Lions paw giues iudgement of the beaſt:
And ſo may you deeme of the great, by reading of the leaſt.

To Parker.

My Parker, paper, pen, and inke were made to write,
And idle heads, that little do, haue leiſure to indite:
Wherefore, reſpecting thee, and thine aſſured loue,
If I would write no newes to thee, thou might'ſt my pen reproue.
And ſithence fortune thus hath thou'd my ſhippe on ſhore:
And made me ſeeke another Realme vnſeene of me before:
The maners of the men I purpoſe to declare,
And other priuate points beſides, which ſtrange and geaſon are.
The Ruſſie men are round of bodies, fully fac'd,
The greateſt part with bellies bigge that ouerhang the waſte,
Flat headed for the moſt, with faces nothing faire,
But browne, by reaſon of the ſtoue, and cloſeneſſe of the aire:
It is their common vſe to ſhaue or els to sheare
Their heads, for none in all the land long lolling locks doth weare,
Unleſſe perhaps he haue his ſouereigne prince diſpleaſ'd,
For then he neuer cuts his haire, vntill he be appeaſ'd.
A certaine ſigne to know who in diſpleaſure be,
For euery man that viewes his head, will ſay, Loe this is he.
And during all the time he lets his locks to grow,
Dares no man for his life to him a face of friendſhip ſhow.
Their garments be not gay, nor handſome to the eye,
A cap aloft their heads they haue, that ſtandeth very hie,
Which Colpack they do terme. They weare no ruffes at all:
The beſt haue collers ſet with pearle, which they Rubaſca call.
Their ſhirts in Ruſſie long, they worke them downe before,
And on the ſleeues with coloured ſilks, two inches good and more,
Aloft their ſhirts they weare a garment tacket wiſe
Right Onoriadks, and about his burlie waiſt he tyes

His poztkies, which in ſtead of better bzeeches bee
Of linnen cloth that garment is, no coppiece is to ſee.
A paire of parnen ſtocks to keepe the colde away,
Within his boots the Ruſſie weares, the heeles they vnderlay
With clouting clampes of ſteele, ſharpe pointed at the toes,
And ouer all a Shuba furd, and thus the Ruſſie goes.
Well bucned is the Shube, accozding to his ſtate,
Some Silke, of Siluer other ſome: but thoſe of poozeſt rate
Do weare no Shubs at all, but groſſer gownes to ſight,
That reacheth downe beneath the calfe, and that Armacha hight:
Theſe are the Ruſſies robes. The richeſt vſe to ride
From place to place, his ſeruant runnes, and followes by his ſide.
The Callacke beares his felt, to foyze away the raine:
Their bzidles are not very bzaue, their ſaddles are but plaine.
No bits but ſnaffles all, of birch their ſaddles be,
Much fashioned like the Scottiſh ſeates, bzoad flakes to keepe the knee
From ſweating of the bozſe, the pannels larger farre
And bzoader be then ours, they vſe ſhozt ſtirrups foz the warre:
Foz when the Ruſſie is purſued by cruel foe,
He rides away, and ſuddenly betakes him to his boe,
And bends me but about in ſaddle as he ſits,
And therewithall amids his race his following foe he hits.
Their bowes are very ſhozt, like Turkie bowes outright,
Of linowes made with birchen barke, in cunning maner bight.
Small arrowes, cruel heads, that fell and foyked bee,
Which being ſhot from out thoſe bowes, a cruel way will flee.
They ſelvome vſe to ſhoot their bozſe, vnleſſe they ride
In poſt vpon the frozen flouds, then cauſe they ſhall not ſlide,
He ſets a ſlender calke, and ſo he rides his way.
The bozſes of the countrey go good foureſcoze verſts a day,
And all without the ſpurre, once pricke them and they ſkippe,
But goe not fozward on their way, the Ruſſie hath his whippe
To rappe him on the ribbes, foz though all booted bee,
Yet ſhall you not a paire of ſpurres in all the countrey ſee,
The common game is cheſſe, almoſt the ſimpleſt wife
Both giue a checke and eke a mate, by practiſe comes their ſkill.
Againe they dice as faſt, the poozeſt rogues of all
Will ſit them downe in open field, and there to gaming fall.
Their dice are very ſmall, in faſhion like to thoſe
Which we doe vſe, he takes them vp, and ouer thumbe he throwes
Not ſhaking them a whit, they caſt ſuſpicioully,
And yet I deeme them voyd of art that dicing moſt apply.
At play when Siluer lacks, goes ſaddle, bozſe and all,
And eche thing els wozth Siluer waikes, although the price be ſmall.
Becauſe thou loueſt to play friend Parker other while,
I wiſh thee there the weary day with dicing to beguile.
But thou weart better farre at home, I wiſt it well,
And wouldeſt be loath among ſuch lowts ſo long a time to dwell.
Then iudge of vs thy friends, what kinde of life we had,
That neere the frozen pole to waſte our weary dayes were glad,
In ſuch a ſauage ſoile, where lawes no beare no ſway,
But all is at the king his will, to ſaue oz els to ſlay.
And that ſans cauſe, God wot, if ſo his minde be ſuch.
But what meane I with Kings to deale? we ought no Saints to touch.
Conceiue the reſt your ſelfe, and deeme what liues they lead,
Where luſt is Lawe, and Subiects liue continually in dzead.
And where the beſt eſtates haue none aſſurance good
Of lands, of liues, noz nothing falles vnto the next of blood.
But all of cuſtome doeth vnto the prince reuewne,

And all the whole reuenue comes vnto the King his crowne.
Good faith I see thee muse at what I tell thee now,
But true it is, no choice, but all at princes pleasure bow.
So Tarquine ruled Rome as thou remembrest well,
And what his fortune was at last, I know thy selfe canst tell.
Where will in Common weale doth beare the onely sway,
And lust is Lawe, the prince and Realme must needs in time decay.
The strangenesse of the place is such for sundry things I see,
As if I would I cannot write ech priuate point to thee.
The colde is rare, the people rude, the prince so full of pride,
The Realme so stored with Monks and nunnes, and priests on euery side:
The maners are so Turkie like, the men so full of guile,
The women wanton, Temples stuft with idols that defile
The Seats that sacred ought to be, the customes are so quaint,
As if I would describe the whole, I feare my pen would faint.
In summe, I say I neuer saw a prince that so did raigne,
Nor people so beset with Saints, yet all but vile and vaine.
Wilde Irish are as ciuill as the Russies in their kinde,
Hard choice which is the best of both, ech bloody, rude and blinde.
If thou bee wise, as wise thou art, and wilt be ruld by me,
Liue still at home, and couet not those barbarous coasts to see.
No good befalles a man that seeks, and findes no better place,
No ciuill customes to be learnd, where God bestowes no grace.
And truely ill they do deserue to be belou'd of God,
That neither loue nor stand in awe of his allured rod:
Which though be long, yet plagues at last the vile and beastly sorte
Of sinfull wights, that all in vice do place, their chiefest sport.
A dieu friend Parker, if thou list, to know the Russes well,
To Sigismundus booke repaire, who all the trueth can tell:
For he long earst in message went vnto that sauage King,
Sent by the Pole, and true report in ech respect did bring.
To him I recommend my selfe, to ease my peane of paine,
And now at last do wish thee well, and bid farewell againe.

The fourth voyage into *Persia*, made by M. *Arthur Edwards* Agent, *Iohn Sparke*, *Laurence Chapman*, *Christopher Faucet*, and *Richard Pingle*, in the yeere 1568. declared in this letter written from *Casbin* in *Persia* by the foresaide *Laurence Chapman* to a worshipfull merchant of the companie of *Russia* in *London*. Anno Domini 1569. Aprill 28.

WOrshipfull sir, my duetie alwayes remembred, and your prosperous health, and good successe in all your affaires wished, to the glory of God, and your owne hearts desire, &c. May it please you to vnderstand that your Agent M. Arthur Edwards and we departed from Yeraslaue in July 1568. and the 14. of August arriued at our port called Bilbil, with your ship the Grace of God, and the goods in her in good safetie, God bee thanked for it, finding there neither the people so ready to aid vs for the bringing of her in, & vnlading of the goods, nor yet so obedient to the Shaughs priuilege, as the worshipfull company haue bene informed. Our goods brought vpon land, we were compelled to open & sel as they would set the price, or otherwise it would haue bene worse for vs. Being so satisfied to their contentment, we were speedily aided with camels by the prince Erasbec Sultan his appointment, to carry our goods to Shamaki, to which place we attained the first of September, finding it so throughly furnished with all maner of commodities by occasion of our late comming, and by such as came before vs, that no man would acke to buy any one parcell of karsie of vs, and lying then the space of one whole moneth before your Agent Arthur Edwards would disperse vs abroade with the goods, such as came out of Russia afterwardes, had brought their goods to that and other places, and spoyled those sales wee might haue made, being now abroad in time conuenient, being no little hinderance to the worshipfull, as also great griefe vnto vs to see. To conclude, through our daily calling vpon him, he bent himselfe for Casbin, taking with him the greatest summe of the goods, and two of the worshipfuls seruants, to witte, Iohn Sparke and my selfe, to helpe and procure the better sale for the same: and leauing at Sha-

Their arrival at Bilbil the 14. of August 1568.

Prince Erasbec.

Chriſtopher Faucet and Richard Pingle.

maki Chriſtopher Faucet and Richard Pingle with three hundred and fiftie pieces of karſies in their handes, ſuppoſed to be ſolde there or in Arraſh before hee ſhould be able to make his returne from Casbin, which, ſo farre foorth as I can vnderſtand, lie for the greateſt part vnſolde. And being vpon our way, at a certaine towne called Ardouil, we chanced to barter nine pieces of karſies with thoſe merchants for foureſcore and foure batemans of cynamom, ſelling the karſies at one hundred and fiftie ſhawghs the piece.

And being at that preſent not farre from Teueris, called the principal place in this countrey for vttering of cloth or karſies, by much intreatie I perſwaded your Agent to ſend thither to proue what might be done, and receiuing from him foure and fiftie pieces of karſies, as alſo his commiſſion for the ſale of the ſame, I proceeded on that voyage my ſelfe, and one Tolmach in company with me, finding in that place great ſtore of broad cloth and karſies brought thither, ſome part by the Turkes who be reſident there, ſome by the Armenians, who fetch them at Aleppo, and ſome by the townesmen, who trauell vnto Venice and there buy them, ſo that no man offered me one penie more then a hundred and fourtie ſhawghs for a karſie: and hauing ſpeciall commiſſion and charge from your Agent not to ſtay there aboue the ſpace of ſeuen dayes after my arriuall there, but to repaire to Casbin with all ſpeed, and furthermore, hauing regard to keepe vp the price of the worſhipfuls commodities, according to their deſire, I found meanes to barter them away for ſpices, ſuch as were there to be had, neither in goodneſſe nor yet in price to my content: neuertheleſſe, conſidering the colde ſales which were there, as well for your karſies, as alſo the hot newes, that Ormuz way was ſhut vp by occaſion that the Indians do warre againſt them, which is true in deed: and againe the deſire that the worſhipfull hath to haue ſuch commodities bought, I thought it neceſſary to buy them, the prices and weight whereof appeareth at large by my accompt ſent to the worſhipfull, and is, as I thinke, the whole ſumme of ſpices bought at this time.

Warre againſt the Portingals at Ormuz.

The gouernour of Grozin his merchant.

It chanced me in that place to meet with the gouernours merchant of Grozin, who was not a little deſirous to bargen with me for a hundred pieces of karſies for his maſter called Leuontie, and offering me ſo good bands for the paiment of the money or ſilke to the merchants contentment vpon the deliuery of them, as in any place within all this countrey is to be had: and offering me beſides his owne letter in the behalfe of his maſter, that no cuſtome ſhould be demanded for the ſame, and the obtaining alſo at his maſters hand as large a priuiledge for the worſhipful to trauel into all parts of his dominion, as the Shaugh had giuen them, and hearing good report made of him by the Armenians alſo, and that he was a Chriſtian, I was much more the willing to bargen with him, and ſold him a hundred pieces for a hundred and threeſcore ſhawghs a piece, to be paid to the merchant in Grozin either in money or ſilke to his contentment, within three dayes after the deliuerie of the karſies there, hauing a band of him made by the Metropolitanes owne hand, for the performance of the ſame, which is as ſure as any here is to be deuiſed: and vpon the ſame I ſent my Tolmach from me backe to Shamaki, with ſuch goods as I bought at Teueris, and to the ende hee might cauſe the worſhipfuls ſeruants there to ſee this bargen accompliſhed. At whoſe arriuall there, as I do perceiue, the Captaine would not accompliſh his bargen to take them, but ſaith, hee hath no need of them: ſuch is the conſtancie of all men in this countrey, with whomſoeuer you haue bargen. If the ware be bought, and they doe miſlike it afterwards, they will bring it againe, and compel you to deliuer the money for it againe, regarding the Shawghs letters, which manifeſteth the contrary, as a ſtraw in the winde: by meanes whereof, the worſhipfull may know whether all be true that hath bene written of this countrey people or not.

The generall inconſtancie in the merchants and dealers of theſe parts.

I am informed by all the brokers in Teueris, that the way once open to Ormuz, from whence commeth no ſuch ſtore of ſpices as the worſhipfull doeth looke for, that here will bee put away in Teueris, ſome for money, and other ſome for barter, to the number of three hundred or foure hundred pieces of karſies, being in coulers and goodneſſe to the examples here ſent you, the reſt of the karſies to make them vp a thouſand, and broad clothes to the ſumme of a hundred, bee as many as will be put away peerely in this countrey, ſo farre as yet I can perceiue.

The trade betweene the Venetians and the Armenians not eaſily to be broken.

To breake the trade betwixt the Venetians and the whole company of the Armenians it is not poſſible, vnleſſe the worſhipful will finde ſome meanes to receiue of them peerely to the number of 100. catters or mules lading, and deliuer them for the ſame one third part money, the reſt cloth and karſies fitted in coulers meete for this countrey: the examples, as aboue ſaid, are ſent vnto you.

At Amadia ſixe dayes iourney from Teueris, grow abundance of galles, which are brought peerely by the Venetians, and be ſolde there for two biſſes the Teueris bateman, which as your Agent here ſaith, maketh ſixe pound Engliſh weight, but I doubt it wil not ſo be proued. Neuertheleſſe it is ſuppoſed much good will bee done by buying of them: which might at this preſent be partly bene proued, if ſo be that ſome could do but halfe that which hath bene written.

Touching drugges, I finde many as well at Teueris, as alſo in Casbin, but the goodneſſe

thing like to ſuch as be brought into England out of other places: & the price is ſo high that ſmall gaine will be had in buying of them: albeit, if I had bene furniſhed with money, as I might haue bene, if ſome would, I would haue bought ſome, to the ende the goodneſſe of them might haue bene ſeene in England. At my comming to Casbin I found no maner of ſales of any commoditie made, but all lying there whole, and newes giuen out (as your Agent ſaith) that the Shaugh would buy all ſuch commodities as he had, and giue him ſilke and ſpices for the ſame: but by report the Shaugh neuer tooke cloth into his treaſurie all the dayes of his life, and will not now begin: his whole trade is in raw ſilke, which he ſelleth alwayes for money to the Armenians and Turkes, and ſuch other as vſe to buy it: thus hoping of that which is not like to be had, hee hath driuen off the time, not ſending to any other places: by means whereof the worſhipfuls goods lie vnſold to this day to their great hinderance, which I for my part am not a little ſory to ſee.

Babylon is from hence fifteene dayes iourney, whereas by true report be great ſtore of Dates, and ſold for a ſilke the bathmah, the commoditie fit for England, and the place ſo neere vnto vs might eaſily haue bene knowen, if hee, whoſe deeds and ſayings differ much, had bene willing to the ſame. Caſſan alſo is but ſeuen dayes iourney from hence, a place by report where moſt ſtore of ſpices be at all times to be had, euer and aboue any place in this countrey: it could not be granted by him to be ſeen and prooued at this time: if this be loſſe to the worſhipfull, referre it to the want of one which can do that which he ſpeaketh in words. Babylon 15. dayes iourney from Caſbin.

To trauell in this countrey is not onely miſerable and vndomfortable for lacke of townes and villages to harbour in when night commeth, and to refreſh men with wholeſome victuals in time of need, but alſo ſuch ſcarſitie of water, that ſometime in three dayes iourney together, is not to be found any drop fit for man or beaſt to drinke, beſides the great danger we ſtand in for robbing by theſe infidels, who doe account it remiſſion of ſinnes to waſh their hands in the blood of one of vs. Better it is therefore in mine opinion to continue a beggar in England during life, then to remaine a rich Merchant ſeuen yeeres in this Countrey, as ſome ſhall well find at their comming hither.

By commandement of the Agent alſo I went to Gilan, as well to ſee what harbor was there for your ſhip, as alſo to vnderſtand what commoditie is there beſt ſold, and for what quantitie. I found the way from hence ſo dangerous and troubleſome, that with my pen I am not able to note it vnto you: no man trauelleth from hence thither, but ſuch poore people as need conſtraineth to buy Rice for their reliefe to liue vpon, and they lay not aboue twentie bathmans vpon a caſter, and it lieth no lower then the ſkirts of the ſaddle, and he eſcapeth very hardly that commeth there with the ſame. His voyage to Gilan.

The towne of Laighon, which was the chiefeſt place in all that land, haue I ſeen, and Langro and Roſar alſo, which be now ouerrun by the Shaugh and his power, and be ſo ſpoiled, & the people ſo robbed, that not one of them is able to buy one karſie. The beſt commoditie there to bee bought, is raw ſilke, and is ſold in the Summer time for 38. ſhaughs the Laighon bathman, which is little aboue 40. li. waight, and for ready money: alſo there is to bee had what ſtore of Alom you will, and ſold there for one biſſe the Teueris bathman.

In theſe parts be many Turkie merchants reſident, which giue an outward ſhew, as though they were glad of our comming hither, but ſecretly they be our mortall enemies, ſearching by all meanes to hinder our ſales, becauſe we ſhould the ſooner giue ouer our trade thither, which in proceſſe of time I hope will growe to better perfection. They wiſh vs to go to Hallape with the reſt of our commodities vnſold, where they ſay we ſhall haue good intertainment in ſpight of the great number of Venetians which be there reſident, and the cuſtome but two in the hundred, and our karſies to be ſold preſently, had we neuer ſo many, for twelue duckets, which maketh of this money 165. ſhaughs: but by ſuch as know the place, market and cuſtome, it is reported to vs credibly to the contrary, and that ſuch karſies as ours be, are not ſold for aboue 8. duckets there: the cuſtome thirtie in the hundred and more, that no place in the world is ſo well furniſhed with good cloth and karſies, and of ſo braue colour as that place is, ſuppoſing it to bee craftily purpoſed of them, to bring vs into trouble, which God defend vs from. The malice of the Turkiſh merchants.

The price of ſpices be theſe, at this preſent enhanced by reaſon the way is ſhut to Ormus, which when God ſhal ſend open, I purpoſe (God willing) to ſee, and at my returne to aduertiſe the worſhipfull what benefit is there to be had in all points, ſo neere as I can learne: Pepper 25. ſhaughs the Teueris bathman: Cloues 50. ſhaughs, Long pepper 25. ſhaughs, Maces large 50. ſhaughs Ginger 24. ſhaughs, ready money all, or els looke not vpon them. And the beſt ſort of rawe ſilke is ſold for 60. ſhaughs the Teueris bathman. Thus for want of further matter to inlarge, I ende for this time, beſeeching God to preſerue you in continuall health. The price of ſpices.

By your obedient ſeruant, *Laurence Chapman.*

Notes

Notes concerning this fourth voyage into Persia, begun in the *moneth of July 1568. gathered by M.* Richard Willes *from the mouth of Master Arthur Edwards,* which was Agent in the same.

When he came first to the Sophies presence, at his court in Casbin, bringing his interpreter with him, and standing farre off, the Sophie (sitting in a seat royall with a great number of his noble men about him) bad him come neere, and that thrise, until he came so neere him that he might haue touched him with his hand. Then the first demand that he asked him was, from what countrey he came: he answered, that he came from England. Then asked hee of his noble men, who knew any such countrey: But when Edwards saw that none of them had any intelligence of that name, he named it Inghilterra, as the Italians call England. Then one of the noble men said Londro, meaning thereby Londō, which name is better knowen in far countries out of Christendome, then is the name of England. When Edwards heard him name Londro he said that that was the name of the chiefe citie of England, as was Teueris of the chiefe city of Persia. He asked him many things more, as of the realme of England, maruelling that it should be an Iland of so great riches and power, as Edwards declared vnto him: of the riches & abundance of our merchandize he further vnderstood by our traffike in Moscouia and other countreis. He demanded also many things of the Queenes maiestie, and of the customes and lawes of the realme: saying oftentimes in his owne language, Bara colla, (that is to say) Well sayd. He asked also many things of king Philip, & of his wars against the Turke at Malta. Then he demanded of him what was the chiefe cause of his resort into his realme. And being certified that it was for the trade of merchandize, he asked what kind of merchandize he could bring thither. Such (sayd hee) as the Venetian merchants do, which dwelling in our country in the city of Londro send to Venice, & from thence into Turkie by Halepo & Tripoli in Syria, from whence, as by the second and third hands, with great charges of many customs and other things thereunto pertaining, they are at the length brought into your countrey and cities of Persia. What merchandize are those? sayd the Sophie. Edwards answered, that they were great abundance of fine karsies, of broad clothes of all sorts & colours, as skarlets, violets, and other of the finest cloth of all the world. Also that the Venetians brought out of England not onely such clothes ready made, but further more great plenty of fine wooll to mingle with their wools, of which they could not otherwise make fine cloth: affirming that there went out of England yeerly that waies, aboue two hundred thousand karsies, and as many broad clothes, beside fine wooll & other merchandize, beside also the great abundance of like clothes, the which were caried into Spaine, Barbarie, & diuers other countries. The Sophie then asked him by what means such merchandize might be brought into Persia. Right wel sir (said he) by the way of Moscouia, with more safety and in much shorter time then the Venetians can bring them: first from England to Venice, and from thence into Persia by the way of Turkie. And therefore if it shal please your maiestie to grant vs free passage into all your dominions, with such priuileges as may appertaine to the safegard of our liues, goods and merchandize, we will furnish your countries with all such merchandize and other commodities, in shorter time, and better cheape then you may haue the same at the Turkes hands. This talke and much more was between the Sophie and Edwards for the space of two houres: all which things liked him so well, that shortly after he granted to the sayd Arthur Edwards other priuileges for the trade of merchandize into Persia, all written in Azure and gold letters, and deliuered vnto the lord keeper of the Sophie his great seale. The lord keeper was named Coche Califay, who sayd that when the Shaugh (that is the king or prince) did set to seale any letters, that last priuiledge should be sealed & deliuered to Laurence Chapman. In this priuiledge is one principall article for seruants or merchants: That if the Agent do perceiue that vpon their naughtie doings, they would become Busormen, that then the Agent whersoeuer he shall find any such seruant or seruants, to take them and put them in prison, and no person to keepe them or maintaine them. This article was granted in respect of a custome among the Persians, being Mahumetans, whose maner is friendly to receiue and welentertaine, both with gifts and liuing, all such Christians, as for saking their religion, will become of the religion of the Persians. Insomuch that before this priuiledge was granted, there was great occasion of naughty seruants to deceiue and rob their maisters, that vnder the colour of professing that religion, they might liue among them in such safetie, that you might haue no lawe against them, either to punish them or to recouer your goods at their hands, or elsewhere. For before the Sophie (whom they say to be a marueilous wise and gracious prince) seemed to fauour our nation, and to grant them such priuiledges, the people abused them very much, and so hated them, that they would not touch them, but reuiled them, calling them Cafars and Gawars, which is, infidels

Londro. London.

The Venetians traffike in England.

or misbeleeuers. But after they saw how greatly the prince fauoured them, they had them afterward in great reuerence, and would kisse their hands and vse them very friendly. For before they tooke it for no wrong to rob them, defraud them, beare false witnesse against them, and such merchandizes as they had bought or sold, make them take it againe, and change it as often as them listed. And if any stranger by chance had killed one of them, they would haue the life of two for one slaine, and for the debts of any strãger would take the goods of any other of the same nation, with many other such like abuses, in maner vnknowen to the prince, before the complaints of our men made vnto him for reformation of such abuses: which were the cause that no merchant strangers of contrary religiõ durst come into his dominions with their commodities, which might be greatly to the profite of him and his subiects.

The Articles of the second priuiledge deliuered to *Laurence Chapman*, which are to be annexed vnto the former priuiledge.

10 Item, that the merchants haue free libertie, as in their first priuiledge, to goe vnto Gilan, and all other places of his dominions, now or hereafter when occasion shall be giuen.

11 Item, if by misfortune any of their ships should breake, or fall vpon any part of his dominions on the sea coast, his subiects to helpe with all speed to saue the goods and to be deliuered to any of the sayd merchants that liueth: or otherwise to be kept in safetie vntil any of them come to demaund them.

12 Item, if any of the said merchants depart this life in any citie or towne, or on the high way, his gouernours there to see their goods safely kept, and to be deliuered to any other of them that shall demand them.

13 Item, the said merchants to take such camel-men as they themselues will, being countrey people, and that no Russell Bash do let or hinder them. And the said owners of the camels to bee bound to answere them such goods as they shal receiue at their hands, and the camel-men to stand to the losses of their camels or horses.

14 Item more, that the sayd Carters do demaund no more of them, then their agreement was to pay them.

15 Item more, if they be at a price with any Carters, & haue giuen earnest, the camel-men to see they keepe their promise.

16 Item, if any of the said merchants be in feare to trauel, to giue thẽ one or more to go with them and see them in safetie with their goods, to the place they will goe vnto.

17 Item, in all places, to say, in all cities, townes or villages on the high way, his subiects to giue them honest roume, and victuals for their money.

18 Item, the sayd merchants may in any place, where they shall thinke best, build or buy any house or houses to their owne vses. And no person to molest or trouble them, and to stand in any Caruan where they will, or shal thinke good.

THe commodities which the merchants may haue by this trade into Persia are thought to bee great, and may in time perhaps be greater then the Portugals trade into ỹ East Indies, forasmuch as by the way of Persia into England, the returne may be made euery yeere once: whereas the Portugals make the returne from Calecut but once in two yeeres, by a long and dangerous voiage all by sea: for where as the citie and Iland of Ormus, lying in the gulfe of Persia, is the most famous Part towne of all East India, whither al ỹ merchandises of India are brought, the same may in shorter time and more safely be brought by land and riuers through Persia, euen into the Caspian sea, and from thence by the countreis of Russia or Moscouia by riuers, euen vnto the citie of Yeraslaue, and from thence by land 180. miles to Vologda, and from thence againe by water euen vnto England.

The merchandises which be had out of Persia for the returne of wares are silke of all sortes and colours, both raw and wrought. Also all maner of spices and drugs, pearles & pretious stones, likewise carpets of diuers sortes, with diuers other rich merchandises. It was told me of them that came last from Persia, that there is more silke brought into some one city of Persia, then is brought into the city of London. Also that one village of Armenia named Gilgat doeth carie euery fine hundred, and sometime a thousand mules laden with silke to Halepo in Soria of Turkie, being 4. dayes iourney from Tripoli, where the Venetians haue their continuall abiding, and from thence silks which they returne for English karsies and other clothes into all partes of Christendome.

The

The maner how the Chriſtians become Buſormen, and forſake *their religion.*

I Haue noted here before that if any Chriſtian will become a Buſorman, that is, one that hath forſaken his faith, and be a Mahumetan of their religion, they giue him many gifts, and ſometime alſo a liuing. The maner is, that when the deuill is entred into his heart to forſake his faith, he reſorteth to the Soldan or gouernor of the towne, to whom hee maketh proteſtation of his diuelliſh purpoſe. The gouernour appointeth him a horſe, and one to ride before him on another horſe, bearing a ſword in his hand, and the Buſorman bearing an arrow in his hand, and rideth in the citie, curſing his father and mother: and if euer after he returne to his owne religion, he is guiltie of death, as is ſignified by the ſword borne before him. A young man, a ſeruant of one of our merchants, becauſe he would not abide the correction of his maſter for his faults, was minded to forſake his faith. But (as God would) he fell ſuddenly ſicke and died, before he gaue himſelfe to the deuill. If he had become a Buſorman, he had greatly troubled the merchants: for if he would then haue ſaid that halfe their goods had bene his, they would haue giuen credite vnto him. For the auoiding of which inconuenience, it was granted in the priuileges, that no Buſorman, &c. as there appeareth.

In Perſia in diuers places oxen and kine beare the tents and houſhold ſtuffe of the poore men of the countrey, which haue neither camels nor horſes.

Of the tree which beareth Bombaſin cotton, or Goſſampine.

IN Perſia is great abundance of Bombaſin cotton, & very fine: this groweth on a certaine little tree or bzier, not paſt the height of a mans waſte or little more: the tree hath a ſlender ſtalke like vnto a bzier, or to a carnation gilliflowre, with very many branches, bearing on euery branch a fruit or rather a cod, growing in round forme, containing in it the cotton: and when this bud or cod commeth to the bignes of a walnut, it openeth and ſheweth foorth the cotton, which groweth ſtill in bignes vntill it be like a fleece of wooll as big as a mans fiſt, and beginneth to be looſe, and then they gather it as [illegible]ere the ripe fruite. The ſeeds of theſe trees are as big as peaſon, and are blacke, and ſomewhat long, and not round: they ſowe them in plowed ground, where they grow in the fields in great abundance in many countries in Perſia, and diuers other regions.

The writing of the Perſians.

ARthur Edwards ſhewed me a letter of the Sophie, written in their letters backward, ſubſigned with the hands both of the Sophy & his Secretarie. The Sophies ſubſcription was onely one word (his name I ſuppoſe was Shaugh) written in golden letters vpon red paper. The whole letter was alſo written on the ſame piece of red paper, being long & narow, about ꝑ length of a foote, and not paſt three inches broad. The priuate ſigner of the Sophie was a round printed marke about the bignes of a roial, onely printed vpon the ſame paper without any ware or other ſeale, the letter ſeem ſo miſhapen and diſordered, that a man would thinke it were ſomwhat ſcribled in maner at aduentures. Yet they ſay that almoſt euery letter with his pricke or circumflex ſignifieth a whole word. Inſomuch that in a piece of paper as big as a mans hand their writing doeth containe as much as doeth ours almoſt in a ſheet of paper.

The fift voiage into Perſia made by M. *Thomas Baniſter*, and maſter Geofrey Ducket, *Agents for the Moſcouie companie, begun from England in the* yeere 1568. and continuing to the yeere 1574. following. Written by *P. I.* from the mouth of M. *Lionel Plumtree.*

VPon the 3. day of July 1568. they embarked themſelues at Yeraſlaue, being accompanied with Lionel Plumtree, and ſome 12. Engliſh men more, in a Barke called the Thomas Bonauenture of the burden of 70. tunnes, taking alſo along with them of Ruſſes to the number of 40. for their vſe and imploiments. It fell out in the way, before they came to Aſtracan by 40. miles, that the Nagaian Tartars, being a kind of theeuiſh and cruell people, made an aſſault vpon them with 18. boates of theirs, each of them being armed, ſome with ſwords, ſome with ſpeares, and ſome others with bowes and arrowes, and the whole number of them they diſcouered to be about 300 men. They for their parts, although they could haue wiſhed a quiet voyage and iourney without blowes and violence, yet not willing to be ſpoiled with ſuch Barbarians as they were, began deſi-

The Engliſh Barke aſſaulted neere Aſtracan by the Nagaian Tartars.

defend themselues against their assault, by meanes whereof a very terrible & fierce fight followed and continued hot & sharpe for two houres, wherein our men so wel plaied their parts with their caliuers, that they forced the Tartars to flee with the losse of 120. of them, as they were afterwards enformed by a Russe prisoner, which escaped from the Nagaians, and came to them to Astracan.

Astracan besieged by 70000. Turks and Tartars.

In this towne of Astracan they were somwhat hindered of their iourney, and staied the space of five weekes by reason of a great army of 70000. Turkes and Tartars which came thither vpon the instigation of the great Turke, hoping either to haue surprised it suddenly or by continuance of siege to win the same. But in the end by reason that the winter approched, as also, because they had receiued newes of a great expedition, which the Emperour of Russia was in prouiding for the defence of the said place, they were constrained to raise their siege, & to leaue the town as they found it.

Vpon their departure our men had opportunitie to proceed on their voyage, and vsing the occasion, they left Astracan, and came to Bilbil towards the end of October: from whence they went to Shauaran, where (as they lodged in their tentes) they were greatly molested with strange troopes of holcanes or foxes, which were so busie with them that they tooke their meate and vittailsout of their lodgings, and deuoured to the bare bones in one night a mighty wilde Boze that was sent vnto them for a present from the gouernour of the countrey.

Hauing staied here some three or foure daies in prouiding of cariages and other necessaries for their iourney, they departed thence and came to Shamaky, which is foure dayes iourney from the aforesaid Shauaran. In this towne of Shamaky their whole company spent out the Winter, and from thence in April following they tooke their iourney towards Ardouil a place of great account and much esteemed, by reason of the sepulchres of the Emperours of Persia, which for the most part lie there buried, and so is growen to bee a place of their superstitious deuotion. In this towne of Ardouil they sojourned the space of 5. or 6. moneths, finding some traffique and sales, but to no purpose, the towne being more inhabited and frequented with gentlemen and noblemen then merchants.

The difference of religion bred great broiles in this towne whiles they remained there: for the brother sought the destruction of the brother, and the neerest kinsmen rose vp one against another, insomuch that one of their company Lionel Plumtree hath seene in one day sometimes 14. slaine in a garboile. And he being further desirous to see their maner of fight, or rather somewhat more curious to behold, then mistrustful of their blowes, was like to haue borne a share in their bloodie tragedie, being twise wounded with their shot and arrowes, although not to the death.

At this towne the Shaw Thamas sent a messenger for our men to come to his presence at Casbin, to whom Thomas Banister failed not to goe, although master Ducket lay very sicke at Ardouil, and in such case that they almost despaired of his recouerie. Hee being come to the Shaugh was receiued and entertained of him with great fauour and speciall countenance, and had the most part of all his requests granted him, this onely excepted, that whereas he entreated a safe conduct or sufferance to transport and carry through his dominions certaine horses into India, the Shaugh seemed loth to yeeld thereunto, and yet did not altogether denie it, but referred it to some further time. As for the point of traffique, he could not make that motiõ or request that was then so soone granted as it was preferred: and the Shaugh himselfe bought there of him many kersies, and made him as good payment as any man could wish, and oftentimes would send his money before the wares were deliuered, that he might be the surer of this honourable intended dealing.

One thing somewhat strange I thought good in this place to remember, that whereas hee purposed to send a great summe of money to Mecca in Arabia, for an offering to Mahomet their prophet, he would not send any money or coyne of his owne, but sent to the English merchants to exchange his coyne for theirs, according to the value of it, yeelding this reason for the same, that the money of the merchants was gotten by good meanes, and with good consciences, and therefore worthie to be made for an oblation to their holy prophet, but his owne money was rather gotten by fraud, oppression and vnhonest meanes, and therefore was not fit to serue for so holie a vse.

After three moneths spent in Casbin the sayde Thomas Banister departed towards the great citie of Tauris, where being arriued, he found M. Ducket well recouered of his sicknesse, whom he had left ill at Ardouil.

In this Citie the foresayde Master Ducket made sales of the English commodities, remaining for that purpose the space of two yeeres and a halfe. And besides other kindes of merchandize of that countrey, he bought great store of gals which grow in great abundance at a place

within

within one dayes iourney of the aforesayd Tauris.

After this Thomas Banister departed from Tauris, and went to Shamaky to giue order for the transporting of those commodities which were bought for England. And hauing dispatched them away, he went thence to Arrash, a towne foure dayes iourney with camels from Shamaky for the buying of rawe silke. But there by reason of the vnwholesomnesse of the aire, and corruption of the waters in the hote time of the yeere, he with Lawrence Chapman and some other English men vnhappily died: which being knowen of M. Ducker, he immediately came from Tauris to Arrash, to take possession of the goods, for otherwise by the custome of the country, if there had bene no merchant or other friend of his to enter vpon that which he left, all had fallen into the Shaughs hands, which goods notwithstanding could not bee recouered from the officers which had seized and sealed vp the same, vntill M. Ducker had bene in person with the Shaugh, and had procured his order for the deliuerie thereof.

The death of Thomas Banister and Laurence Chapman.

Lionel Plumtree, in the meane time that M. Ducker was at Casbin in suite for goods, vpon the perswasion of certaine Bogharians, made prouision for a iourney to Cathaia, with carriages and commodities, and hauing all things ready, departed secretly with a Carauan: but being gone forwards on his way sixe dayes iourny, some fifty horsemen by the procurement of Humfry Gressell (who afterwards being at Ormus in the East Indies, was there cruelly burnt in the Inquisition by the Portingals) were sent after him in poste from Soltan Erasbec, the Shaughs lieutenant, to fetch him backe againe, not suffering him to passe on so perilous and dangerous a iourney for feare of diuers inconueniences that might follow.

Humfrey Gressell burnt at Ormus.

After this M. Ducker returned from Casbin to Shamaky againe, and immediately made preparation for a iourney to Cassan, being about foure dayes iourney from Shamaky, and caried with him foure mules laden with mony.

In the way of his trauel he passed through Persepolis, sometime the roiall seate of the Emperors of Persia, but now altogether ruined and defaced, whereof remaine to be seene at this day two gates onely that are distant one from the other the space of 12. miles, and some few pinnacles in the mountains and conueiances for fresh water.

The foresaid Cassan is a towne that consisteth altogether of merchandise, and the best market all the land is there, being greatly frequented by the merchants of India.

Here our men bought great store of al maner of wrought silkes, and some spices, and good store of Turkie stones.

The towne is much to be commended for the ciuil and good gouernment that is there vsed. An idle person is not suffred to liue amongst them.

The child that is but fiue yeeres old is set to some labour. No ill rule, disorder or riote by gaming or otherwise, is there permitted. Playing at Dice or Cards is by the law presently death.

At this Cashan they remained about the space of tenne weekes, and then came downe againe to Shamaky, and after some time spent in diuers places of the country for buying of raw silke and other commodities, they came at last to Shauaran againe, where their ship was in harbour, and then they shipt all their goods and embarked themselues also, setting sayle the eight day of May, in the yeere 1573. intending to fetch Astracan. By reason of the varietie of the windes and dangerous flats of the Caspian sea, they beat it vp and downe some 20. dayes. And the 28. day riding at anker vpon the flats, certaine Russe Cossaks, which are outlawes or banished men, hauing intelligence of their being there, and of the great wealth that they had with them, came to them with diuers boates vnder the colour of friendship, and entred their ship, but immediately they tooke their hatchets & slew diuers of the Russes that were of the ship vpon the hatches. Whereupon master Ducker, Lionell Plumtree, William Smith, the master, a man of singular valure, and Amos Riall being vnder the Spardecke, did so well behaue themselues, that they skowred the hatches, and slew 14. of the Cossaks gunners, and hurt and wounded about 30. more, being of them al in number 150. at the least, armed with caliuers and other weapons fit for so infamous a purpose.

M. Ducker notwithstanding and the rest aforesaid receiued diuers wounds from the enemie, and were so hurt, and withall so oppressed with the multitude and force of them, that they were at last constrained to make an agreement with the Cossaks by rendring the ship into their hands, hauing receiued first their othes sworne by their crucifixes, not to do any further harme to their persons.

The English ship taken by the Cossaks.

Thus the shippe being taken, and all the English grieuously hurt, the Cossaks immediately discharged the ship of them, putting them all into the ship boate with two or three Persian targets full of horse flesh and swines flesh, without further victuals or reliefe: they being in that case made the best hast they could to get to Astracan: and being come to the towne, master Ducker

made great suite to the captaine to haue men and boates set out for the rescuing and recouering of the ship if it were possible: who immediately sent out his sonne with fortie boates and fiue hundred men to pursue the Pirats, and by good hap came to the place where they rid at anker with the ship, but by reason of their foolishnes in striking by their drums before they were come neere them, the Cossaks discouering the boats, cut their cables and put out to sea, whereupon the boats not being able to follow them, returned againe to Astracan. After which, 60. boats more were sent out to pursue them againe the second time: & that second army came to a place where they found many of those Cossaks and slew them, and found out the places where they had hid certaine parcels of their goods in the earth in the chests of the ship: all which they recouered againe for the English merchants, to the value of 5000. li. of 30. or 40. thousand pound, but all the rest the Cossaks in the ship had caried away.

In the same place they found further diuers of the Cossaks which the Englishmen had slaine, buried in the earth, and wrapt some in fortie or fifty yards of Satein and Taffataes, and some in Turkie carpets cut & spoiled by those villanous Pirats, of whom afterwards as many as could be taken by the Persians who entirely loued the English merchants, were put to most cruell torments in all places according to their deserts.

But our men being thus spoyled of their goods, and wounded in their bodies, remained about two moneths at Astracan for their better recouerie: & hauing gotten some reasonable strength, they then prouided boates and went vp the riuer of Volga to Cazan, with such goods as they had recouered from the Cossaks. From Cazan they went towards Yeraslaue, but in the way the ice intercepted them about the beginning of October, where suddenly in the night they were taken with a cruell and vehement frost, and there withall the waters so congealed, that their boates were crushed and cut in sunder with the ice, whereby they sustained both a further danger of life and losse of goods: but as much as they could preserue with much adoe, they conueyed ouer land in sleds to Vologda, and from thence sent much of it to Saint Nicholas to be laden in the ships for England. Ice in the beginning of October.

But Walter Ducket, Lionel Plumtree and Amos Risll went with some parcels to the Mosko, and there sold certaine quantities of it to the Emperour, who pitying the mightie losse that they had sustained by his owne rebellious people and subiects, bought himselfe as much as he liked, and payed present money for the same. So that Winter being spent out in Mosko, and such wares prouided by them as serued for England, they departed to Saint Nicholas, and there embarked in the moneth of August: and hauing endured a very terrible passage in nine weekes and three dayes, with some hardnesse of victuals, contrary and furious windes, and other sea accidents, they arriued at London in the moneth of October, one thousand fiue hundred seuentie and foure, and so made an ende of an vnfortunate voyage: which if it had pleased God to prosper, that all things had come home as safely as they were carefully prouided, and painfully laboured for, it had proued the richest voiage and most profitable returne of commoditie, that had euer bene vndertaken by English merchants, who, notwithstanding all misfortunes, lost nothing of their principall aduenture, but onely the interest and gaine that might haue risen by the vse of their stocke in the meane time. 1574

Further obseruations concerning the state of Persia, taken in the foresayd fift voyage into those partes, and written by M. *Geffrey Ducket*, one of the Agents employed in the same.

SHamaky is the fairest towne in all Media, and the chiefest commoditie of that countrey is rawe silke, & the greatest plentie thereof is at a towne three dayes iourney from Shamaky called Arash: and within 3. dayes iourney of Arash is a countrey named Grosin, whose inhabitants are Christians, & are thought to be they which are otherwise called Georgians: there is also much silke to be sold. The chiefe towne of that countrey is called Zegham, from whence is caried yeerely into Persia, an incredible quantitie of Hasell nuts, of one sort and goodnesse, and as good and thin shaled as are our Filberds. Of these are caried yeerely the quantitie of 4000. Camels laden. Grosin or Georgia.

Of the name of the *Sophy* of Persia, & why he is called the *Shaugh*, and of other customes.

The king of Persia (whom here we call the great Sophy) is not there so called, but is called the Shaugh. Ye were there dangerous to call him by the name of Sophy, because that Sophy

in the Perſian tongue, is a begger, & it were as much as to call him, The great begger. He lieth at a towne called Casbin, which is ſituate in a goodly fertile valley of 3. or 4. daies iourny in length. The towne is but euil builded, and for the moſt part all of bricke, not hardened with fire, but only dried at the ſunne, as is the moſt part of the building of all Perſia. The king hath not come out of the compaſſe of his owne houſe in 33. or 34. yeeres, whereof the cauſe is not knowen, but as they ſay, it is vpon a ſuperſtition of certaine prophecies to which they are greatly addicted: he is now about 80. yeeres of age, and very luſty. And to keepe him the more luſty, he hath 4. wiues alwayes, and about 300. concubines, and once in the yeere he hath all the faire maidens and wiues that may be found a great way about brought vnto him, whom he diligently peruſeth, feeling them in all parts, taking ſuch as he liketh, and putting away ſome of them which he hath kept before, & with them that he putteth away, he gratifieth ſome ſuch as hath done him the beſt ſeruice. And if by chance to take any mans wife, her huſband is very glad thereof, and in recompenſe of her, oftentimes he giueth the huſband one of his old ſorte, whom he thankfully receiueth.

How ſtrangers are vſed.

If any ſtranger being a Chriſtian ſhall come before him, he muſt put on a new paire of ſhoes made in that countrey, and from the place where he entereth, there is digged as it were a cauſey all the way, vntil he come to the place where he ſhal talke with the king, who ſtandeth alwayes aboue in a gallerie, when he talketh with any ſtrangers: and when the ſtranger is departed, then is the cauſey caſt downe, and the ground made euen againe.

Of the religion of the Perſians.

A goodly and well grounded religion.

Their religion is all one with the Turkes, ſauing that they differ who was the rightful ſucceſſor of Mahumet. The Turkes ſay that it was one Homer and his ſonne Viman. But the Perſians ſay that it was one Mortus Ali, which they would proue in this maner. They ſay there was a counſell called to decide the matter who ſhould be the ſucceſſor: and after they had called vpon Mahumet to reueale vnto them his will and pleaſure therein, there came among them a little Lizard, who declared that it was Mahumets pleaſure that Mortus Ali ſhould be his ſucceſſor. This Mortus Ali was a valiant man and ſlew Homer the Turkes prophet. He had a ſword that he fought withall, with the which hee conquered all his enemies, and killed as many as he ſtroke. When Mortus Ali died, there came a holy prophet, who gaue them warning that shortly there would come a white Camell, vpon the which he charged them to lay the body and ſword of Mortus Ali, and to ſuffer the Camel to carry it whither he would. The which being performed, the ſaid white camell caried the ſword & body of Mortus Ali vnto the ſea ſide, and the camell going againe way into the ſea, was with the body & ſword of Mortus Ali taken vp into heauen, for whole return they haue long looked in Perſia. And for this cauſe the king alwayes keepeth a horſe ready ſaded for him, and alſo of late kept for him one of his owne daughters to be his wife, but ſhe died in the yere of our Lord, 1573. And they ſay furthermore, þ if he come not ſhortly, they ſhalbe of our beliefe: much like the Iewes, looking for their Meſſias to come & reigne among them like a worldly king for euer, and deliuer them from the captiuitie which they are now in among the Chriſtians, Turkes, and Gentiles.

The Shaugh or king of Perſia is nothing in ſtrength & power comparable vnto the Turke: for although he hath a great Dominion, yet is it nothing to be compared with the Turkes: neither hath he any great Ordinance or gunnes, or harquebuſſes. Notwithſtanding his eldeſt ſonne Ismael about 25. yeeres paſt, fought a great battell with the Turke, and ſlew of his armie about a hundreth thouſand men: who after his returne, was by his father caſt into priſon, and there remaineth vntil this day: for his father the Shaugh had him in ſuſpicion that he would haue put him downe, and haue taken the regiment vnto himſelfe.

Their opinion of Chriſt.

Their opinion of Chriſt is, that he was an holy man and a great Prophet, but not like vnto Mahumet: ſaying, that Mahumet was the laſt prophet by whom all things were finiſhed, & therefore the greateſt. To proue that Chriſt was not Gods ſonne, they ſay that God had neuer wife, and therefore could haue no ſonne or children. They go on pilgrimage from the furtheſt part of Perſia vnto Mecha in Arabia, and by the way they viſite alſo the ſepulchre of Chriſt at Ieruſalem, which they now call Couch Kaly.

The moſt part of ſpices which commeth into Perſia is brought from the Iſland of Ormus ſituate in the gulfe of Perſia called Sinus Perſicus, betweene the maine land of Perſia and Arabia etc. The Portingals touch at Ormus both in their voyage to Eaſt India and homeward againe, and from thence bring all ſuch ſpices as are occupied in Perſia and the regions thereabout: for pepper they bring very ſmall quantitie, and that at a very deare price.

The Turkes oftentimes bring pepper from Mecha in Arabia, which they ſell as good cheape

as that which is brought from Ormus. Silkes are brought from no place, but are wrought all in their owne countrey. Ormus is within two miles of the maine land of Persia, and the Portingals fetch their fresh water there, for the which they pay tribute to the Shaugh or king of Persia.

Their money.

Within Persia they haue neither gold nor siluer mines, yet haue they coined money both of gold and siluer, and also other small moneys of copper. There is brought into Persia an incredible summe of Dutch dollars, which for the most part are there imploied in raw silke.

Their bookes and learning.

They haue few bookes and lesse learning, and are for the most part very brutish in all kind of good sciences, sauing in some kind of silke works, and in such things as pertaine to the furniture of horses, in the which they are passing good.

Such was the law of the Cadomians for treason.

Their lawes are as in their religion, wicked and detestable. And if any man offend the prince, he punisheth it extremely, not onely in the person that offendeth, but also in his children, and in as many as are of his kin. Theft and murther are often punished, yet none other wise then pleaseth him that is ruler in the place where the offence is committed, and as the partie offending is able to make friends, or with money to redeeme his offence.

Dissention for religion.

There is oftentimes great mutinie among the people in great Townes which of Mortus Ali his sonnes was greatest: insomuch that sometimes in the towne two or three thousand people are together by the eares for the same, as I haue seene in the towne of Shamaky and Ardouil, and also in the great City of Teueris, where I haue seene a man comming from fighting, in a brauerie hanging in his hand foure or fiue mens heads, carying them by the haire of the head: for although they shaue their heads most commonly twise a weeke, yet leaue they a tuft of haire vpon their heads about a foote long. I haue enquired why they leaue the tuft of haire vpon their heads. They answer, that thereby they may easlier be caried vp into heauen when they are dead.

Their priests and preaching.

For their religion, they haue certaine priests who are apparelled like vnto other men. They vse euery morning and afternoone to go vp to the tops of their churches, and tell there a great tale of Mahumet and Mortus Ali: and other preaching haue they none.

Their Lent.

Their Lent is not in abstinence from flesh onely, but from all meats and drinks, vntill the day be off the skie, but then they eate sometimes the whole night. And although it be against their religion to drinke wine, yet at night they will take great excesse thereof and be drunken. Their Lent beginneth at the new Moone, and they do not enter into it vntill they haue seene the same: neither yet doeth their Lent end, vntill they haue seen the next new Moone, although the same (through close weather) should not be seen in long time.

Their saints and holy men.

They haue among them certaine holy men whom they call Seres, counted holy for that they or any of their ancestors haue bene on pilgrimage at Mecha in Arabia, for whosoeuer goeth thither on pilgrimage to visite the sepulchre of Mahumet, both he and all his posteritie are euer after called Seres, and counted for holy men, and haue no lesse opinion of themselues. And if a man contrary one of these, he will say that he is a Saint, and therefore ought to be beleeued, and that hee cannot lie, although he lie neuer so shamefully. Thus a man may be too holy, and no pride is greater then spirituall pride of a mind puffed vp with his owne opinion of holinesse. These Seres do vse to shaue their heads all ouer, sauing on the sides a locke aboue the temples, the which they neuer washen, and vse to vsaid the same as women do their haire, and to weare it as long as it will grow.

Pilgrimage.

Their prayer & worshipping of God and Mahumet.

Euery morning they vse to worship God, Mahumet, and Mortus Ali, & in praying turne themselues toward the South, because Mecha lieth that way from them. When they be in trauell on their way, many of them will (as soone as the Sunne riseth) light from their horses, turning themselues to the South, and will lay their gownes before them, with their swords and beads, and so standing vpright worship to the South: and many times in their prayers kneele downe and kisse their beads, or somwhat els that lieth before them.

Washing and outward cleanlinesse.

The men or women doe neuer goe to make water, but they vse to take with them a pot with a lid, and after they haue made water, they flash some water vpon their priuy parts, and thus doe both women as well as the men: and this is a matter of great religion among them, and in making water, the men do cowze downe as well as the women.

Their swearing.

When they earnestly affirme a matter, they will sweare by God, Mahumet, or Mortus Ali, sometimes by all at ones: as thus in their owne language, saying, Olla, Mahumet, Ali. But they will sweare by the Shaughs head, in saying Shaugham baisshe, you may then beleeue him will.

The kings magnificence.

The Shaugh keepeth a great magnificence in his court: and although sometimes in a moneth or six weekes none of his nobilitie or counsaile can see him, yet goe they daily to the court, and there a certaine time vntill they haue knowen his pleasure whether hee will commaund them

them any thing or not. Hee is watched euery night with a thousand of his men, which are called his Curshes, who are they that hee vseth to send into the Countreis about his greatest affaires. When he sendeth any of them (if it be to the greatest of any of his nobilitie) he will obey them, although the messenger should beat any of them to death.

Pursuiuants.

The Shaugh occupieth himselfe alwayes two dayes in the weeke in his Bathstoue, and when he is disposed to goe thither, he taketh with him fiue or sixe of his concubines, more or lesse, and one day they consume in washing, rubbing, and bathing him, and the other day in paring his nailes, and other matters. The greatest part of his life hee spendeth amongst his wiues and concubines. Hee hath now reigned about fiftie and foure yeeres, and is therefore counted a very holy man, as they euer esteeme their kings, if they haue reigned fiftie yeeres or more: for they measure the fauour of God by a mans prosperitie, or his displeasure by a mans misfortune or aduersitie. The great Turke hath this Shaugh in great reuerence, because he hath reigned king so long time.

The kings company with his wiues and concubines.

I haue sayd before that hee hath foure wiues, and as many concubines as him listeth: and if he chance to haue any children by any of his concubines, and be minded that any of those children shall inherite after him, then when one of his wiues dieth, the concubine whom hee so fauoureth, hee maketh one of his wiues, and the childe whom he so loueth best, he obtaineth to bee king after him.

The succession of the kingdome.

What I heard of the maner of their mariages, for offending of honest consciences and chaste eares, I may not commit to writing: their fasting I haue declared before. They vse circumcision vnto children of seuen yeeres of age, as do the Turkes.

Circumcision.

Their houses (as I haue said) are for the most part made of bricke, not burned but only dried in the Sunne: In their houses they haue but little furniture of houshold stuffe, except it be their carpets and some copper worke: for all their kettles & dishes wherein they eate, are of copper. They eate on the ground, sitting on carpets crosse legged as do Taylors. There is no man so simple but he sitteth on a carpet better or worse, and the whole house or roume wherein he sitteth is wholy couered with carpets. Their houses are all with flat rookes couered with earth: and in the Summer time they lie vpon them all night.

Their houses and maner of eating.

They haue many bond seruaunts both men and women. Bondmen and bondwomen, is one of the best kind of merchandise that any man may bying. When they buy any maydes or young women, they vse to feele them in all partes, as with vs men doe horses: when one hath bought a yong woman, if he like her, he will keepe her for his owne vse as long as him listeth, and then selleth her to an other, who doeth the like with her. So that one woman is sometimes sold in the space of foure or fiue yeeres, twelue, or twentie times. If a man keepe a bondwoman for his owne vse, and if hee find her to be false to him, and giue her body to any other, he may kill her if he will.

Bondmen and bondwomen.

Women bought & sold, and let to hire.

When a merchant or traueller commeth to any towne where he entendeth to tary any time, he hireth a woman, or sometimes 2. or 3. during his abode there. And when he commeth to an other towne, he doeth the like in the same also: for there they vse to put out their women to hire, as we do here hackney horses.

There is a very great riuer which runneth through the plaine of Iauar, which falleth into the Caspian sea, by a towne called Bachu, neere vnto which towne is a strange thing to behold. For there issueth out of the ground a marueilous quantitie of oile, which oile they fetch from the vttermost bounds of all Persia: it serueth all the countrey to burne in their houses.

Abundance of oile issuing out of the ground.

This oyle is blacke, and is called Nefie: they vse to cary it throughout all the Countrey by kine & asses, of which you shall oftentimes meet with foure or fiue hundred in a company. There is also by the said towne of Bachu another kind of oyle which is white and very precious: and is supposed to be the same that here is called Petroleum. There is also not far from Shamaky, a kind like vnto tarre, and issueth out of the ground, whereof we haue made the proofe, that in our ships it serueth well in the stead of tarre.

Oleum Petroleum.

In Persia are kine of two sorts: the one like vnto ours in these partes: the other are marueilous euill fauoured, with great bones and very leane, and but little haire vpon them: their meate is also with sweete: they are like vnto them which are spoken of in the Scripture, which in the dreame of Pharao signified the seuen deare yeeres: for a leaner or more euill fauoured beast no man see.

Two sorts of kine.

In the countrey of Shiruan (sometime called Media) if you chance to lie in the fields neere to any village, as the twilight beginneth, you shall haue about you two or three hundred Foxes which make a marueilous wawling or howling: and if you looke not well to your victuals, they will scape them hardly but they will haue part with you.

Foxes in great plenty.

The Caspian sea boeth neither ebbe nor flowe, except sometimes by rages of winde it swelleth vp very high: the water is very sale. Howbeit, the quantitie of water that falleth out of the great riuer of Volga maketh the water fresh at the least twentie leagues into the sea. The Caspian sea is marueilous full of fish, but no kind of monstrous fish, as farre as I could vnderstand, yet hath it sundry sortes of fishes which are not in these parts of the world.

The mutton there is good, and the sheepe great, hauing very great rumpes with much fat vpon them.

Rice and mutton is their chiefe victuall.

The copy of a letter sent to the Emperour of Moscouie, by *Christopher Hodsdon* and *William Burrough*, Anno 1570.

MOst mightie Emperour, &c. Whereas Sir William Garrard and his felowship the company of English merchants, this last Winter sent hither to the Narue three ships laden with merchandise, which was left here, and with it Christopher Hodsdon one of the said felowship, and their chiefe doer in this place, who when hee came first hither, and vntill such time as hee had dispatched those ships from hence, was in hope of goods to lade twelue or thirteene sailes of good ships, against this shipping, wherefore he wrote vnto the said Sir William Garrard and his companie to send hither this spring the said number of thirteene ships. And because that in their comming hither wee found the Freebooters on the sea, and supposing this yeere that they would be very strong, he therefore gaue the said sir William and his Companie aduise to furnish the said number of ships so strongly, as they should bee able to withstand the force of the Freebooters: whereupon they haue according to his aduise sent this yeere thirteene good ships together well furnished with men and munition, and all other necessaries for the warres, of which 13. ships William Burrough one of the said felowship is captaine generall, vnto whom there was giuen in charge, that if hee met with any the Danske Freebooters, or whatsoeuer robbers and theeues that are enimies to your highnesse, he should doe his best to apprehend and take them. It so hapned that the tenth day of this moneth the said William with his fleete, met with fiue ships of the Freebooters neere vnto an Iland called Turtee, which is about 50. uerstes from Narue, vnto which Freebooters he with his fleete gaue chase, and tooke of them the Admirall, wherein were left but three men, the rest were fled to shore in their boats amongst the woods vpon Turtee, on which ship he set fire and burnt her. He also tooke foure more of those ships which are now here, and one ship escaped him: out of which foure ships some of the men fled in their boates and so escaped, others were slaine in fight, and some of them when they saw they could not escape, cast themselues willingly into the Sea and were drowned. So that in these fiue ships were left but 83. men. *Fiue ships of Freebooters taken.*

The said Wil. Borough when he came hither to Narue, finding here Christopher Hodsdon aforenamed, both the said Christopher and William together, in the name of sir William Garrard and the rest of their whole companie and felowship, did present vnto your highnesse of those Freebooters taken by our ships 82. men, which we deliuered here vnto Knez V[illegible], the 13. of this moneth. One man of those Freebooters we haue kept by vs, whose name is Haunce Snarke a captaine. And the cause why we haue done it is this: When wee should haue deliuered him with the rest of his felowes vnto the Voiuodaes officers, there were of our Englishmen more then 50. which fell on their knees vnto vs, requesting that he might be reserued in the ship, and caried back into England: and the cause why they so earnestly intreated for him, is, that some of those our Englishmen had bene taken with Freebooters, and by his meanes had their liues saued, with great fauour besides, which they found at his hands. Wherefore if it please your highnesse to permit it, we will carry him home with vs into England, wherein we request your maiesties fauour: notwithstanding what you commands of him shalbe obserued.

Wee haue also sent our seruant to your highnesse with such bestellings and writings as wee found in those shippes: whereby your Maiestie may see by whom, and in what order they were sent out, and what they pretended, which writings wee haue commended vnto Knez Yoriue your maesties Voiuoda at Plesco, by our seruant. And haue requested his furtherance for the safe deliuerie of them to your maiesties hands: which writings when you haue perused, we desire that they may be returned vnto vs by this our seruaunt, as speedily as may bee: for these ships which now haue here will be soone dispatched from hence, for that we haue not goods to lade about the halfe of them. And the cause is, we haue this winter (by your maiesties order) bene kept from

traſiquing, to the companies great loſſe. But hoping your maieſtie will hereafter haue conſideration thereof, and that we may haue free libertie to traſique in all partes of your maieſties Countries, according to the priuiledge giuen vnto vs, we pray for your maieſties health, with proſperous ſucceſſe to the pleaſure of God. From Narue the 15. of July, Anno 1570.

Your Maieſties moſt humble and obedient,
Chriſtopher Hodſdon. William Borough.

A letter of *Richard Vſcombe* to M. *Henrie Lane*, touching the burning *of the Citie of Moſco by the Crimme Tartar: written in Roſe Iſland the 5. day of* Auguſt, 1571.

1571

The cities of Moſco burnt by the Crimme.

Engliſhmen ſmothered at the burning of Moſco.

M. Glouer and M. Rowley preſerued.

After Lane I haue me commended vnto you. The 27. of July I arriued here with the Magdalene, and the ſame day and houre did the Swalow and Harry arriue here alſo. At our comming I found maſter Proctor here, by whom we vnderſtand very heauie newes. The Moſco is burnt euery ſticke by the Crimme the 24. day of May laſt, and an innumerable number of people: and in the Engliſh houſe was ſmothered Thomas Southam, Toſild, Waterley, Greenes wife and children, two children of Raſe, & more to the number of 25. perſons were ſmothered in our Beere ſeller: and yet in the ſame ſeller was Raſe, his wife, John Browne, and Iohn Clarke preſerued, which was wonderfull. And there went into that ſeller maſter Glouer and maſter Rowley alſo: but becauſe the heate was ſo great, they came foorth againe with much perill, ſo that a boy at their heeles was taken with the fire, yet they eſcaped blindfold into another ſeller, and there, as Gods will was, they were preſerued. The Emperour fled out of the field, and many of his people were caried away by the Crimme Tartar: to wit, all the yong people, the old they would not meddle with, but let them alone, and ſo with exceeding much ſpoile and infinite priſoners, they returned home againe. What with the Crimme on the one ſide, and with his enemie on the other, he hath but few people left. Commend me to miſtreſſe Lane your wife, and to M. Locke, and to all our friends.

Yours to command, *Richard Vſcombe.*

A note of the proceeding of M. *Anthonie Ienkinſon*, Ambaſſadour *from the Queenes moſt excellent Maieſtie, to the Emperour of* Ruſſia, *from the* time of his arriuall there, being the 26. of Iuly 1571. vntill his departure from thence the 23. of Iuly 1572.

The ſaid 26. day I arriued with the two good ſhips called the Swalow and the Harry in ſafetie, at the Dole of S. Nicholas in Ruſſia aforeſayd, and landed at Roſe Iſland, from whence immediately I ſent away my interpreter Daniel Siluеſter in poſt towards the Court, being then at the Moſco, whereby his maieſtie might as well bee aduertiſed of my arriuall in his Dominions, as alſo to know his highneſſe pleaſure for my further acceſſe. And remaining at the ſayd Iſland two or three dayes, to haue conference with your Agent about your affaires, I well perceiue by the wordes of the ſayd Agent and others your ſeruants, that I was entred into great perill and danger of my life: for they reported to mee that they heard ſaid at the Moſco, that the princes diſpleaſure was ſuch againſt me, that if euer I came into his countrey againe, I ſhould looſe my head, with other words of diſcouragement. Whereat I was not a litle diſmaid, not knowing whether it were beſt for me to proceed forwards, or to returne home againe with the ſhips for the ſafegard of my life. But calling to mind mine innocencie and good meaning, and knowing my ſelfe not to haue offended his Maieſtie any maner of wayes either in word or deed, or by making former promiſes not performed, heretofore by mine enemies falſly ſurmiſed: and being deſirous to come to the triall thereof, whereby to iuſtifie my true dealings, and to reproue my ſayd enemies as well here as there, who haue not ceaſed of late by vntrue reports to impute the cauſe of the ſayd Emperors diſpleaſure towards you to proceed of my dealings, and promiſes made to him at my laſt being with him (although by his letters to the Queenes Maieſtie, and by his owne words to me the contrary doeth appeare) I determined with my ſelfe rather to put my life into his hands, & by the prouidence of God to proſecute the charge committed vnto me, then to returne home in vaine, diſcouraged with the words of ſuch, who had rather that I had tarried at home, then to be ſent ouer with ſuch creuite, whereby I might ſtir out their euil doings, the onely cauſe of your loſſe.

Wherefore,

Wherefore, leauing the said ships the nine and twentieth day of the moneth, I departed from the seallye, and the first of August arriued at Colmogro, where I remained attending the returne of my said messenger with order from his Maiestie.

But all the Countrey being sore visited by the hand of God with the plague, passage in euery place was shut vp, that none might passe in paine of death: My messenger being eight hundreth miles vpon his way, was staied, and kept at a towne called Shenko, and might not bee suffered to goe any further, neither yet to returne backe againe, or sende vnto me: by meanes whereof in the space of foure moneths, I could neither heare nor know what was become of him, in which time my said messenger found meanes to aduertise the Gouernour of the Citie of Vologda, as well of his stay, as of the cause of his comming thither, who sent him word that it was not possible to passe any neerer the Prince without further order from his Maiestie, who was gone to the warres against the Swethens, and that he would aduertise his highnesse so soone as he might conueniently: And so my said messenger was forced to remaine there still without answere. During which time of his stay through the great death (as afore said,) I found meanes to send another messenger, with a guide by an vnknowen way through wildernesse, a thousand miles about, thinking that way he should passe without let: but it prooued contrary, for likewise hee being passed a great part of his iourney, fell into the handes of a watch, and escaped very hardly, that hee and his guide with their horses had not bene burnt, according to the lawe prouided for such as would seeke to passe by indirect wayes, and many haue felt the smart therof, which had not where with to buy out the paine: neither could that messenger returne backe vnto me.

And thus was I kept without answere or order from his Maiestie, and remained at the saide Colmogro, vntill the 18. of January following, neither hauing a Gentleman to safegard me, nor lodging appointed me, nor allowance of victuals according to the Countrey fashion for Ambassadours, which argued his grieuous displeasure towards our nation. And the people of the Countrey perceiuing the same, vsed towards mee and my company some discourtesies: but about the 28. day afore said, the plague ceased, and the passages being opened, there came order from his Maiestie that I should haue poste horses, and hee suffered to depart from Colmogro to goe to a Citie called Peraslaue neere to the Court, his Maiestie being newly returned from the said warres. And I arriued at the said Peraslaue the 3. of February, where I remained vnder the charge of a Gentleman, hauing then a house appointed me, & allowance of victuals, but so straitly kept, that none of our nation or other might come or sende vnto me, nor I to them. And the 14. of March following, I was sent for to the Court, and being within three miles of the same, a poste was sent to the Gentleman which had charge of me, to returne backe againe with mee to the said Peraslaue, and to remaine there vntill his Maiesties further pleasure, wherewith I was much dismayed, and marueiled what that sudden change ment, and the rather, because it was a troublesome time, and his Maiestie much disquieted through the ill successe of his affaires, (as I did vnderstand.) And the twentieth of the same, I was sent for againe to the Court, and the 23. I came before his Maiestie, who caused mee to kisse his hande, and gaue gracious audience vnto my Oration, gratefully receiuing and accepting the Queenes Maiesties princely letters, and her present, in the presence of all his nobilitie. After I had finished my Oration, too long here to rehearse, and deliuered her highnesse letters, and presente (as afore said) the Emperour sitting in royall estate stood vp and said, How doth Queene Elizabeth my sister, is she in health? to whom I answered, God doth blesse her Maiestie with health, and peace, and doeth wish the like vnto thee Lord, her louing brother. Then his Maiestie sitting downe againe, commaunded all his nobilitie and others to depart, saue onely the chiefe Secretarie, and one other of the Counsell, and willing me to approch neere vnto him with my Interpretor, said vnto me these words.

Anthony, the last time thou wast with vs heere, wee did commit vnto thee our trustie and welbeloued Pellage, to be declared vnto the Queenes Maiestie herselfe thy Mistresse at thy comming home, and did expect thy comming vnto vs againe at the time wee appointed, with a full answere of the same from her highnesse. And in the meane time there came vnto vs at seuerall times two messengers, the one called Manly, the other George Middleton, and Edward Goodman, by the way of the Narue about the Merchants affaires: to whom wee sent our messenger to know whether thou Anthony, were returned home in safetie, and when thou shouldest returne vnto vs againe: but those messengers could tell vs nothing, and did miscall, and abuse with euil words, our messenger and thee, wherewith wee were much offended. And vnderstanding that the said Goodman had letters about him, we caused him to be searched, with whom were found many vnlawfull things done, whereat we were much grieued, & would suffer none of those rude messengers to haue accesse vnto vs: and shortly after wee were informed that one Thomas

Randolfe

Randolfe was come into our Dominions by the way of Dwina, Ambaſſadour from the Queene, and we ſent a Gentleman to meete and conduct him to our Citie of Moſco, at which time we inquired that thou ſhouldeſt haue returned vnto vs againe. And the ſaid Thomas being arriued at our ſaid Citie, wee ſent vnto him diuers times, that hee ſhould come and conferre with our Counſell, whereby we might vnderſtand the cauſe of his comming, looking for anſwere of thoſe our priuate affaires committed vnto thee. But hee refuſed to come to our ſaid Counſell: wherefore, and for that our ſaide Citie was viſited with plague, the ſaide Thomas was the longer kept from our preſence. Which being ceaſed, forthwith wee gaue him acceſſe and audience, but all his talke with vs was about Merchants affaires, and nothing touching ours. Wee know that Merchants matters are to bee heard, for that they are the ſtay of our Princely treaſures: But firſt Princes affaires are to be eſtabliſhed, and then Merchants. After this the ſaid Thomas Randolfe was with vs at our Citie of Vologda, and wee dealt with him about our Princely affaires, whereby amitie betwixt the Queenes Maieſtie and vs might bee eſtabliſhed for euer, and matters were agreed and concluded betwixt your Ambaſſadour and vs, and thereupon wee ſent our Ambaſſadour into England with him to ende the ſame: but our Ambaſſadour returned vnto vs againe, without finiſhing our ſaid affaires, contrary to our expectation, and the agreement betwixt vs, and your ſaid Ambaſſadour.

Thus when his Maieſtie had made a long diſcourſe, I humbly beſeeched his highneſſe to heare me graciouſly, and to giue me leaue to ſpeake without offence, and to beleeue thoſe wordes to be true which I ſhould ſpeake. Which he graunted, and theſe were my wordes.

Moſt noble and famous Prince, the meſſage which thy highneſſe did ſende by mee vnto the Queene her moſt excellent Maieſtie touching thy Princely and ſecret affaires, immediatly and ſo ſoone as I came home, I did declare both ſecretly and truely vnto the Queenes Maieſtie her ſelfe, word for word, as thou Lord didſt commaund mee. Which her highneſſe did willingly heare and accept, and being mindefull thereof, and willing to anſwere the ſame, the next ſhipping after, her Maieſtie did ſende vnto thee, Lord, her highneſſe Ambaſſadour Thomas Randolfe, whoſe approoued wiſedome and fidelitie was vnto her Maieſtie well knowen, and therefore thought meete to bee ſent to ſo worthy a Prince, who had Commiſſion not onely to treate with thy Maieſtie of Merchants affaires, but alſo of thoſe thy Princely and ſecret affaires committed vnto mee. And the cauſe (moſt gracious Prince) that I was not ſent againe, was, for that I was imployed in ſeruice vpon the Seas againſt the Queenes Maieſties enemies, and was not returned home at ſuch time as Maiſter Thomas Randolfe departed with the Shippes, to come into thy Maieſties Countrey, otherwiſe I had bene ſent. And whereas thy Maieſtie ſaith, that Thomas Randolfe would not treate with thy Counſell of the matters of his legation, hee did (Lord) therein according to his Commiſſion: which was: Firſt to deale with thy Maieſtie thy ſelfe, which order is commonly vſed among all Princes, when they ſend their Ambaſſadours about matters of great waight. And whereas the ſaide Thomas is charged that hee agreed and concluded vpon matters at the ſame time, and promiſed the ſame ſhould be confirmed by the Queene her Maieſtie: Whereupon (Lord) thou didſt ſend thy Ambaſſadour with him into England, for anſwere thereof: It may pleaſe thy Maieſtie to vnderſtand, that the ſaide Thomas Randolfe doeth confeſſe, that in deede hee had talke with thy Highneſſe, and counſell diuers times about princely affaires: euen ſo hee denieth that euer hee did agree, conclude, or make any promiſe in any condition or order, as is alleaged, otherwiſe then it ſhould pleaſe the Queene her Maieſtie to like of at his returne home, which hee did iuſtifie to thy Highnes Ambaſſador his face in England. Wherefore, moſt mighty Prince, it doth well appeare that either thy Ambaſſador did vntruly enforme thy Maieſtie, or els thy princely minde, and the true meaning of the Queenes highnes her Ambaſſador, for want of a good Interpreter, was not well vnderſtood: and how thankefully the Queene her Maieſtie did receiue thy highnes commendations, and letters ſent by thy Maieſties Ambaſſador, and how gratiouſly ſhee gaue him audience ſundry times, vſing him with ſuch honour in all points for thy ſake, Lord, her louing brother, as the like was neuer ſhewed to any Ambaſſador in our Realme, and how honourably with full ſuccours in all things, her Maieſtie diſmiſſed him, when hee had finiſhed all thy princely affaires (as it ſeemed) to his owne contentation, it may well appeare by a true certificate lately ſent with her highnes letter vnto thee Lord, by her meſſenger Robert Beaſt, and her Maieſtie did ſuppoſe that thy Ambaſſador would haue made report accordingly, and that by him thy highnes would haue bene ſatisfied in all things: otherwiſe ſhe would haue ſent her Maieſties Ambaſſador with him vnto thee Lord againe. But now her highnes perceiuing that thy Maieſtie is not fully ſatisfied in thy Princely affaires, neither by Thomas Randolfe, her highnes Ambaſſador, nor by thine owne Ambaſſador Andrea Sauin, nor yet by her Maieſties letter ſent by the ſaid Andrea: and

Andrew Sauin Ambaſſadour from the Emperour.

ſo vnderſtanding thy great griefe and diſpleaſure towards ſir William Garret, and his company, merchants trafficking in thy Maieſties dominions, hath thought good to ſend mee at this preſent vnto thee Lord Emperor, and great duke, as wel with her highnes ful mind, touching thy princely affaires, as alſo to know the iuſt cauſe of thy Maieſties ſaid diſpleaſure towards the ſaid company of merchants: and hath commanded me to anſwere to all things in their behalfe, and accordingly to their true meanings. For her highnes doth ſuppoſe thy Maieſties indignation to proceede rather vpon the euill, and vntrue reports of thy late Ambaſſador in England, and of ſuch wicked perſons of our nation reſident here in thy highnes dominions, rebels to her Maieſtie, and their Countrey, then of any iuſt deſerts of the ſaid merchants, who neuer willingly deſerued thy highneſſe diſpleaſure, but rather fauour in all their doings and meanings. And ſince the firſt time of their trafficking in thy Maieſties dominions, which is now nineteene yeres, the ſaid merchants haue bene, and are alwayes ready and willing truely to ſerue thy highneſſe of all things meete for thy Treaſurie, in time of peace and of warre in deſpite of all thy enemies: although the Princes of the Eaſt Seas were agreed to ſtoppe the ſound, and the way to the Narue, and haue brought, and do bring from time to time ſuch commoditie to thee, Lord, as her Maieſtie doeth not ſuffer to be tranſported foorth of her Realme to no other Prince of the world. And what great loſſes the ſaid ſir William Garret, with his company hath ſuſtained of late yeeres in this trade, as well by Shipwracke, as by falſe ſeruants it is manifeſtly knowen: and what ſeruice the ſaid companies Ships did vnto thy Maieſtie againſt thy enemies, two yeeres paſt in going to the Narue, when they fought with the king of Poles ſhippes Freebooters, and burnt the ſame and ſlew the people, and as many as were taken aliue deliuered vnto thy Captaine at the Narue. I truſt thy highneſſe doth not forget. Wherefore moſt mighty prince, the premiſes conſidered, the Queene her moſt excellent Maieſtie thy louing ſiſter, doeth requeſt thy highnes to reſtore the ſaid ſir William Garret with his company into thy princely fauour againe, with their priuiledges for free traffique with thy accuſtomed goodnes and iuſtice, to be miniſtred vnto them throughout all thy Maieſties dominions, as afore time: and that the ſame may be ſignified by thy Princely letters, directed to thy officers in all places, any thy highneſſe commaundement or reſtraint to the contrary notwithſtanding. And further that it will pleaſe thy Maieſtie, not to giue credite to falſe reports, and vntrue ſuggeſtions of ſuch as are enemies, and ſuch as neither would haue mutuall amitie to continue betwixt your Maieſties, nor yet entercourſe betwixt your countries. And ſuch rebels of our nation, as Ralfe Rutter, and others which lye lurking here in thy highnes dominions, ſeeking to ſowe diſſentions betwixt your Maieſties by falſe ſurmiſes, ſpending away their maſters goods riotouſly, and will not come home to giue vp their accompts, aduancing themſelues to be merchants, and able to ſerue thy highnes of all things fit for thy treaſurie, whereas indeed they be of no credite, nor able of themſelues to do thy Maieſtie any ſeruice at all: the Queenes highnes requeſt is, that it would pleaſe thy Maieſtie to commaund [illegible] ſuch perſons may be deliuered vnto me to be caried home, leaſt by their remayning here, and [illegible] practiſes and friendſhip with ſuch as be not thy highneſſe friendes, their euil doing might [illegible] hereafter to withdraw thy goodnes from ſir William Garret and his company, who haue true meaning in all their doings, and are ready to ſerue thy highneſſe at all times, vſing many other words to the aduancement of your credite, and the diſgracing of your enemies, and ſo I ended for that time.

Then ſaid his Maieſtie, We haue heard you, and will conſider of all things further, when wee haue read the Queene our ſiſters letters: to whom I anſwered, that I ſuppoſed his Maieſtie ſhould by thoſe letters vnderſtand her highneſſe full minde to his contentation, and what wanted in writing, I had credite to accompliſh in word. Wherewith his Maieſtie ſeemed to be wel pleaſed, and commaunded me to ſit downe. And after pawſing a while, his Maieſtie ſaid theſe words vnto me, It is now a time which we ſpend in faſting, and praying, being the weeke before Eaſter, and for that we will ſhortly depart from hence, to wards our borders of Nouogrod, wee can not giue you anſwere, nor your diſpatch here, but you ſhall goe from hence, and tary vs vpon the way, where wee will ſhortly come, and then you ſhall knowe our pleaſure, and haue your diſpatch. And ſo I was diſmiſſed to my lodging, and the ſame day I had a dinner ready dreſt ſent me from his Maieſtie, with great ſtore of drinkes, of diuers ſorts, and the next day following, being the fourt and twentieth of March aforeſayde, the chiefe Secretary to his Maieſty, ſent vnto mee a Gentleman, to ſignifie vnto mee, that the Emperours Maieſties pleaſure was, I ſhould immediatly depart towards a Citie, called Otwer, three hundred miles from the aforeſaid Moſcouia, and there to tary his highnes comming vnto a place called Staryes, three ſcore miles from the ſayd Otwer.

Then I ſent my Interpretor to the chiefe Secretary, requeſting him to further, and ſhew his fauour vnto our ſaide merchants in their ſuites, which they ſhould haue occaſion to moue in my abſence:

sence: who sent me word againe, that they should be wel assured of his friendship, and furtherance in all their sutes. And forthwith post horses were sent me, with a Gentleman to conduct me. And so departing from the said Sloboda, I arriued at the said Otwer, the 28. of March aforesaid, where I remained til the eight of May following. Then I was sent for to come vnto his Maiestie, to the said Staryts, where I arriued the tenth of the same, and the twelfth of the same I was appointed to come to the chiefe Secretary, who at our meeting said vnto me these words.

Our Lord Emperor, and great Duke, hath not onely perused the Queene her highnes letters sent by you, and thereby worthy perceiue her minde, as well touching their princely affaires, as also her earnest request in the merchants behalfe, but also hath well pondered your words. And therefore his Maiesties pleasure is, that you let me vnderstand what sutes you haue to moue in the merchants behalfe, or otherwise, for that to morrowe you shall haue accesse againe vnto his highnes, and shall haue full answere in all things, with your dispatch away.

Then after long conference had with him of diuers matters, I gaue him in writing certaine briefe articles of requests, which I had drawen out ready, as followeth:

1 First the Queenes Maiestie her request is, that it would please the Emperors highnesse to let me know the iust cause of his great displeasure fallen vpon sir William Garrard, & his company, who neuer deserued the same, to their knowledge.

2 Also that it would please his highnes not to giue credite vnto false and vntrue reports, by such as seeke to sowe dissention, and breake friendship betwixt the Queenes highnesse, and his Maiestie.

3 Also that it would please his Maiestie to receiue the said sir William Garrard, with his company into his fauour againe, and to restore them to their former priuiledges and liberties, for free traffike in, and through, and out of al his Maiesties dominions, in as ample maner as aforetime, according to his princely letters of priuiledge, and accustomed goodnes.

4 Also it would please his highnes to graunt, that the said company of merchants may haue iustice of all his subiects, as well for money owing vnto them, as other their griefes and iniuries, throughout al his dominions suffred since the time of his displeasure, during which time, the merchants were forced by seuere iustice to answer to al mens demands, but theirs could not be heard.

5 Also that his Maiestie would vnderstand, that much debts are owing to the said merchants, by diuers of his Nobilitie, whereof part are in durance, and some executed, and the said merchants know not howe to be paide, and answered the same, except his highnes pitie their case, and commaund some order to be taken therein.

6 Also it would please his highnes to commaund that the saide merchants may be payed all such summe or summes of money as are owing, and due vnto them by his Maiestie, for wares, as well English, as Shamaki, taken into his highnes treasury by his officers in sundry places, the long forbearing whereof hath bene, and is great hinderance to the said company of merchants.

7 Also it would please his Maiestie to vnderstand, that at this present time there are in Persia of English merchants, Thomas Banister, and Geffrey Ducket, with their company, & goods, ready to come into his Maiesties countrey of Astracan, and would haue come the last yeere, in that the ship, with our merchants and mariners appointed to goe for them, were stayed at Astracan by his highnes Captaine there, to the great hinderance of the said merchants. Wherefore may now please his Maiestie to direct his princely letters vnto his Captaines and rulers, both at Astracan and Cazan, not onely to suffer our people, as well merchants as mariners, quietly and freely to passe and repasse with their shippes, barkes, or other vessels downe the riuer Volga, and ouer the Mare Caspium, to fetch the said English merchants, with their company and goods, out of the said Persia, into his Maiesties dominions, but also that it would please his highnes straightly to command, that when the said Thomas Banister, and Geffrey Ducket, with their charge, shall arriue at the said Astracan, his Maiesties Captaine there, and in all other places vpon the riuer Volga, shall so ayde and assist the said merchants, as they may be safely conducted out of the danger of the Crimmes, and other their enemies.

8 Also it may please his highnes to vnderstand, that lately our merchants comming from Shamaki, haue bene ill vsed by his Maiesties Customers, both at Astracan and Cazan, at both which places they were forced to pay custome for their wares, although they solde no part thereof, but brought the same into his highnesse treasury at Sloboda: and the said Customers did not only exact, and take much more custome then was due by his Maiesties lawes, but also for want of present money, tooke wares much exceeding their exacted custome, and doe keepe the same in pawne. It may therefore please his highnes to direct his princely letters to the said Customers, to signifie vnto them his great goodnes againe restored vnto the said English merchants, as also to commaund them to send the said merchants their said goods so detained, vp to the Mosco, by

paying ſuch cuſtome for the ſame, as ſhall be by his Maieſtie appointed.

9 Alſo that it would pleaſe his highneſſe to grant, that ſir William Garrard with his compa-nie may eſtablish their trade for merchandiſe at Colmogro in Dwina, and that ſuch wares as ſhal be brought out of our Countrey for his treaſurie might be looked vpon, and receiued by his of-ficers there: and that his Maieſties people trafficking with our merchants may bring downe their commodities to the ſaide Colmogro, by meanes whereof the ſaide Engliſh merchants auoyding great troubles and charges, in tranſporting their goods ſo farre, and into ſo many places of his dominions, may ſell the ſame better cheape, to the benefite of his Maieſties ſubiects.

10 Alſo if it ſeemed good to his highnes, that the whole trade likewiſe from Perſia, Boghar, and all other thoſe Countreys beyond the Mare Caſpium, might be eſtabliſhed at Aſtracan, the ancient Parre towne in times paſt, which would be both for the great honour and profite of his Maieſty, and ſubiects, as I am well able to proue, if it w'l pleaſe his highneſſe to appoint any of his counſell to talke with me therein.

11 Alſo for aſmuch as it pleaſed his Maieſtie, immediatly after the burning of the Moſco, to command that the ſaid Engliſh merchants ſhould giue in a note into his Treaſury, for their loſſes ſuſtained by the ſaid fire, which was done by William Rowly, then chiefe Agent for ſir William Garrard and his company, and the particulars in the ſame note conſumed with the ſaid fire did a-mount to the ſumme of 10000. rubbles and aboue: It may pleaſe his highnes of his accuſtomed goodnes and great clemencie to conſider of the ſame, and to giue the ſaid company ſo much as ſhal ſeeme good vnto his Maieſtie, towards their ſaid loſſes.

12 Alſo that it will pleaſe his highneſſe to vnderſtand that the Queenes moſt excellent Ma-ieſtie, at the earneſt ſute and requeſt of Andrea Sauin his Maieſties Ambaſſadour, did not onely pardon and forgiue Thomas Glouer his great and grieuous offences towards her highneſſe com-mitted, onely for his Maieſties ſake, but alſo commanded ſir William Garrard with his company, to deale fauourably with the ſaid Glouer in his accounts, to whom he was indebted greatly, and being their ſeruant, detained their goods in his hands a long time: whereupon the ſaid ſir William Garrard with his company counted with the ſaid Glouer, and ended all things euen to his ſaide contentation, and was found to bee debter to the ſaid company 4000. rubbles and aboue, and bound himſelfe both by his ſolemne othe, and his hand-writing, to pay the ſame immediatly after his returne into Ruſſia with the ſaid Andrea Sauin, vnto Nicholas Proctor chiefe Agent there, for the ſaid company of merchants. But although it is now two yeeres paſt, ſince the ſaid agree-ment, and that the ſaid Nicholas hath diuers and ſundry times requeſted the ſaid money of the ſaid Thomas, yet will he not pay the ſame debt, but maketh delay from time to time, alleadging that his Maieſtie oweth him a great ſumme of money, without the payment whereof he cannot be a-ble to pay the ſaid merchants his due debt long forborne, to their great hinderance. In conſidera-tion of the premiſſes, It may pleaſe his highneſſe to giue order that the ſaid Glouer may be payd, and that he may diſcharge his debt to the ſaid company of merchants, and the rather for that her Maieſtie found ſuch mercie and fauour in England, onely for his Maieſties ſake.

13 Alſo for aſmuch as Ralfe Rutter a rebell to the Queenes Maieſtie, and an enemie to his Countrey, and to ſir William Garrard and his company, hath of long time remained here, liuing of the ſpoyles and goods of the ſaid merchants, which he wrongfully detained in his handes, rio-touſly ſpending the ſame, during the time that he was their ſeruant, and would not come home when he was ſent for, and alſo for that the Queenes Maieſtie doth vnderſtand, that the ſaid Ralfe, with other his adherents, doe ſeeke by all falſe meanes to ſowe diſſention, and breake amitie be-tweene their Maieſties, and to ouerthrowe the trade of the ſaid merchants: Her highnes requeſt is, that the ſaid Ralfe with his complices may be deliuered vnto me, to be caried home, and none other of her Maieſties ſubiects, not being of the ſocietie of the ſaid Sir William Garrard and his com-pany, to be ſuffered to trafficke within his highnes dominions, but to be deliuered to their Agent to be ſent home: for that the ſaid merchants with great charges and loſſes, both by ſhipwracke, and other miſchiefes and ſeruants, did firſt finde out this trade, and haue continued the ſame theſe 19. yeeres, to their great hinderance.

14 Alſo whereas diuers maſters and artificers of our Nation are here in his Maieſties ſer-uice, and do ſtande themſelues grieued that they cannot haue licence to depart home into their na-tiue Countrey at their will and pleaſure: the Queenes Maieſties requeſt is, according to her gracious meaning in that behalfe, that not onely it will pleaſe his Maieſtie to permit and ſuffer ſuch workemen here reſident in the ſeruice of his highnes, as haue free libertie to depart, and go home when they requeſt the ſame, but alſo all other the like, which ſhall come hereafter to ſeeke his ſeruice, to haue free libertie to depart likewiſe, without any let or ſtay.

15 Alſo it may pleaſe his Maieſty to vnderſtand that during the time of my long being at Colmogro,

Colmogro, attending his highneſſe pleaſure for my further acceſſe, I with my company haue not onely bene ill vſed and intreated there, and likewiſe the merchants there, by one Beſſon Myſ-ſereuy his Maieſties chiefe officer, who hath diſhonoured me, and ſmitten my people, and oweth the ſaide merchants much money, and will not pay them: but alſo the ſaide Beſſon hath ſpoken wordes of diſhonour againſt the Queenes Maieſtie. Wherefore it may pleaſe his highneſſe to ſend downe with me to Colmogro, a Gentleman, as well chiefly to ſearch forth his euill behauiour towards her Maieſtie, as towards me her highneſſe Ambaſſador, and to puniſh him accordingly: and alſo that it would pleaſe his Maieſtie to ſende downe his letter of iuſtice, by vertue whereof the ſaid Beſſon may be forced to pay all ſuch money as he oweth to the ſayd merchants, without delay.

16 Alſo that it would pleaſe his highneſſe to vnderſtand, that ſir William Garrard with his company vnderſtanding of the great dearth in his Maieſties dominions, by licence of the Queenes Maieſtie, (not otherwiſe permitted) hath ſent certaine ſhips laden with corne into his highneſſe Countrey of Dwyna, rather for the reliefe of his Maieſties ſubiects, then for any gaine: yet the good will of the ſaid merchants lightly regarded, they were forbidden to ſel the ſaid corne, to their great diſcouragement hereafter to ſend any more. Wherefore it may pleaſe his highneſſe, to tender the good will of the ſaid merchants, as well in ſending the ſaide corne, as in all other things, ready to ſerue his Maieſtie, and to direct his letters to his officers of Dwina, to ſuffer the ſame merchants with their company, to ſell the ſaid corne by meaſure, great or ſmall at their pleaſure, without paying cuſtome.

Theſe articles being deliuered to the chiefe Secretary, as aforeſayde, and our talke ended for that time, I departed to my lodging, accompanied with certaine Gentlemen. The next day, being the 13. of May aforeſaid, I had warning earely in the morning, to prepare my ſelfe to be at the Court, betwixt the houres of 10. and 11. of the clocke, where I ſhould haue acceſſe vnto the preſence of the Prince, as well to receiue anſwere of all things, as to bee diſmiſſed to goe home. At which houres I was ſent for to the Court, and brought into the Chamber of preſence, where his Maieſtie did ſit apparelled moſt ſumptuouſly, with a riche Crowne vpon his head, garniſhed with many pretious ſtones, his eldeſt ſonne ſitting by him, and many of his Nobilitie about him: and after my duetie done, his highneſſe commanded me to approch very neere vnto him, and ſpake vnto me theſe wordes.

Anthony, the Queene our louing ſiſter her letters wee haue cauſed to be tranſlated, and wee well vnder- and the ſame, and of all things as well therein contained, as by worde of mouth by you to vs declared wee haue well conſidered, and doe perceiue that our ſecret meſſage was you committed, was done truely according to our minde (although wee were aduertiſed to the contrary) and nowe wee are by you fully ſatisfied. And when wee did ſende our Ambaſſador into England, about thoſe our great and waighty affaires, to conclude the ſame with the Queene our ſiſter, our Ambaſſador could end nothing for want of ſuch aſſurance as was requiſite in princely affaires, according to the maner of all Countreys, but was diſmiſſed vnto vs againe, with letters of ſmall effect, touching the ſame, and no Ambaſſador ſent with him from the Queene: which cauſed vs to thinke, that our princely affaires were ſet aſide, and little regarded, wherewith wee were at that time much grieued: for the which cauſe, and for the euill behauiour of your merchants, reſident in our dominions (who haue diuers wayes tranſgreſſed and broken our lawes, liuing willfully in all their doings) we did lay our heauie diſpleaſure vpon them, and did take away from them their priuiledge, commaunding that the ſame throughout all our dominions, ſhould be voyd, and of none effect: and thereupon did write to the Queene our ſiſter, purching our grieues.

The cauſes of the Emperors diſpleaſure.

And nowe her highneſſe hath ſent vnto vs againe, you her Ambaſſadour, with her louing letters, and full minde, which we doe thankefully receiue, and are thereby fully ſatisfied. And for the our princely, and ſecret affaires were not finiſhed to our contentation at our time appointed, according to our expectation, we doe now leaue of all thoſe matters, and ſet them aſide for the time, becauſe our minde is nowe otherwiſe changed, but hereafter when occaſion ſhall moue vs to the like, wee will then talke of thoſe matters againe. And for that it hath pleaſed the Queene our louing ſiſter, to ſende vnto vs at this preſent, and doeth deſire to continue in friendſhip with vs for euer (which wee doe gratefully accept, and willingly agree to the ſame) wee of our goodneſſe for her highneſſe ſake, will not onely from henceforth put away, and forget all diſpleaſure towardes the ſame Sir William Garrard and his company (as though they had not offended vs) but alſo will reſtore them to their priuiledges, and liberties, in, and throughout all our dominions, and will ſignifie the ſame by our letters, in all Townes and Cities, where the ſaid merchants do traffique, and we will ſhewe them ſauour as aforetime, if they deſerue

the contrary. And if the Queene our sister had not sent thee Anthony vnto vs at this present, God knoweth what we should haue done to the said merchants, or whether we would haue called back our indignation.

Then I humbly beseeched his Maiestie, to let me know the particular offences committed by the said merchants, and the offendors names, to the intent I might make report thereof, vnto the Queenes Maiestie, my mistres, accordingly, that the said offendors might receiue iust punishments for their deserts: but he said, I should not know them, because he had cleerely remitted all offences: and further, that it was not princely to forgiue, and after to accuse the parties, whereby her Maiesties displeasure might fall vpon them at home. Notwithstanding I did after vnderstand some part thereof, by other meanes.

Then his Maiestie proceeding in talke, said: As touching the articles of request, concerning the marchants affaires, which you did yesterday deliuer vnto our Secretary, we haue not onely read the same our selfe, but also haue appointed our said Secretary to declare vnto you our mind, and answere to the same. And for that we are now vpon our iourney towards our borders, and will depart from hence shortly, we will dismisse you to the Queene our louing sister, your mistres, with our letters, & full mind by word of mouth, touching all your requests, & will send a gentleman of our houshold with you to safeconduct you to your ships: and of our goodnes will giue you victuals, boates, men, and post horses, so many as you shall neede. And therewith his Maiestie standing vp, and putting off his cappe, said vnto me these words. Doe our hearty commendations vnto our louing sister, Queene Elizabeth, vnto whom we wish long life, with happie successe: and therewith his highnes extended his hand to me to kisse, and commanded his sonne, sitting by him, to send the like commendations, which he did, whose hand likewise I kissed. And then his Maiestie caused me to sit downe, and commanded wine and drinkes of diuers sorts to be brought, whereof he gaue me to drinke with his owne hand, and so after I departed.

Then the next day, being the 14 of May aforesaid, I was sent for to come to the chief Secretary, & one other of the counsel with him, who at our meeting said vnto me these words: We are appointed by the Emper or his maiesty, to giue you answere from his Highnes, touching your requests deliuered in writing, which his Maiestie himselfe hath perused, & answered as followeth.

1 To the first request it is answered, that all his Maiesties griefes and displeasure (now put away from the merchants) did grow, because the Queenes Maiestie did not accomplish and ende with his ambassador, his secrete and waighty affaires, according to his expectation, and the promise made by Thomas Randolph, at his being here: and also of the ill behauiour of your merchants resident here in our Countrey, as his Maiestie did himselfe yesterday declare vnto you.

2 To the second, his Maiesty willeth you to vnderstand, that he hath not, nor will not hereafter be moued to breake friendship with the Queenes Maiesty, without good and iust cause.

3. To the third, you are answered by the Emperors Maiestie himselfe, that his great goodnes and fauour againe vnto the merchants shall be restored, and the same to be knowen by his gracious letters of priuilege now againe granted.

4 To the fourth, his maiesty hath commanded, that your merchants here resident shall exhibite, and put in writing vnto me his Maiesties Secretarie, all their griefes, and complaints, as well for debts, as other iniuries offred them since the time of his Highnes displeasure, and they shall haue iustice truly ministred throughout all his Maiesties dominions without delay.

5 To the fifth, his maiesty doth not know of any debts due vnto the merchants, by any of his noblemen, as is alleaged: and whether it be true or no, he knoweth not: the trueth whereof must be tried out, and thereupon answere to be giuen: and hereafter his maiestie would not haue the merchants to trust his people with too much.

6 To the sixth, it is answered, that his maiesty hath commanded search to be made what money is owing to the marchants, for wares receiued into his treasury, as in the article: (the most part whereof is for the debts of accompe being burne in the Mosco) and such as is due, & found meete to be paid, shall be paid forthwith to the marchants, their factors or seruants, which shall come for the same, and for paiment of the rest, his maiesties further pleasure shall be signified hereafter.

7 To the 7 his Maiesties answere is, that letters shall be written forthwith to his captaines of Astracan, and Cazan, and other his officers, vpon the riuer Volga, to whom it appertaineth, not only to suffer your people, both marchants, & mariners, to passe with their ships, or barkes, from Astracan, ouer the Mare caspium, to fetche Thomas Banister, and Geofry Ducker, with their goods out of Persia, but also when they shall arriue within his Maiesties dominions, to helpe and assist them, and see them safely conducted vp the riuer Volga, from danger of enemies.

8 To the eight, his maiestie hath commanded letters to be written to the Customers, both of Astracan and Cazan, to make restitution to the English merchants of their goods so detained by them

them for custome, & to take custome for the same, according to his Maiesties letters of priuiledge.

9 10 To the ninth and tenth articles, his Maiestie will consider of those matters, and hereafter will signifie his princely pleasure therein.

11 To the eleuenth, as touching an inuentorie giuen into the treasury, what goods the merchants had burnt in the Mosco, in their houses there, his Maiesties pleasure was to vnderstande the same, to the intent he might know the losses of all strangers at that present, but not to make restitution, for that it was Gods doing, and not the Emperours.

12 To the twelfth, concerning Thomas Glouer, his Maiestie was enformed by his Ambassador of the Queenes great mercy and clemencie towards the said Thomas, for his sake, which his Highnes receiued in good part, but what agreement or dealings was betwixt the said sir William Garrard, & his company, & the said Glouer, or what he doth owe vnto the said merchanes, his Maiestie doth not know. And as for the money which the said Thomas saith is owing vnto him by the Emperour, his Maiesties pleasure is, that so much as shall be found due, & growing vpon wares deliuered vnto the treasurie, out of the time of his Maiesties displeasure, shall be paid forthwith to the said Thomas, and the rest is forfeited vnto his Maiestie, and taken for a fine, as appertaining to Rutter and Benner, accompted traitors vnto his Highnes, during the time of his displeasure.

13 To the thirteenth article, concerning Rutter to be deliuered vnto you, to be caried home, the answere was, that as his Maiestie will not detaine any English man in his Countrey, that is willing to go home, according to the Queens request: euen so will he not force any to depart, that is willing to tary with him. Yet his Highnes, to satisfie the Queenes Maiesties request, is contented at this present to send the said Ralfe Rutter home with you, and hath commanded that a letter shall be written vnto his chiefe officer at the Mosco, to send the said Rutter away with speed, that he may be with you at Vologda, by the fine of May, without faile: and touching the rest of your request in the said article, his Maiesties pleasure shall be signified in the letters of priuiledge granted to the said merchants.

14 To the fourteenth, touching artificers, his Maiestie will accomplish all the Queenes Highnes request in that behalfe, and now at this present doth licence such and so many to depart to their natiue countrey as are willing to go.

15 To the 15, touching Beeson Messeriuey, the Emperors maiestie is much offended with him, and will send down a gentleman with you to inquire of his ill behauior, as well for speaking of vndecent words against the Queens maiestie as you haue alleaged, as also against you, and the merchants for his outrages mentioned in the article, & the said Beeson being found guilty, to be imprisoned & punished by seuere iustice accordingly, and after to put in sureties to answere the Emperors high displeasure, or els to be brought vp like a prisoner by the said gentleman to answere his offences before his Maiestie. And his highnes doth request that the Queenes highnes doth doe the like vpon Middleton and Manlie her messengers sent thither two yeres past, and others for their ill behauiour towards his maiestie, as may appeare by letters sent by Daniel Silvester from his highnes, least by the bad demeanor of such leud persons, the amity and friendship betwixt their maiesties might be diminished.

16 To the 16 and last article, touching the corne brought into the Emperors dominions by the merchants, his maiestie doth greatly commend them for so wel doing, and hath commanded to giue you a letter forthwith in their behalf, directed to his officers of Duina, to suffer the said merchants to sell their corne, by measure great or small at their pleasure without custome.

Thus I receiued a full answere from his maiestie by his chiefe Secretarie & one other of his counsel, to the 16 articles afore rehearsed, by me exhibited in writing touching your affaires, with his letter also sent by me to the Queenes maiesty. Which being done, I requested that the said letters of priuilege granted by his highnes vnto you might be forthwith dispatched, to the intent I might carie the same with me. Also I requested that such money due to you, which it hath pleased his maiestie to command to be payd, might be deliuered to me in your behalfe.

Touching the letters of priuilege, the Secretary answered me, it is not possible you can haue them with you, for they must be first written and shewed vnto the Emperor, and then there written of one tenour according to your request, which cannot bee done with speede, for that the maiesties pleasure is, you shall depart this night before him, who remooueth himselfe to morrow towards Nouogrod: but without faile the sayd letters shall be dispatched vpon the way, and sent after you with speede to Colmogro. And as touching the money which you require, it cannot be paid here because we haue not the bookes of accounts, for want whereof we know not what to paie: wherefore the best is that you send one of the merchants after the Emperor to Nouogrod, let him repaire vnto me there, and without faile I will paie all such money as shall be appointed by his maiestie to be paied after the bookes seene.

But foraſmuch as there was none of your ſeruants with me at that preſent (although I had earneſtly written vnto your Agent Nicholas Proctor by Richard Pingle one of your owne ſeruants, one moneth before my comming to Starites, where I had my diſpatch, that he ſhould not faile to come himſelfe, or ſend one of your ſeruants to mee hither, to follow all ſuch ſuites as I ſhould commence in your behalfe, which he neglected to doe to your great hinderance) I requeſted the ſaid Secretarie that I might leaue Daniel my interpreter with him, aſwell for the receit of money, as for the ſpeedy diſpatch of the letters of priuiledge, but it would not be granted in any wiſe that I ſhould leaue any of mine owne companie behind me, and thereupon I did take my leaue with full diſpatch, and departed to my lodging, and forthwith there came vnto me a gentleman who had charge as wel to conduct me, and prouide boates, men, poſt horſes and victuals for me all the way to the ſea ſide, being a thouſand and three hundred miles, as alſo to doe iuſtice of the ſayd Beſſone, as aforeſaid. And he ſaid vnto me, the Emperours pleaſure is, that you ſhall preſently depart from hence, and I am appointed to goe with you. And that night I departed from the ſaid Starites, being the fourteenth of May aforeſayd. And paſſing a great part of my iourney, I arriued at the citie of Vologda the laſt of the ſayd May, where I remained fiue daies as well expecting a meſſenger to bring vnto me the new letters of priuiledge, as the coming of Rutter, whom the Emperours maieſtie himſelfe commanded before my face ſhould bee ſent vnto me without faile, and I did ſee the letters written to the chiefe officers at the Moſco for the ſame. Neuertheleſſe the ſaid Rutter did not come, neither could I heare of him after, nor know the ſudden cauſe of his ſtay contrary to the princes owne word and meaning, as I ſuppoſe. But I could not help the matter being farre from the prince, neither could I tell how to haue redreſſe, becauſe by abſence I could not complaine. Notwithſtanding I vſed my indeuour, and ſent a meſſenger Iohn Norton one of your ſeruants from Vologda to Nouogrod, where the Court then lay, expreſſely with letters, as well to aduertiſe his maieſtie that the ſayd Rutter was not ſent vnto me according to his highnes commandement & order, as alſo about the diſpatch of the ſaid letters of priuiledge and receit of your money, with ſtraight charge that he ſhould in any wiſe returne vnto me againe before the departing of the ſhips. And the firſt day of June I departed from the ſaid Vologda by water towards Colmogro, where I arriued the 21 of June aforeſayd, and remained there vntill the 23 of July, looking for the ſaid Iohn Norton to haue returned vnto me in al that time, which had reſpite fully enough in that ſpace both to go to the court to diſpatch his buſines, and to haue returned againe vnto me, but he came not, for it was otherwiſe determined before his going, as I did after vnderſtand, and can more at large by word of mouth declare vnto your worſhips the occaſion thereof.

Neuertheleſſe, I am well aſſured before this time your Agent hath receiued into his hands the ſaid letters of priuiledges, and ſhall haue diſpatch with expedition in all things touching your affaires, according to his maieſties grant by me obtained, and as he hath written to the Queenes Court preſently, wiſhing that as now by my going the Emperour hath withdrawen his diſpleaſure from you, and reſtored you againe into his fauour, ſo your Agent and others your ſeruants there reſident may behaue, & endeuour themſelues to keepe & augment the ſame, leſt euill beings haue bene the onely occaſion of his indignation now remitted.

The names of ſuch countries as I *Anthony Ienkinſon* haue trauelled vnto, from the ſecond of October 1546, at which time I made my firſt voyage out of *England*, vntill the yeere of our Lord 1572, when I returned laſt out of *Ruſſia*.

Firſt, I paſſed into Flanders, and trauelled through all the baſe countries, and from thence through Germanie, paſſing ouer the Alpes I trauelled into Italy, and from thence made my iourney through Piemont into France, throughout all which realme I haue throughly iourneied. I haue alſo trauelled through the kingdomes of Spaine and Portingal, I haue ſailed through the ſtraunt ſeas euery way, & haue bene in all the chiefe Iſlands within the ſame ſea, as Rhodes, Candie, Sicilia, Cyprus, Candie, and diuers others.

I haue bene in many partes of Greecia, Morea, Achaia, and where the olde citie of Corinthe ſtoode.

I haue trauelled through a great part of Turkie, Syria, and diuers other countries in Aſia minor.

I haue paſſed ouer the mountaines of Libanus to Damaſco, and trauelled through Samaria, Iudea, Philiſtine & Paleſtine, vnto Ieruſalem, and ſo through all the Holy land.

I haue bene in diuers places of Affrica, as Algiers, Cola, Bona, Tripolis, the gollet within the ſtreit of Tunis.

I haue sailed farre Northward within the Mare glaciale, where we haue had continuall day, and light of the Sunne ten weekes together, and that nauigation was in Norway, Lapland, Samogitia, and other very strange places.

I haue trauelled through all the ample dominions of the Emperour of Russia and Moscouia, which extende from the North sea, and the confines of Norway and Lapland, euen to the Mare Caspium.

I haue bene in diuers countries neere about the Caspian sea, Gentiles, and Pahomets, as Cazan, Cremia, Rezan, Cheremisi, Mordouiti, Vachin, Nagaia, with diuers others of strange customes and religions.

I haue sailed ouer the Caspian sea, & discouered all the regions thereabout adiacent, as Chicassi, Comul, Shascal, Shiruan, with many others.

I haue trauelled 40 daies iourney beyond the said sea, towards the Oriental India, and Cathaia, through diuers deserts and wildernesses, and passed through 5 kingdomes of the Tartars, and all the land of Turkeman and Zagatay, and so to the great citie of Boghar in Bactria, not without great perils and dangers sundry times.

After all this, in An. 1562, I passed againe ouer the Caspian sea another way, and landed in Armenia, at a citie called Derbent, built by Alexander the great, & from thence trauelled through Media, Parthia, Hircania, into Persia to the court of the great Sophie called Shaw Tamasso, vnto whom I deliuered letters from the Queenes maiestie, and remained in his court 8 moneths, and returning homeward, passed through diuers other countries. Finally I made two voyages more after that out of England into Russia, the one in the yeere 1566, and the other in the yeere 1571. And thus being weary and growing old, I am content to take my rest in mine owne house, chiefly comforting my selfe, in that my seruice hath bene honourably accepted and rewarded of my mistresse and the rest by whom I haue bene imployed.

A letter of *Iames Alday* to the Worshipfull M. *Michael Lock*, Agent in *London* for the *Moscouie* company, touching a trade to be established in *Lappia*, written 1575.

We marueile the company do not offerre with him of Lappia.

I Haue in remembrance (worshipful Sir) the talke we had when I was with you, as touching the trade in Lappia: And certeinly I haue somewhat marueiled that in all this time the right worp. your societie haue not giuen order that some conference (by you, or with some other) might haue bin had with me touching those parts, considering they know (as I thinke) that I remained there one whole yeere more, by which meanes reason would that I should haue learned somewhat. But the cause why they haue not desired to conferre with me (as I iudge) resteth only in one of these 4 cases, that is to say, either they thinke themselues so throughly certified of that trade, as more needs not be spoken therof, or that they haue no lust more to deale that waies, or that they hold mee so vncrafty to shew that they dare not open their minds, for feare or doubt. I should beare more affection to others vnto them, & so discouer their secrets: or els they think me of so simple vnderstanding, that I am not worthy to be spoken with in these matters. To which 4 cases I answere as followeth: First if they think themselues so throughly certified as more need not to be spoken: certeinly I somewhat

1574.

5 English men wintered in Lappia.

maruel by whom it should be: for in the winter past there lay but 5 English persons there, viz. Christopher Cole, Roger Leche, Adam Tunstal cooper, one lad, & I: for Henry Cocknedge was the whole winter at Mosco. And of these persons, as touching Cole, I think him (if I may without offence speake my conscience) the most simple person that was there, (as touching the vnderstanding of a marchant) although indeed he tooke vpon him very much to his owne harme & others

Christopher Cole a simple marchant.

doubt, for he vsed himselfe not like a marchant, neither therwed diligence like a worthy factor, but lay still in a den all the whole winter, hauing wares lying vpon his hand, which he did not imploy to any vse; although sundry waies there were that he might haue put his wares in vre by money with gaine, & no great aduenture, which money would haue bin more acceptable vnto poore Lappes & fishermen at the spring, then any kind of wares: but his fond head did as he that had the talent in the Gospel, & yet he had counsel to the contrary which he disdained, so that men perceiuing his captious head, left not only to counsell him, but also some, in as much as they might, to withdraw him from knowledge of the trade that might be in that countrey, the winter time, which is not peraduenture then most men think of. Wherfore if Cole haue written or said any thing touching those countries, it is doubtful whether it toucheth the effect or not, considering he lay still all the winter without trial of any matter. And for Henry Cocknedge

Good trade in winter in Lappia.

Henry Cocknedge honest, but ignorant.

assuredly speaking so much as I do perfectly know, I must needs say, that he is a very honest pong man, & right carefull of his

sures, and in that respect worthy to be praised. But yet he being absent in the winter other then by heare say he could not learne, so that his instructions may be something doubtful. And like as of the last nothing can be learned, so am I sure that Tunstal the Cooper hath not yet bene spoken with, so that of those parts certaine knowledge cannot as yet be learned, except by Roger Leche, of whom I confesse knowledge may be had, for indeed there is no English man living that hath like knowledge in those countries as he hath, nor that is able to do so much with the people as he may: he in the winter trauailed one waies & other nere 300 miles: he of a litle made something, and learned not only the maners, conditions & customs of the people, but also he learned of al kind of commodities in those regions how they may be bought at the most aduantage, that gaine may be made of them: So that I confesse, if he hath giuen intelligence to the right Worp. company, then haue they no neede to speake with me or any other for to learne of those countries (except it be to heare mine opinion) which in truth I will alwaies open vnto them. But the effect of þ bene-ficial secrets of that countrey is to be inquired of him, & in mine opinion worthy to be learned, except, as in the second case, they list no more to deale that waies. To which I answere, that if they vnderstand not that waies, & that with speede they seeke not to preuent others þ mean to deale there, although not English men, lee them then not thinke long to haue any profitable trade in Russia: for the greater part of that benefit wil be wiped from them, or 5 yeere to an end, as I will shew good reason, if I be demanded the question. Therefore if they will maintaine the Russia trade such aduantage, then ought they to looke to this in time, and so may they keepe the Russia trade as it is, and like wise make a trade in Lappia more profitable then that, and therefore this is to be considered, rather then to prohibite Englishmen frō the trade of Vedagoba. For if they looke not to this, and that in time, they may be likened (if it might be without offence spoken) to two dogs that striue for the bone whiles the third run away with it: and yet meane I not other wise, but in such sort, as not Englishmen only, but also Hollanders, Brabanders, & others may be iustly and vtterly put from the trade in Lappia, and the company to keepe the whole trades to themselues without interruption of any, to their great benefit, which I wish to them from the bottome of my heart, as euer I wished wealth to mine own person: And thereby hold me excused in the third case I write of. And for the fourth as touching my iudgement, as I confesse it is not very deepe, so I thanke God I am not vtterly without vnderstanding (although I be poore) & therefore peraduen-ture holden out of reputation, yet God doth distribute his gifts as it pleaseth him. I haue seen wise men poore in my time, & foolish men rich, and some men haue more knowledge then they can vtter by speech, which fault was once obiected against me by a great learned man of this realme: but surely how weak soeuer my vtterance is, my meaning is faithful and true, and I wish from my heart to your laudable company al the gaine that may be, or else I pray the Lord God to con-found me as a false dissembler. It greeueth me to see how of late they haue bin brought to great scarsity, hearing the bush, as the old terme is, & other men taking the birds: this last yere hauing in Lappia 2 ships, as I am partly informed, they both brought not much aboue 300 barrels of traine oile, yet am I sure there was bought besides them of the Rusles, Cozels, & Lappes, 1183 barrels, besides 27 barrels Colt sold to Iacob the Hollander, at two barrels for one Northerne barrell (I trow) too hard to be pulled vp, which for loue & good will (God is my witnes) I write vnwitting as to my deare friends that they should looke to it in time, if they meane to keepe the trade of Russia or Lappia. And thus loue hath compelled me to write this aduertisement, which I wish to be accepted in as good part, as I with good will haue written it.

Roger Leche expert of Lappia.

If the company do not enter into the trade of Lappia, others will preuent them.

The trade of Vedagoba.

He can say somewhat though not much.

1183 barrels of oyle bought by others.

Colt sold 27 barrels to a Hollander.

The request of an honest merchant to a friend of his, to be aduised and directed in the course of killing the Whale, as followeth. An. 1575.

I pray you pleasure me in getting me perfect information of the matter hereunder specified.

Of the prouision and furniture for a shippe of 200 tunnes, to catch the Whale fish in Russia, sailing from England.

How many men to furnish the ship.

How many fishermen skilful to catch the Whale, & how many other officers and Coopers.

How many boats, and what fashion, and how many men in each boate.

What wages of such skilfull men and other officers, as we shall neede out of Biskay.

How many harping irons, speares, coades, axes, hatchers, knives, and other implemenes for fishing, and what sort and greatnes of them.

How many kettles, the greatnesse and maner of them, and what mettall, and whether they bee

[illegible] for Lolling of the traine oyle, and others.

What quantitie of caske, and what sort of caske, and what number of hoopes and twiggres, and how much thereof to be staued for the traine.

What quantitie of victuals, and what kinde of victuals for the men in all the ship for 4 monethes time.

For the common mariners and officers to governe the ship, we shall not needs any out of Biskaie, but onely men skilfull in the catching of the Whale, and ordering of the oile, and one Cooper skilfull to set up the staued caske.

Also what other matters are requisite to be knowen, and done for the said voyage to catch the Whale, not here noted nor remembred.

These requests were thus answered, which may serue as directions for all such as shall intend the same voyage, or the like for the Whale.

A proportion for the setting forth of a ship of 200 tunne, for the killing of the Whale.

There must be 55 men who departing for Wardhouse in the moneth of April, must bee furnished with 4 kintals and a halfe of bread for euery man.
250 hogsheds to put the bread in.
150 hogsheds of Cibar.
6 kintals of oile.
8 kintals of bacon.
6 hogsheds of beefe.
10 quarters of salt.
150 pound of candles.
8 quarters of beanes and pease.
Whalefish & herring, a quantitie conuenient.
4 tunnes of wines.
Half a quarter of mustard seed, and a querne.
A grindstone.
800 empty shaken hogsheds.
350 bundles of hoopes, and 6 quintalines.
800 paire of heds for the hogsheds.
10 Estachas called rores for harping irons.
10 pieces of Arpoteras.
3 pieces of Baibens for the Iauelines small.
2 tackles to turne the Whales.
A halser of 27 fadom long to turne the whales
15 great Iauelines.
18 small Iaurlins.
50 harping irons.
6 machicos to cut the Whale withall.
2 dozen of machetos to mince the Whale.
2 great hookes to turne the Whale.
3 paire of Can hookes.
6 hookes for staues.
3 dozen of staues for the harping irons.
6 pullies to turne the Whale with.
10 great baskets.
10 lampes of iron to carie light.
5 kettles of 150 li. the piece, and 6 lades.
1000 of nailes for the pinnaces.
500 of nailes of Carabelle for the boates, and the wharfe.
18 axes and hatchets to cleaue wood.
12 pieces of lines, and 6 dozen of hookes.
2 beetles of Rosemarie.
4 dozen of oares for the pinnaces.
6 lanternes.
500 of Testa.
Item, gunpouder & matches for harquebushes as shalbe needfull.
Item, there must be caried from hence 2 pinnaces, fiue men to strike with harping irons, two cutters of Whale, 5 coopers, a purser or two.

A note of certaine other necessarie things belonging to the Whalefishing, receiued of master *W. Burrough*.

A sufficient number of pullies for tackle for the Whale.
A dozen of great baskets.
4 furnaces to melt the Whale in.
6 tables of copper.
A thousand of nailes to mend the pinnaces.
500 great nails of spikes to make their hookes.
3 paire of bootes great and strong, for those that shall cut the Whale.
8 calues skins to make aprons or barbecus.

The deposition of M. *William Burrough* to certaine Interrogatories ministred vnto him concerning the Narue, Kegor, &c. to what king or prince they do appertaine and are subiect, made the 23 of June, 1576.

These articles seeme to haue bene ministred vpon the quarel between Alderman Bond the elder, and the Moscouie company, for his trade to the Narue without their consent.

The first Interrogatorie.

FIrst, whether the villages or townes vulgarely called the Narue, Kegor, Pechingo and Cola, and the portes of the same townes, as well at the time of the grant of the letters of

vnto

uiledge by the Emperour to our merchants, as alſo in the yeeres of our Lord. 1566, 1567, 1568, 1569, 1570, 1571, 1572, 1573, 1574, and 1575. reſpectiuely were (as preſently they be) of the iuriſdiction, and ſubiect to the mighty prince the Emperour of Ruſſia: and whether the ſaide Emperour of Ruſſia, by all the time aforeſaide, was chiefe lord and gouernour reſpectiuely of the ſaid places, and ſo vulgarly knowen, had, and reputed: and whether the ſaid townes and places, and euther of them be ſituated towards the North and Northeaſt or Northweſt, and between the ſame North and the Eaſt point: and be the ſame places whereunto by force of the ſaid priuiledge, it is forbidden to any other ſubiect to haue traffike, ſauing to the ſocietie aforeſaid.

To this Interrogatorie the deponent ſaith, that it is true that the villages, townes and places vulgarly called the Narue, Kegor, Pechingo and Cola, and the portes thereof, at the time of the grant of the ſaid priuiledge (as he iudgeth) were reputed reſpectiuely to be vnder the iuriſdiction, & ſubiect to the Emperour of Ruſſia, and ſo from the time of the ſaid grant, vnto the yeere, 1566, and that in the yeeres of our Lord. 1566, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, and 1575. reſpectiuely they were (as preſently they be) of the iuriſdiction, and ſubiect vnto the mighty prince the Emperour of Ruſſia, and the ſame Emperour of Ruſſia, by all the time aforeſaid, was chiefe gouernour reſpectiuely of the ſaid places, and ſo vulgarly knowen, had and reputed. And that all the ſaid places are ſituated from London Northwards, betweene the Eaſt and the North, and within the grant of the letters patents, and priuileges of the ſaid companie of merchants for the diſcouery of new trades, and the ſame places whereunto by force of the ſaid letters patents, it is forbidden to any other ſubiect to haue traffike ſauing to the ſocietie aforeſaid. The Depoſitions anſwer.

Notwithſtanding the Deponent ſaith, that he hath heard it credibly reported by diuers, that the king of Denmarke of late yeres, or euery yeere once, hath had one of his ſubiects or more by him ſelfe, or with his guide a Lappian, that hath at the places Cola, Kegor, and diuers other places in Lappia, taken of the Lappies certain tribute or head pence, which the ſaid Lappies haue willingly giuen to winne fauour of the ſaide prince, and to liue quietly by his ſubiects, the people of Finmarke which border vpon their countrey, whereof Wardhouſe is the ſtrongeſt hold, & bordereth neere vnto them. Hee hath alſo heard, that in the time of peace betweene the ſaide Emperour of Ruſſia, and the kings of Sweden, there was yeerely for the king of Sweden one or more that came into Lappia vnto diuers places, in maner as the king of Denmarkes ſeruant vſeth to come, and did demaund of them ſome tribute or duetie which they willingly paide: but ſince the warres betweene the ſaide Emperour and king of Sweden, hee hath not heard of any thing that hath bene paide by them to the king of Sweden: ſuch is the ſimplicitie of this people the Lappies, that they would rather giue tribute to all thoſe that border vpon their countrey, then by denying it haue their ill willes.

But the trueth is, as this Deponent ſaith, that the ſaide mighty prince the Emperour of Ruſſia is the chiefe lord and gouernour of the ſaide countrey of Lappia, his lawes and orders are obſerued by them, hee takes toll and cuſtome &c. of them. They are infidels, but if any of them become Chriſtians it is after the Ruſſe law. If there happen any controuerſie betweene thoſe people, ſuch as cannot be ended amongſt themſelues, or by the Emperours deputies in that countrey, they repaire to the Mosko as their higheſt Court, and there haue it ended. Betweene the place ſpecified Kegor, and the confines of Finmarke aforeſaide in Lappia, is the monaſterie Pechingo, which are monkes, and vſe the Ruſſe lawe, the chiefe or head of that abbey is alwayes appointed by the clergie in Mosko. Pechingo abbey.

Alſo in the yeere of our Lord 1557. the ſaid Deponent was at the place Kegor, in the moneth of June, the 29. day being S. Peters day, at which time was a great aſſembly of people at a mart there, the Ruſſes, Kerils and Lappians on the one ſide ſubiects to the ſaid mighty prince the Emperour of Ruſſia, and the Norwegians or Noſzes and people of Finmarke ſubiects to the king of Denmarke on the other part, they did barter and exchange fiſh for other commodities. The deputy for the Ruſſe had the chief gouernment of the ſaid Mart, and tooke toll of thoſe people ſubiect to his maſter, and the captaine of Wardhouſe had then the gouernment of the people ſubiect to his maſter the king of Denmark. He ſaith alſo, that betweene the abbey Pechingo, and the abbey of S. Nicholas in Ruſſia, vpon the border of the ſaid coaſt of Lappia, he hath bene vpon ſhore at diuers places, where freſh riuers fall into the Sea, where are commonly taken freſh ſalmons, all which places he doth know for certaine, that they were farmed out to the ſubiects of the ſaid Emperour, and he the ſaid Emperour receiued yeerely the rent for them. And further he ſaith that it hath bene further credibly reported vnto him, that here is not any ſuch riuer or freſh water which falleth out of the ſaid coſtrey of Lappia into the ſea, betweene the ſaid abbey Pechingo, and the bay of S. Nicholas, but they are all and euery of them farmed out, and the Emperour receiueth the rent for them.

Item,

The fecond Interrogatorie.

Item, whether as well before, as alſo within the memorie of men, till the time of the graunt of the ſaid letters patents any of the Engliſh merchants (ſauing the merchants of the ſaid ſocietie) ſubiects of this realme of England, haue commonly exerciſed or frequented buſineſſe or trade in the ſaid villages or townes called the Narue, Kegor, Pechingo, and Cola, or in any of them, or in any ports or territories of the ſaid Emperour of Ruſſia.

The depoſitions anſwere.

To this Interrogatorie the Deponent anſwereth, that the ſubiects of this realme before the graunt of the ſaid letters patents did not commonly exerciſe, neither frequent or trade to any of the ſaid places called the Narue, Kegor, Pechingo or Cola, or to any of them.

Certaine reaſons to diſſwade the vſe of a trade to the *Narue* aforeſaide, by way through *Sweden*.

The merchandiſe of the Narue are groſſe wares, viz. flaxe, hempe, ware, tallow and hides.

The traffique at that place ſtandeth vpon the agreement and liking of the Emperour of Ruſſia, with the king of Sweden: for all theſe merchandiſes that are brought thither come from Pleſcoue, Nouogrod, and other parts of the Emperours dominions.

For tranſporting thoſe merchandiſes from Narue to Stockholm, or what other place ſhall be thought conuenient in Sweden, it muſt be in veſſels of thoſe countries, which will be of ſmal force to reſiſt Freebooters, or any other that ſhall make quarel or offer violence againſt them.

When the goods are brought into Sweden, they muſt be diſcharged, and new laden into ſmaller veſſels, to carry the ſame by riuer or lake a part of the way, and againe to be vnladen and tranſported by land to Newles.

So as the ordinary charges for tranſporting of goods from Narue to Newles by way as aforeſaid, beſides the ſpoile by ſo often lading and vnlading, cariage by land, and the dangers of the ſea, pirats, &c. will be ſuch as when it ſhalbe ſo brought to Newles it will be as deare to the merchants in that place as it ſhall be worth to be ſold in London, wherefore the trade that waies cannot be profitable to our nation.

Moreouer, when the goods ſhall be in Newles, it may bee thought doubtfull to bring it thence quietly without diſliking or forcible reſiſtance of the king of Denmarke, foraſmuch as he maketh

Note.

quarell, and alleageth damage vnto him in his tolles of the Sound by our trade to S. Nicholas, how much more will be now doe by this way, and with how much greater aduantage may he performe it? The danger that may grow in our trade to Ruſſia by way of S. Nicholas, through the diſpleaſure that the Emperour may conceiue by our trade with the Sweden to Narue is alſo to be conſidered.

A remembrance of aduiſe giuen to the merchants, touching a voyage for *Cola* aboueſaid. 1578.

Whereas you require my counſell after what order the voyage for Cola is to be ſet forth, I anſwere that I know no better way then hath bene heretofore vſed, which is after the maner. Firſt of all we haue hired the ſhip by the great, giuing ſo much for the wearing of the tackle and the hull of the ſhippe, as the ſhip may be in bigneſſe: as if ſhee bee about the burden of an hundred tunnes, we pay foureſcore pound, and ſo after that rate: and thereunto we doe victuall the ſhip our ſelues, and doe ſhip all our men our ſelues, ſhipping no more men, nor giuing them more wages then we ſhould doe if they went of a merchants voyage, for it hath bene a great helpe to our voiage hitherto, to haue our men to fiſh with one boate, & coſting vs no more charges then it ſhould do, if our men ſhould lie & doe nothing ſauing the charges of ſalt, & of lines, which is treble paide againe. For this laſt yere paſt our men killed with one boat betwixt 9. or 10. thouſand fiſh, which peelded to vs in money with the oile that came of it, about 15. or 16. ſcore pounds, which is a great helpe to a voyage. And beſides all this, our ſhip will take in ſo much oile and other commodities as we beſtowed 100. whole clothes in. But becauſe, as I doe ſuppoſe, it is not the vſe of London to take ſhips to freight after that order before preſcribed, neither I think that the mariners will take ſuch paines as our men will: Therefore my counſell is, if you thinke good, to freight ſome ſhip at Hull or Newcaſtle, for I am ſure that you may haue them there better cheap to freight, then here at London. Beſides all this, one may haue ſuch men as will take paines for their merchants. And furthermore when it ſhal pleaſe God that the ſhip ſhal returne to come to diſcharge at Hull, you will be the moſt for your profit for the ſales of all ſuch like commodities as comes from that place, as for fiſh, oyle, and Salmon chiefly, bee that will ſeeke a better market for the ſales then at Hull he muſt ſeeke it out of England, for the like is not in England. This is the beſt way that I

Hull the beſt market of England for ſale of fiſh.

wiſe, and moſt for your profite, and if you will, I will alſo ſet you downe all the commodities that are neceſſarie for ſuch a voyage, and which way alſo that the Hollanders may within two or three yeeres be forced to leaue off the trade of Cola which may eaſily be done. For if my abilitie were to my will, I would vſe the matter ſo that they ſhould either leaue off the trade, or els carry light ſhips with them home againe.

A dedicatorie Epiſtle vnto the Queenes moſt excellent Maieſtie,

written by Maſter *William Burrough* late Comptroller of her Highneſſe nauie, and annexed vnto his exact and notable mappe of *Ruſſia*, briefly containing (amongſt other matters) his great trauailes, obſeruations, and experiments both by ſea and land, eſpecially in thoſe Northeaſtern parts.

To the moſt high and renowned Princeſſe ELIZABETH *by the grace of God Queene of* England, France *and* Ireland, *&c.*

MY minde earneſtly bent to the knowledge of nauigation and Hydrographie from my youth (moſt excellent my dread Soueraigne) hath eftſoones beene moued by diligent ſtudie to ſearch out the chiefeſt points to them belonging: and not there with ſufficed hath alſo ſought by experience in diuers diſcoueries and other voyages and trauailes to practiſe the ſame. I was in the firſt voyage for diſcouerie of the partes of Ruſſia, which begun in anno 1553. (being then ſixteene yeeres of age) alſo in the yeere 1556. in the voyage when the coaſtes of Samoed and Noua Zembla, with the ſtraightes of Vaigatz were found out: and in the yeere 1557, when the coaſt of Lappia, and the bay of S. Nicholas were more perfectly diſcouered. Since which time, by my continuall practiſe in the voyages made yeerely to S. Nicholas in Ruſſia, or to the Narue, and to ſome other countreys alſo by Sea: as likewiſe in paſſing from S. Nicholas to Moſco, and from Moſco to Narue, and from thence backe againe to S. Nicholas by land, in the yeeres 1574. and 1575. (being then Agent in thoſe countreis for the company of Engliſh merchants for diſcouerie of new trades) ſetting downe alwayes with great care and diligence, true obſeruations & notes of all thoſe countreys, Illands, coaſts of the ſea, and other things requiſite to the artes of Nauigation and Hydrographie: and with like diligence gathering exact notes and deſcriptions of the wayes, riuers, cities, townes, &c. as I paſſed by land: I finde my ſelfe ſufficiently furniſhed to giue report vnto your Maieſty, and to make deſcription of thoſe ſouth parts of the world in forme and maner of euery leagues diſtance that I haue paſſed & ſeene in all thoſe my trauels. The places herein deſcribed, which I haue not ſeene and tried my ſelfe, I haue ſet downe by the beſt authorities that I could finde, and therein may erre with the learned Gerardus Mercator, Abraham Ortelius, and the reſt: but for the maine part which is from Rochel in France hither to London, and from hence Eaſtward to Narue by ſea, and from thence to Moſco and to S. Nicholas by land: alſo from hence Northwards and Northeaſtwards by Sea to Saint Nicholas, and to the ſtraighe of Vaigatz (firſt craning humbly your highneſſe pardon) I dare boldly affirme (and that I truſt without ſuſpect of arrogancie, ſince truely I may ſay it) I haue here ſet it open to the view, with ſuch exactneſſe and truetie, and ſo placed euery thing aright in true latitude and longitude, (accompting the longitudes from the meridian of London, which place is in 21. degrees) as till this time no man hath done the like: neither is any man able by learning onely, except he trauaileth, as I haue done. For as it may be truely ſaide of nauigation and Hydrographie, that no man can be cunning in the one which wanteth conuenient knowledge in the other: and as neither of them can be had without the helpes of Aſtronomie and Coſmographie, much leſſe without theſe two grounds of all artes, Arithmetike and Geometrie: ſo none of the beſt learned in thoſe ſciences Mathematicall, without conuenient practiſe at the ſea can make true proofe of the profite in them: ſo neceſſarily dependeth art and reaſon vpon practiſe and experience. Albeit there are diuers both learned and vnlearned, little or nothing experienced, which in the art of nauigation will enter deeply and ſpeake much of and againſt errours vſed therein, when they cannot reforme them. Such alſo haue written thereof, pretending ſingular great knowledge therein, and would ſo be accompted of, though in very deede not worthy the name of good and ſufficient pilots. To whom I thinke it ſhall not be amiſſe in defence of rules builded vpon reaſon, and in practiſe allowed, thus much to ſay for and more. It is ſo, that there are rules vſed in nauigation which are not perfectly true: among which the ſtreight lines in ſea-cardes, repreſenting the 32. points of the compaſſe or windes, are not holden to be the leaſt, but noted of ſuch talfe, for principall, to condemne the occupiers thereof for ignorant: yet hath the famous and learned *Gerardus Mercator* vſed them in his vniuerſall mappe. But ſuch as condemne them for falſe,

faile, and ſprake moſt againſt their vſe cannot giue other that ſhould ſerue for nauigation to better purpoſe and effect. Experience (one of the keyes of knowledge) hath taught mee to ſay it. Wherein with my abilitie, together with ſome part of my ſtudie, I am the rather moued (in this my plot) to make ſome triall vnto you maieſtie: for that I perceiue that ſuch attempts of newe diſcoueries (whereunto this noble Iſland is moſt aptly ſituated) are by your royall maintenance ſo willingly furthered: beſeeching your highneſſe ſo to accept of theſe my trauailes, as a pledge of my well willing to my countrey, and of my loyall ſeruice to your maieſtie, whoſe healthfull happie life and reigne God continue which is Almightie. Amen.

Your Maieſties moſt humble ſubiect
William Burrough.

The Queenes Maieſties letters to *Shaugh Thamas* the great Sophi of *Perſia*, ſent by *Arthur Edwards*, *William Turnbull*, *Matthew Tailbois*, and *Peter Gerard* appointed Agents for the Moſcouie companie, in their ſixt voyage to *Perſia*, begun in the yeere 1579.

To the moſt noble and inuincible Emperour of Perſia, *King of* Shiruan, Gilan, Groſin, Coraſſan, *and great Gouernour of the Indies.*

1568 pag. 394.

ELizabeth by the grace of God Queene of England, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. To the moſt noble and muincible Emperour of Perſia, King of Shiruan, Gilan, Groſin, Coraſſan, and great gouernour euen vnto the Indies, ſendeth greeting. Moſt noble and inuincible Prince, it is now [ ] yeeres ſince, or thereabouts, wherein (after the honourable ambaſſade of the noble man Anthony Ienkinſon our welbeloued ſubiect, to your moſt noble and inuincible father performed) we laboured to bring to paſſe by Thomas Bannifter and Geffrey Ducke merchants, our ſubiects, that throughout all the kingdomes ſubiect to his empire, free power might be giuen to Will. Garrard, Thomas Ofley, William Chefter knights, Rowland Hayward, Lionel Ducket, William Allen, Thomas Bannifter, Gefferey Ducket, Lawrence Chapman Merchants, and vnto their ſocietie, to enter into his lands and countreys as all times when they would and could, there to exercile & vſe their trade of merchandiſe, and from thence likewiſe after exchange or ſale made of thoſe wares, which they ſhould bring with them with like good leaue and fauour, to carie from thence thoſe things wherwith his dominions do abound & with vs be ſcant. Which our petition the moſt noble prince your father tooke ſo thankfully as in ſuch good part, that he not onely graunted franke and commodious leaue, as was before: but the ſame he would to bee vnto them moſt free and beneficiall, and to haue continuance for many yeeres and times. The benefite of the which his wonderfull liberality, our ſubiects did enioy with ſuch humanitie & freedome as there could be no greater, till the time that by reaſon of warre more and more increaſing in thoſe partes, by the which our ſubiects were to make their iourney into Perſia, they were debarred and ſhut from that voyage & traffique. The which traffique the ſaid ſocietie being eftſoones deſirous to renew to the weale and commoditie of both our dominions they haue now ſent into Perſia their factors & Agents Arthur Edwards, William Turnbul, Matthew Tailbois, Peter Gerrard merchants, with their aſſociats, whom we beſeech your moſt mercible maieſty to entertaine with that fauour wherewith your father did imbrace Tho. Bannifter & Geffrey Ducket, and to enfranchiſe their whole ſocietie with that freedome, that neither they through any their miſdemeanours towards your ſubiects, may thereof ſeeme vnworthy (as we hope they will not) neither we our ſelues other wiſe entop them, then with the perpetuall remembrance of your good affection towards vs, and with the like fauourable inclination of our part towards you. The matter it ſelfe & tract of time ſhall ſufficiently proue the foreſaid manner of meeting like profitable to neither of vs. For ſo hath one God the chiefe gouernor of all things diſpoſed our affaires on earth, that eyther ſhould need other. And as for our people & ſubiects of the Engliſh nation, in verie deed your maieſty ſhal find them made and faſhioned ſo pliant to the performance of all duties of humanity, that it can neuer repent you to haue graunted them this free traffike, nor ſhame vs to haue obteined it for them at your hands. That therefore it may pleaſe your maieſty to yeeld vnto them this at our requeſt, moſt earneſtly we beſeech you. And we (as well beſeemeth a prince) if euer hereafter we may, will ſhew our ſelfe not to bee vnmindfull of ſo great a benefit. We wiſh your maieſty wel & proſperouſly to fare. Giuen at our palace of Weſtminſter the 10. day of June, in the yere of our Lord 1579. and of our reigne the 21.

Aduertiſ

Aduertiſements and reports of the 6. voyage into the parts of Perſia and Media, for the companie of Engliſh merchants for the diſcouerie of new trades, in the yeeres 1579. 1580. and 1581. gathered out of ſundrie letters written by *Chriſtopher Burrough*, ſeruant to the ſaide companie, and ſent to his vncle Maſter *William Burrough*.

FIrſt it is to be vnderſtood, that the ſhips for the voiage to S. Nicholas in Ruſſia, in which the factors and merchandiſe for the Perſian voiage were tranſported, departed from Graueſend the 19. of June, 1579. which arriued at S. Nicholas in Ruſſia the 22. of July, where the factors and merchants landed, and the merchandiſe were diſcharged & laden into doſhnikes, that is, barkes like the doſhnikes departed from Roſe Iſland by S. Nicholas vp the riuer Dwina, Peremene, that is to ſay, in poſte, by continual ſailing, rowing, ſetting with poles, or drawing of me, which came to Colmogro the 27. day, and departed thence the 29. of Iulie vp the ſaid riuer Dwyna, and came to Vſtyoug (which is at the head of the riuer Dwina, and mouth of Sughano) the 9. of Auguſt, where they ſtayed but a ſmall time, prouiding ſome victuals, and ſhifting certaine of their caſſacks or barkes, & ſo departed thence the ſame day vp the riuer Sughano, and came to Totma (which is ſomewhat more then halfe the way from Vſtioug) the 15. day, where they ſhifted ſome of their caſſacks, and departed thence the ſame day, and came to the citie Vologda the 19. of Auguſt, where they landed their goods, and ſtaied at that place till the 30. of the ſame. Hauing prouided at Vologda, Telegas, or wagons, whereupon they laded their goods, they departed thence with the ſame by land towards Yeraſlaue the ſaid 30. of Auguſt at eight of the clocke in the morning, and came to the Eaſt ſide of the riuer Volga ouer againſt Yeraſlaue, with 25. Telegas laden with the ſaid goods the ſeuenth of September at fiue of the clocke afternoone. Then the three ſtroogs or barkes prouided to tranſport the ſaide goods to Aſtracan (where they ſhould meete the ſhip that ſhould carie the ſame from thence into Perſia) came ouer from Yeraſlaue vnto the ſame ſide of the riuer Volga, and there tooke in the ſaid goods. And hauing prepared the ſaid barks ready with all neceſſary furniture they departed with them from Yeraſlaue downe the riuer of Volga on the 14 day of September at nine of the clocke in the morning, and they arriued at Niznouogrod the 17 day at three of the clocke afternoone, where they ſhewed the Emperors letters to paſſe free without paying any cuſtome, and taried there about three houres to prouide neceſſaries, and then departed, arriued at Cazan (or neere the ſame towne) on the 22. of September at fiue of the clock afternoone, where (through contrary windes, and for prouiding new caſſaks in the places of ſome that were from them) they remained till the 26. day, at what time they departed thence about two of the clocke after noone, and arriued at Tetuſhagorod, which is on the Crim ſide of Volga, in latitude 55. degrees 32. minutes, the 28. day at ten in the forenoone, where they ſtayed, and remained about 3. houres, and departing thence came to Oueak, which is on the Crims ſide (in the Weſterne ſide of Volga) the firſt of October about fiue of the clocke in the morning. This place is accounted halfe the way betweene Cazan and Aſtracan: and heere there groweth great ſtore of Licoris: the ſoile is very fruitfull: they found there apple trees, and cherrie trees. The latitude of Oueak is 51. degrees 30. minutes. At this place had beene a very faire ſtone caſtle called by the name Oueak, (by report of the Ruſſes) whereto appertayning was a towne called vp & Ruſſes, Sodom: but for to this & part of the caſtle (by report of the Ruſſes) was ſwallowed into the earth by the iuſtice of God, for the wickednes of the people that inhabited the ſame. There remaineth at this day to be ſeene a part of the ruines of the caſtle, and certaine tombs, wherein as it ſeemeth haue bin laid noble perſonages: for vpon a tombe ſtone might be perceiued the forme of a horſe and a man ſitting on it with a bow in his hand, and arrowes girt to his ſide: there was a piece of a ſcutchion alſo vpon one of the ſtones, which had characters grauen on it, whereof ſome part had beene conſumed with the weather, and the reſt left imperfect: but by the forme of them that remained, we iudged them to be characters of Armenia: and other characters were grauen alſo vpon another tombe ſtone. Hence they departed from Oueak the ſaid firſt of October at fiue of the clocke after noone, and came to Perauolok the 10. day about eleuen or twelue of the clocke that night, making no abode at that place, but paſſed alongſt by it. This worde Perauolok in the Ruſſe tongue doeth ſignifie a narrow ſtraight or necke of land betweene two waters, and it is ſo called by them, becauſe in the riuer Volga, at that place, to the riuer Don or Tanais, is counted thirty verſts, or as much as a man may well trauell on foote in one day. And ſeuen verſts beneath, vpon an Iſland called by the Tartar name Carawool, the Emperour of Ruſſia hath fiftie gunners all the ſummer time to keepe watch, centinell. Between this place and Aſtracan are fiue other Carawools

Yeraſlaue.

Great ſtore of Licoris.

Peraulok.

I The

1 The firſt is named Kameni Carawool, and is diſtant from Peraualok 120. verſts.
2 The ſecond named Stupino Carowool, diſtant from the firſt 50. verſts.
3 The third called Polody Carowool, is 120. verſts diſtant from the ſecond.
4 The fourth named Keezeyur Carawool, is 50. verſts diſtant from the third.
5 The fift named Ichkebre, is 30. verſt diſtant from the fourth, and from Ichkebre to Aſtracan is 30. verſts.

Aſtracan. The 16. of October they arriued at Aſtracan, with their three ſtroogs in ſafetie about nine of the clock in the morning, where they found the ſhip prouided for the Perſia voyage in good order & readineſſe. The 17. day the foure principal factors of the company, Arthur Edwards, William Turnbull, Matthew Talbois, and Peter Garrard, were inuited to dine with the chiefe blake or ſecretary of Aſtracan (Vaſili Pheodorouich Shelepin) who declared then vnto them the troubles that were in Media and Perſia: and how the Turke with helpe of the Crims had conquered, and did poſſeſſe the greateſt part of Media: alſo he laid before them that Winter was at hand, & if they ſhould put out with their ſhip to the ſea, they ſhould bee conſtrained to take what hazards might happen them by wintring in the parts of Media, or els where, for backe againe to that place there was no hope for them to returne: whereupon the ſaid factors determined to ſtay there all Winter to learne further of the ſtate of thoſe countreis.

Peter Garrard.

Ice at Aſtracan for foure moneths. The 19. of Nouember the winde being Northerly, there was a great froſt, and much ice in the riuer: the next day being the 20. of Nouember the ice ſtood in the riuer, and ſo continued vntill Eaſter day.

The 21. of December departed this life Iohn Moore the gunner of the ſhip.

Anno 1580. Thurſday the 7. of January betweene 8. and 9. of the clocke at night there appeared a cruſe proceeding from the moone, with two gailes at the South and North end thereof.

The 6. of January being Twelfe day (which they call Chreſhenia) the Ruſſes of Aſtracan brake a hole in the ice vpon the riuer Volga, & hallowed the water with great ſolemnity according to the maner of their countrey, at which time all the ſouldiers of the towne ſhot off their ſmall pieces vpon the ice, and likewiſe to gratifie the captaine of the caſtel being a Duke, whoſe name is Pheodor Michalouich Troiocouria, who ſtood hard by the ſhip, beholding them as they were on the riuer, was ſhot off all the ordinance of our ſhip being 15. pieces, viz. 2. ſaulcons, 2. ſaulcones, 4. fowlers, 4. fowlers chambers, and 3. other ſmall pieces made for the ſtroogs to ſhoote withall, and afterwards the great ordinance of the caſtle was ſhot off.

On the 31. of January there happened a great eclipſe of the moone, which began about 12. of the clocke at night, and continued before ſhe was cleere an houre and a halfe by eſtimation, which ended the firſt of February about halfe an houre paſt one in the morning: ſhe was wholly darke by the ſpace of halfe an houre.

The 26. of February the towne of Nagay Tartars, called the Yourt, which is within 3. quarters of a mile of the caſtle of Aſtracan, by caſualty was ſet on fire about 10. of the clock at night, & continued burning til midnight, whereby one halfe of it was burnt, and much catell conſumed. The Nagayes that inhabite that towne, are the Emperour of Ruſſia his vaſſals: it is ſuppoſed there are of them inhabiting that place of men, women, and children, the number of ſeuen thouſand. That night the Allarum was made in the caſtle and towne of Aſtracan. The captaine thereof had all his ſouldiers in very good order and readineſſe, being of them in number two thouſand gunners and caſſaks, that is to ſay, a thouſand gunners, which are accounted meere ſouldiers, and are not put to any other ſeruice then the vſe of their pieces, watch, &c. as ſouldiers vſe: the caſſaks alwaies keepe the caſtle, and the caſſaks alſo vſing their pieces, do keepe the towne, and are commonly ſet to all kind of labours.

The 7. of March 1580. the Nagayes and Crims came before Aſtracan to the number of one thouſand foure hundred horſemen, which incamped round about, but the neereſt of them were two Ruſſe verſts and a halfe off from the caſtle and town: ſome of them lay on the Crims ſide of Volga, and ſome on the Nagay ſide, but none of them came vpon the Iſland that Aſtracan ſtandeth on. It was ſaid that two of the prince of the Crims ſiſters ſonnes were amongſt them. The captaine ſent a meſſenger on the eight day to the captain of Aſtracan, to ſignifie that they would come to viſit him: who anſwered, he was ready to receiue them: and taking a great ſhot or bullet in his hand, willed the meſſenger to tel them that they ſhould not want of that geare, ſo long as it laſt. The ninth day newes was brought that the Crims determined to aſſault the towne, and were making of fagots of reede, to bring with them for that purpoſe. The tenth day the Ruſſes that were captiues, and two of the Tartars bondmen ranne away from the Nagayes, & came into Aſtracan. The ſame day word was brought to the Duke of two Nagayes that were ſeene at Goſtine houſe, ſuppoſed to be ſpies, but were gone againe from thence before they were

Aſtracan ſituate vpon an Iſlande.

suspected. This Gostine house is a place a litle without the towne where the Tiflis (or Persian merchants) do vsually remaine with their merchandize. The 11. day the said Nagayes, and one more with them, came againe to that house early in the morning, where they were taken by the Russes, and brought to the captaine of the castle, and being examined, confessed that their coming was onely to seeke two of their bonomen that were runne from them: whereupon their bonomen were deliuered to them: which fauour the said captaine cõmonly shewes whē they be not Russes, and they were set at liberrie. The 13. day they brake vp their camps, and marched to the Northwards into the countrey of Nagay.

The 17. of Aprill the variation of the compasse obserued in Astracan was 13. deg. 40. min. from the North to West. This spring there came newes to Astracan that the queene of Persia (the king being blind) had bene with a great army against the Turks that were left to possesse Media, and had giuen them a great ouerthrow: yet not withstanding Derbent, & the greatest part of Media were still possessed and kept by the Turks. The factors of the company consulting vpon their affayres, determined to leaue at Astracan the one halfe of their goods with Arthur Edwards, and with the other halfe the other three factors would proceed in the ship on their purposed voyage to the coast of Media, to see what might be done there: where, if they could not find safe traffike, they determined to proceed to the coast of Gilan, which is a prouince nere the Caspian sea bordering vpon Persia: and thereupon appointed the said goods to be laden aboord the ship, and tooke into her also some merchandize of Tiflis or Persian merchants. The variation of the compas in Astracan was 13. deg. 40. minutes.

The 29. of Aprill Amos Riall, and Anthony Marsh, the companies seruants were sent from Astracan by the said factors, by the riuer Volga to Yeraslaue, with letters of aduise to be sent for England, and had order for staying the goods in Russia that should come that yeere out of England, and for maintaining the trade purposed for Persia, vntill further triall were made what might be done in those parts.

The first day of May in the morning, hauing the shippe in readinesse to depart, the factors inuited the duke Pheodor Micalouich Proioroorow, and the principall secretary Vasili Pheodorouich Shelepin, with other of the chiefest about the duke to a banket aboord the ship, where they were intertained to their good liking, and at their departure was shot off all the ordinance of the ship, and about nine of the clocke at night the same day they weyed anker, and departed with their ship from Astracan, and being but litle winde, towed her with the boat about three verst, & then ankered, hauing with them a pauos or lighter to helpe them at the flats. The second day at foure of the clocke in the morning they weyed & plyed downe the riuer Volga toward the Caspian sea. The seuenth of May in the morning they passed by a tree that standeth on the left hand of the riuer as they went downe, which is called Mahomet Agatch, or Mahomets tree, & about three verst further: (but Ochoog is the name of a weare in the Tartar tongue) where are certain cossacks, and the Emperour hath lying at that place certaine gunners to gard his fishermen that keepe their weare. This Vchoog is counted from Astracan 60. verst: they proceeded downe the said riuer without staying at the Vchoog. The ninth and tenth dayes they met with shoald water, and were forced to lighten their ship by the pauos: the 11. day they sent backe to the Vchoog for an other pauos: This day by mischance the shippe was bilged on the grapnell of the pauos, whereby the company had sustained great losses, if the chiefest part of their goods had not beene layde into the pauos: for not withstanding their pumping with 3. pumps, heauing out water with buckets, and all the best shifts they could make, the shippe was halfe full of water ere the leake could be found and stopt. The 12. day the pauos came to them from the Vchoog, whereby they lighted the burthen of all the goods. The 13. day in the morning there came to them from the Vchoog, whereby they lighted the burthen of Astracan, to learne whether the shippe were at sea cleere of the flats. The 15. day by great industry and trauell they got their ship cleare off the shoales and flats, where with they had been troubled from the ninth day vntill then: they were forced to passe their shippe in three foot water or lesse. The 16. day they came to the Chetera Bougori, or Iland of Foure Hillocks, which are counted forty verst from Vchoog, and are the furthest land towards the sea. The 17. day they bore off into the sea, and being about twelue verst from the Foure hillocks, riding in fiue and a halfe water about eleuen of the clocke in the forenoone, they tooke their goods out of the pauos into the shippe, and filled their shippe with all things necessary. The 18. day in the morning about seuen of the clock, the pauoses being discharged departed away towards Astracan, the wind then at Southeast, they road still with the shippe, and obseruing the elevation of the pole at this place, found it to be 45. degrees 20. minuts. The 19. day, the wind Southeast, they road still, 20. leagues: the wind at Northwest they set saile about one of the clocke in the morning, & fleered by West, & Southsouthwest, about 3. leagues, and then ankered in 6. foot and a halfe

May.

Vchoog.

Shoald water.

Flats.

Chetera Bougori.

The Caspian sea.

45. degrees 20. minuts.

The first obseruation in the Caspian sea.

a halfe water, about nine of ꝑ clocke before noone, at which time it fell calme: the eleuation of the pole at that place 45. degrees 13. minutes. The 22. hauing the winde at Northwest, they set saile, and steered thence South by West, and South vntill eleuen of the clocke, and had then nine foote water: and at noone they obserued the latitude, and found it to be 44. degrees 47. minutes: then had they three fathoms and a halfe water, being cleare of the flats. It is counted from the Foure Bil-lockes to the sea about fiftie leagues. From the said noone tide vntill foure of the clocke they sayled South by East fiue leagues and a halfe: then had they fiue fathoms and a halfe and blackish wa-ter: from that till twelue at night they sayled South by East halfe a league, East tenne leagues: then had they eleuen fathome, and the water softer. From that till the 22. day three of the clocke in the morning they sayled three score and fifty leagues, then had they fiftene fathome water: from thence they sayled vntil noone South and by West seuen leagues and a halfe, the latitude then obserued 43. degrees 15. minuts, the depth twelue fathoms, and shallow grounds from that vntill eight of the clocke at night, they sayled South by East fiue leagues and a halfe, then had they three and fortie fathoms shallow ground. From thence till the 23. foure a clocke in the mor-ning, they sailed Southsouthwest three leagues and a halfe: then could they get no ground in two and fiftie fathoms deepe. From thence vntill noone they sayled South nine leagues, then the latitude obserued was 42. degrees 20. minuts. From that till the 24. day at noone they sayled South by West seuenteene leagues and a halfe, then the latitude obserued was 41. degrees 32. minuts. From noone till seuen of the clocke at night, they sailed Southsouthwest foure leagues, then had they perfect sight of high land or hilles, which were almost couered with snow, and the mids of them were West from the ship, being then about twelue leagues from the nearest land: they sounded but could finde no ground in two hundred fathoms. From thence they sailed South-west vntil midnight: about three leagues from thence till the 25. day foure of the clock in the mor-ning, they sayled West three leagues, being then litle winde, and neere the land. They tooke in their sayles, and lay hulling: at noone the latitude obserued, was 40. degrees 54. minuts: they sounded but could get no ground in two hundred fathoms. At foure of the clocke in the afternoon, the winde Northwest, they set their sailes, & from thence till the 26. day at noone they sailed South-southeast foure leagues. From thence they sailed till eight of the clocke at night Southwest three leagues, the winde then at North. From thence they sailed vntill the 27. day two of the clocke in the morning, Westsouthwest eight leagues, the winde blowing at North very much. From the sayd two til foure of the clocke they sailed South by West one league: then being day light, they saw the land plaine, which was not past three leagues from them, being very high ragged land. There were certaine rocks that lay farre off in the sea, about fiue leagues from the same land, (which are called Barmake Tash) they sayled betweene those rocks and the land, and about fiue of the clocke they passed by the port Bildill, where they should haue put in but could not: and hea-ring length the shoare about two of the clocke afternoone, they came to Bildih in the countrey of Media or Sheruan, against which place they ankered in 9. foot water. Presently after they were ankered, there came aboord of them a boat, wherein were seuen or eight persons, two Turkes, the rest Persians, the Turkes vassals, which bade them welcome, and seemed to be glad of their ar-riuall, who told the factors that the Turke had conquered all Media, or the countrey Sheruan, and how that the Turks Basha remained in Derbent with a garrison of Turkes, and that Shamahy was wholly spoyled, and had few or no inhabitants left in it. The factours then being desirous to come to the speech of the Basha, sent one of the Tillkes (or merchants that went ouer with them from Astracan, passingers) and one of the companies seruants Robert Golding, with their indi-uiduis, to the captaine of Bachu, which place standeth hard by the sea, to certifie him of their ar-riuall, and what commodities they had brought, and to desire friendshippe to haue quiet and free traffike for the same. Bachu is from Bildih, the place where they road, about a dayes iourney on foote easily to be trauelled, which may be fiue leagues the next way ouer land: it is a walled towne, and strongly fortified. When the sayd messenger came to the captaine of Bachu, the said captaine gaue him very friendly intertainment, and after he vnderstood what they were, that were come in the shippe, and what they had brought, he seemed to reioyce much thereat: whereupon the said Golding licence to depart backe the next day, being the eight and twentieth day: and promised that he would himselfe come to the shippe the next day following: with which answere the said Golding returned and came to the shippe the sayd eight and twentieth day about nine of the clocke at night. The nine and twentieth day in the morning the factours caused a tent to be set on shoare neare the shippe, against the comming of the sayd captaine: who came thither about three of the clocke after noone, and brought about thirtie souldiers, that attended on him, in fashion of male, and some of them had gauntlets of siluer, others of steele, and very faire. The factors met him at their tent, and after very friendly salutations passed betweene them, they gaue him a mes-

Blackish water farre within the sea.

43. degrees 15. minuts.

41. degrees 32. minuts.

40. degrees 54. minuts.

Bildill.

Bachu port.

apresent a garment of cloth of veluet, and another of scarlet, who accepted the same gratefully. After they had talked together by their interpretors, as well of the state of the voyage and cause of their comming thither, as also learned of the sayde captaine the state of that countrey, the factors made request vnto him, that he would helpe them to the speeche of the Bassha, who answered that their demand was reasonable, and that he would willingly shew them therein what pleasure he could, and sayd, because the way to Derbent, where the Bassha remayned, was dangerous, he would send thither, and certifie him of their arriuall, and what commodities they had brought, and such commodities as they would desire to exchange or barter the same for he would procure the said Bassha to prouide for them: and therefore willed the factors to consult together, and certifie him what they most desired, and what quantitie they would haue prouided: so whilest the factors were consulting together thereupon, the captaine talked with a Tilske merchant that came ouer in the ship with them from Astracan, which Tilske, among other matters in talke, certified the captaine, that the night before, the factors & their company were determined to haue returned backe againe to Astracan, and that they were about to wey their ankers, which in deed was true, but the master of the barke Thomas Hudson of Limehouse perswaded them that the wind was not good for them to depart, &c. When the factors came againe to talke with the captaine, they desired to goe to the Bassha, and that he would safely conduct them thither: he granted their request willingly, desiring them to goe with him to a village hard by, and there to abide with him that night, and the next day they should go to Bachu, and from thence proceede on their iourney to Derbent. They were vnwilling to go that night with him, because their prouision for the way was in readinesse, but requested that they might stay til the morning. Thereupon the captaine vpon was reported vnto him, that they ment the night before to haue gone away: and if it should so happen, he were in great danger of loosing his head: for which cause he requested to haue some one for pledge: wherefore M. Garrard one of the factors offered himselfe to go, who, because he could not speake the Russe tongue, tooke with him Christopher Burrough, and a Russe interpretour that night they road from the seaside, to a village about ten miles off, where at supper time the captaine had much talke with M. Garrard of our countrey, demanding where about it lie, what countreys were neare vnto it, and with whom we had traffike, for by the Russe name of our countrey he could not coniecture who we should be: but when by the situation he perceiued we were Englishmen, he demanded if our prince were a mayden Queene: which when he was certified of, then (quoth he) your land is called Enghilterra, is it not? answere was made, it was so: whereof he was very glad when he knew the certainety. He made very much of them, placing M. Garrard next to himselfe, and Christopher Burrough, with the Russe interpretour for the Russe tongue hard by. There was a Gillan merchant with him at that present, of whom he seemed to make great account: him he placed next to himselfe on the other side, and his gentlemen and seruants about him talking together. Their sitting is vpon the heeles, or crosse legged. Supper being brought in, he requested them to eate. After their potage (which was made of rice) was done, and like wise their boyled meat, there came in platters of rice sodden thicke, and mingled with all: after all which, came a sheepe rosted whole, which was brought in a tray, and set before the captaine: he called one of his seruitours, who cut it in pieces, and laying therof vpon diuers platters, set the same before the captaine: then the captaine gaue to M. Garrard and his company one platter, and to his gentlemen another, and to them which could not well reach farre from the platters which were before him. Diuers questions he had with M. Garrard and Christopher Burrough at supper time, about their diet, inquiring whether they eat fish or flesh ordinarily, or by order. Their drinke in those partes is nothing but water. After supper (walking in the garden) the captaine demanded of M. Garrard, whether the vse was in England to lie in the house or in the garden, and which he had best liking of: he answered, where it pleased him, but their vse was to lie in houses: wherupon the captaine caused beds to be sent into the garden for them, and caused his kinsman to attend on them in the night, if they chanced to want any thing: he himselfe with his gentlemen and souldiers lying in the garden.

In the morning very early he sent horse for the rest of the company which should go to Derbent, and by them that went came sheepe for the shippe. In that village there was a Stoue, into which the captaine went in the morning, requesting M. Garrard to go also to the same to wash himselfe, which he did. Shortly after their comming out of the Stoue, whilest they were at breakfast, M. Turnbull, M. Tailboyes, and Thomas Hudson the M. of the shippe, came thither, when they had all broken their fasts, they went to Bachu: but Christopher Burrough returned towards Derbent, as it was by the captaine promised, being accompanied on his way in safe conduct, with a gentleman, and certaine souldiers, which had the captaine

Thomas Hudson of Limehouse, master of the English barke.

M. Christopher Burrough.

of Bachu his letters to the Basha of Derbent, very friendly written in their behalfe. In their iourney to Derbent they forsooke the ordinarie wayes, being very dangerous, and trauelled thorow woods till they came almost to the towne of Derbent: and then the gentleman road before with the captaines letters to the Basha, to certifie him of the English merchants comming, who receiuing the letters, and vnderstanding the matter, was very glad of the newes, and sent forth to receiue them certaine souldiers gunners, who met them about two miles out of the towne, saluting them with great reuerence, and after warres road before them: then againe met them other souldiours, somewhat neerer the castle, which likewise hauing done their salutations road before them, and then came forth noble men, captaines, and gentlemen, to receiue them into the castle and towne. As they entred the castle, there was a shot of twentie pieces of great ordinance, & the Basha sent M. Turnbull a very faire horse with furniture to mount on, esteemed to be worth an hundred markes, and so they were conueyed to his presence: who after he had talked with them, sent for a coate of cloth of golde, and caused it to be put on M. Turnbulles backe, and then willed them all to depart, and take their ease, for that they were wearie of their iourney, and on the morrow he would talke further with them. The next day when the factors came againe to the presence of the Basha, according to his appointment, they requested him that he would grant them his priuilege, whereby they might trafficke safely in any part and place of his countrey, offering him, that if it pleased his Highnesse to haue any of the commodities that they had brought, and to write his mind thereof to the captaine of Bachu, it should be deliuered him accordingly. The Bashaes answere was, that he would willingly giue them his priuilege: yet for that he regarded their safetie, hauing come so farre, & knowing the state of his countrey to be troublesome, he would haue them to bring their commodity thither, & there to make sale of it, promising he would prouide such commodities as they needed, and that he would be a defence vnto them, so that they should not be robbed by any: whereupon the factors sent Thomas Hudson backe for the ship to bring her to Derbent, and the Basha sent a gentleman with him to the captaine of Bachu, to certifie him what was determined, which message being done, the captaine of Bachu, and the Bashaes messenger, accompanied with a dozen souldiours, went from Bachu with Thomas Hudson, & came to the ship at Bildih the 11. day of June. After the captaine and his men had beene aboord and seene the ship, they all departed presently, but the gentleman, messenger from the Basha, with three other Turks, remained aboord, and continued in the ship till she came to Derbent: the latitude of Bildih by mariners obseruations is 40. degrees 25. minuts: the variation of the compasse 10. degrees 40. minuts from North to West. After the returne of Thomas Hudson backe to Bildih, they were constrained to remaine there with the shippe through contrary windes vntill the 16. day of June some of the clocke in the morning, at which time they weyed anker, set saile and departed thence towards Derbent, and arriued at anker against Derbent East and by South from the said castle in foure fathome and a halfe water, the 22. day of June at ten of the clocke in the morning: then they tooke vp their ordinance, which before they had stowed in hold for easing the shippe in her rowing. In the afternoone the Basha came downe to the waterside against the shippe, and hauing the said ordinance placed, and charged, it was all shotte off to gratifie him: and presently after his departure backe, he permitted the factors to come aboord the shippe. The 29. day their goods were landed and carried to the Bashaes garden, where he made choyce of such things as he liked, taking for some of euery sixe & twenty kartles, or what soeuer one, or after the rate of foure for the hundred. The factors after his choyce made, determined to send a part of the rest of the goods to Bachu for the speedier making sale thereof, for which cause they obtained the Bashaes letter to the captaine of Bachu, written very fauourably in their behoofe: and thereupon was laden and sent in a small boat of that countrey in merchandize, to the value (very neere) of one thousand pounds sterling: videlicet, one hundreth pieces of kartles, seuen hoad clothes, two barrels of cochenello, two barrels of time, foure barrels of shalke. There went with the same of the companies seruants William Winckle, Robert Golding, and Richard Relfe, with two Russies, whereof one was the interpretor, besides foure barkemen. They departed from Derbent with the said barke the 4. of July, and arriued at Bildih the 25. day: their passage and carriage of their goods to Bachu was chargeable, although their sales when they came thither were small: they had great friendship shewed them of the captaine of Bachu, as well for the Bashaes letter, as also for the factors sakes, who had dealt friendly with him, as before is declared. Robert Golding desirous to vnderstand what might be done at Shamaky, which is a dales iourney from Bachu, went thither, from whence returning, he was set on by theeues, and was shot into the knee with an arrow, who very hardly escaped with his life & goods, but that by good hap he killed one of the theeues with his caliuer, and shot a Turke thorow both cheeks with a dag. On the first day of August the factors being aduertised at Derbent that their ship was so rotten & weake, that it was vnable

The receiuing of the English into Derbent.

The latitude of Bildih 40. deg. 25. mm.

The variation of the compas 10 deg. 40. mm.

would not carry them backe to Aſtracan, did therupon agree and bargen at that place with an Armenian, whoſe name was Iacob, for a barke called a Buſſe, being of burden about 35. tunnes, which came that yere from Aſtracan, and was at that inſtant riding at an Iſland called Zere about three or foure leagues beyond or to the Eaſtwardes of Bildih, which barke for their more ſafety, they ment to haue with them in their returne to Aſtracan, and therupon wrote vnto Wincoll and the reſt at Bachu, that they ſhould receiue the ſame Buſſe, and lade in her their goods at Bildih to be returned to Derbent, and to diſcharge their firſt boate, which was obſerued by them accordingly. When all their goods were laden aboord the ſayd Buſſe at Bildih, and being ready to haue departed thence for Derbent, there aroſe a great ſtorme with the winde out of the ſea, by force whereof the cables and hallers were broken, and their veſſell put a ſhoare, and broken to pieces againſt the rockes: euery of them that were in her ſaued their liues, and part of the goods. But there was a Carobia or cheſſe, wherein were dollers, and golde, which they had receiued for the commodities of the company, which they ſold at Bachu, which at the taking out of the Buſſe, fell by the barkes ſide into the water amongſt the rockes, and ſo was loſt. The packes of cloth which they could not well take out of the Buſſe were alſo loſt, other things that were more portable they ſaued.

Zere Iſland.

The Engliſh ſuffer ſhipwracke.

The 18. of Auguſt, the Factors receiued from the Baſha 500. Batmans of raw ſilke, parcell of the bargaine made with him, who bade them come the next day for the reſt of the bargaine.

The 19. day the Factors went to the Baſha according to his appointment, but that day they could not ſpeake with him, but it was deliuered them as from him, that they ſhould looke and conſider whether any thing were due vnto him or not, which grieued the Factors: and therupon M. Turnebull anſwered, that their heads & all that they had were at the Baſhaes pleaſure: But then it was anſwered there was no ſuch matter in it: but that they ſhould caſt vp their reckonings, to ſee how it ſtood betweene them. The 20. day they caſt vp their reckonings, to haue ſpoken with the Baſha, but were denied audience.

The 22. day they heard newes by a Buſſe that came from Aſtracan, that Arthur Edwards (whom the Factors left at Aſtracan with the reſt of the goods) was dead, who departed this life the of

Arthur Edwards dieth at Aſtracan.

The 23. day the Factors receiued more from the Baſha 500. Batmans of ſilke. The 4. of September newes was brought to Derbent, that Golding comming from Shamaky was ſet on by theeues (Turkes) and had hurt one of them.

September.

The 5. Tobias Atkins the gunners boy died of the flixe, who was buried the 6. day 2. miles to the Southward of the Caſtle of Derbent, where the Armenian Chriſtians do vſually bury their dead. About the 20. of September newes came to Derbent, that the Buſſe which they had bought of Iacob the Armenian as before, was caſt away at Bildih, but they receiued no certaine newes in writing from any of our people.

The 26. of September was laden aboord the ſhip 40. bales of ſilke. From the 26. till the 2. of October, they tooke into the ſhip, bread, water, and other neceſſary prouiſion for their ſeaſtore: the ſaid 2. day of October, the Factors were commanded vpon the ſuddaine to auoide their houſe, and get them with their prouiſion out of the towne: Whereupon they were conſtrained to remoue and carry their things to the ſea ſide againſt the ſhip, and remained there all the night. The cauſe of this ſodaine auoyding them out of the towne (as afterwards they perceiued) was for that the Baſha had receiued newes of a ſupplie with treaſure that the Turke had ſent, which was then neare at hand comming toward him.

The 3. day of October all things were brought from the ſhoare aboord the ſhip: and that day the Factors went to the Baſha to take their leaue of him, vnto whom they recommended thoſe the companies ſeruants, &c. which they had ſent to Bachu, making accompt to leaue them behinde in the Countrey: who cauſed their names to be written, and promiſed they ſhould want nothing, nor be iniuried of any. After this leaue taken, the Factors went aboord purpoſing preſently to haue ſet ſaile and departed towards Aſtracan, the winde ſeruing well for that purpoſe at South ſoutheaſt: And as they were readie to ſet ſaile, there came againſt the ſhip a man, who weued: whereupon the boate was ſent a ſhoare to him, who was an Armenian ſent from William Winall, with his writing tables, wherein the ſaid Wincoll had written briefly, the miſhap of the Buſſe, and that they were comming from Bildih towardes Derbent, they, and ſuch things as they ſaued with a ſmall boate, forced to put a ſhoare in a place by the ſea ſide called the Armenian village: Whereupon the Factors cauſed the ſhippe to ſtay, hoping that with the ſoutherly winde that then blew, they would come from the place they were at to the ſhip, but if they could not come with that winde, they ment to ſaile with the ſhippe, with the next wind that ſhould ſerue them, againſt the place where they were, & take them in, if they could: which ſtay and

The Armenian village.

losse of those Southerly winds, was a cause of great troubles, that they after warres sustained through pce, &c. entring the Volga as shalbe declared.

The 4. day the winde South Southeast, the shippe rode still: This day Christopher Burrow was sent to shore to Derbent to prouide some necessaries for the voyage, & with him a Tartar or two, which should goe in the shippe passengers to Astracan. And being on shoare he saw there the comming in of the Turkes treasure, being accompanied with 200. souldiers, and one hundreth pioners, besides Captaines and Gentlemen: the Basha with his Captaines and souldiers very gallantly apparelled and furnished went out from Derbent about three or foure miles, to meete the said treasure, and receiued the same with great ioy and triumph. Treasure was the chiefe thing they needed, for not long before the souldiers were readie to breake into the Court against the Basha for their pay: there was a great mutinie amongst them, because hee had long differred and not payed them their due. The treasure came in seuen wagons, and with it were brought tenne pieces of brasse.

The Turkes his treasure sent to Derbent.

In the parts of Media where they were, there was no commoditie to be bought of any value, but raw silke, neither was that to be had but at the Bashaes hands: who shortly after their comming thither taxed the Countrey for that commoditie. His dealing with our Marchants as it was not with equitie in all points according to his bargaine, so was not extreme ill. Of the commodities they carried hee tooke the chiefest part, and gaue but a small price in respect of the value it was there worth, and because he had prounded such quantitie of commodities for them, which otherwise they could not haue had, the Countrey being so troublesome, and trauaile by land so dangerous, he vsed them at his pleasure.

The newes that was reported vnto them at Astracan touching the warres betweene the Turkes & Persians differed little from the truth: For the Turkes armie with aide of the Crimes, (being in number by his information of two Spaniards that serued in those [illegible] 40000) inuaded and conquered the Countrey of Media in Anno 1577. When the great Turke vnderstood of the conquest, he appointed Oiman Basha (the said Basha, and now Captaine of Derbent) gouernour of the whole Countrey, who settled himselfe in Shamaky the chiefe Citie of Media, and principall place of traffike, vnto whom was sent from the great Turke, in signification of the great full acceptation of his seruice and the great conquest, a robe of great value.

Oiman Basha.

After the said Basha had brought the Countrey in order to his liking, and placed garrison where he thought conuenient, the armie was dissolued and sent backe: When the Persians vnderstood that the Turkes armie was dissolued and returned, they gathered a power together, and with the Queene of their Countrey as chiefe, they entred the Countrey of Media, and ouerranne the same with fire and sword, destroying what soeuer they found, as well people, cattell, as whatsoeuer els, that might be commodious to the Turkes. And after they had so ouerrunne the Countrey, they came to Shamaky, where the said Basha Lieutenant generall of the great Turke was settled, and besieged it: whereupon the Basha seeing hee could not long endure to withstand them, fled thence to Derbent where he now remaineth.

Derbent built by Alexander the great.

Derbent is a strong Castle which was built by Alexander the great, the situation whereof is such, that the Persians being without Ordinance, are not able to winne it but by famine. When the Turkes were fled from Shamaky, the Persians entred the same and spoyled it, leauing therein neither liuing creature nor any commoditie, and so returned backe into Persia, and settled themselues about Teueris, where there grewe some question among them for the kingdome. Afterwards the Persians hauing intelligence of an armie from the Turke comming into Media, gathered themselues together in a great armie and encountring the said Turkes, set vpon them at the sudden, and vanquished them, putting them all to the sword. This ouerthrow of the Turkes grieued the Basha of Derbent, and made him to haue the more care for his owne safetie. Moreouer, newes was brought vnto him that the Kisel Bashes (that is to say the nobles and Gentlemen of Persia) were minded to set vpon him, and that neere vnto Bachu there lay an armie ready to besiege it. Whereupon the Basha oftentimes would ride about the Castle of Derbent, viewing the same, and the springs that did come to it, and where he saw any cause of reformation it was amended.

The latitude of Derbent (by diuers obseruations exactly there made) is 41. deg. 52. min. The variation of the Compasse at that place about 11. degrees from North to West. From Derbent to Bildih by land 46. leagues. From Derbent to Shamaky by land, 45. leagues. From Shamaky to Bachu about 10. leagues, which may be 30. miles. From Bachu to Bildih sixteene leagues by land, but by water about 12. leagues. From the Castle Derbent westwards, there reach two stone walls to the water of the Caspian sea, which is distant one mile. The walls are 9. foote thicke, and 18. or 20. foote high, and the space betweene them is 160. Geo-

The latitude of Derbent 41. deg. 52. min.

The variation of the Compasse.

trie

tricall paces, that is 800 foot. There are yet to be perceiued at the ruine of thoſe walls, which do now extend into the ſea about halfe a mile: alſo from the caſtle Weſtward into the land, they did perceiue the ruines of a ſtone wall to extend, which wal, as it is reported, did paſſe from thence to Ponius Euxinus, and was built by Alexander the great when the caſtle Derbent was made.

The 5 of October about noone the winde Northnortheaſt they waied ancre, and ſet ſaile from Derbent, being alongſt the coaſt to the Southwards to ſeeke their men: but as they had ſailed about foure leagues the winde ſcanted Eaſterly, ſo that they were forced to ancre in three fathom water.

The 6 day they waied ancre, and bare further off into the ſea, where they ancred in ſeuen fathom water, the ſhip being very leake, and ſo rotten abaft the maine maſt, that a man with his nailes might ſcrape thorow her ſide.

The 7 day about 7 of the clocke in the morning, they ſet ſaile, the winde Southweſt. They conſidered the time of the yere was far ſpent, the ſhip weake, leake and rotten, and therefore determining not to tary any longer for Wincoll and his fellowes, but to leaue them behinde, bent themſelues directly towards Astracan: and ſailing Northnortheaſt vntill midnight about 16 leagues, the winde then came to the Northnorthweſt and blew much, a very ſtorme, which cauſed them to take in all their ſailes, ſauing the fore ſaile, with which they were forced to ſteere before the ſea, South by Weſt, and Southſouthweſt. And on the 8 day about two of the clocke in the morning their great boat ſunke at the ſhips ſterne, which they were forced to cut from the ſhip to their great griefe and diſcomfort: for in her they hoped to ſaue their liues if the ſhip ſhould haue miſcaried. About 10 of the clocke before noone they had ſight of the land about 5 leagues to the South of Derbent, and bare longſt the coaſt to the Southeaſtwards vnto Nezauoo, where they came at ancre in three fathoms, and blacke ooze, good ancre holde, whereof they were glad, as alſo for that the winde was ſhifted to the Northweſt, and but a meane gale. Wincoll and the reſt of his fellowes being in the Armenian village, which is about 18 verſts to the Weſtwards of Nezauoo, the place whereagainſt they rode at ancre, ſaw the ſhip as ſhe paſſed by that place, and ſent a man in the night following alongſt the coaſt after her, who came againſt the ſhip where ſhe rode, and with a fire brand in the top of a tree made ſignes, which was perceiued by them in the ſhippe, whereupon they hoiſed out their ſkiffe, and ſent her aſhore to learne what was meant by the fire: which returned a letter from Wincoll, wherein he wrote that they were with ſuch goods as they had at the Armenian village, and praied that there they might with the ſame goods be taken into the ſhips. The 9 day it was little winde, they waied and hace a little further off into the ſea towards the ſaid village, and ancred. The 10 day they ſent their ſkiffe to the Armenian village to fetch thoſe men and the goods they had, with order that if the winde ſerued, that they ſhould not returne to fetch the ſhip, they of the ſhip promiſed to come for them, againſt the ſaid village. This day it was calme.

Nezauoo.

The 11 day the winde Northweſt they rode ſtill. The 12 day the winde Southeaſt they waied ancre, & bare againſt them to the Armenian village where they ancred, and then the ſkiffe came aboord and tolde them that our people in thoſe were like to be ſpoiled of the Tartars, were it not that the gunners defended them: then was the ſkiffe ſent backe againe to charge them as they had, they ſhould haſten aboord the ſhip whatſoeuer it coſt them. Whereupon, all the company came aboord the ſame day ſauing Richard [illegible] and two Ruſſes, but aſſoone as the ſkiffe was returned aboord the ſhip, the winde blew at Southeaſt [illegible] the ſea was growen, ſo as they were forced to take in their ſkiffe into the ſhip, and rode ſtill till the 13 day, and then being faire weather, early in the morning the ſkiffe was hoiſed out of the ſhip, and ſent to ſhore to fetch the ſaid Reſe and the two Ruſſes, which were ready at the ſhore ſide, and with them two Spaniards that were captiues at the Goletta in Barbary, which ſerued the Turke as ſouldiers. Thoſe Spaniards (of Chriſtian charity) they brought alſo aboord the ſhip to redeeme them from their captiuitie, which were brought ouer into England, and ſet free and at liberty here in London in September 1581. The winde this day at Northnortheaſt, faire weather. The 14 day they rode ſtill, and fild freſh water. The 15 day the winde Eaſtſoutheaſt, they waied ancre and ſet ſaile, bearing Northwards towards Astracan, and the ſame night they ancred in ten fathoms water, about fiue miles from the ſhore of Shalhanles countrey, which place is eight leagues Northnortheaſt from Derbent. The 16 day the winde at North very ſtormy, they rode ſtill all that day and night. The 17 the winde Southeaſt about one of the clocke afternoone, they waied ancre, and ſailed thence till noone of the clocke Northnortheaſt [illegible] leagues, then they might ſee the land Northweſt about twelue leagues from the winde Southeaſt: from thence they ſailed til midnight Northnortheaſt twelue leagues. From thence till the 19 day ſeuen a clocke in the morning they ſailed Northnortheaſt

Two Spaniards deliuered by our Engliſh men.

eight

eight leagues: the winde then Eastsoutheast, a faire gale, they sounded and had 17 fathoms, sand, being (as the Master iudged) about the head of Sherly: from thence till 12 of the clocke at noone they sailed North 5 leagues, the winde then at East a faire gale, they sounded and had 5 fathoms. From thence till 8 of the clocke at night, they sailed North 7 leagues, the winde then at Northeast with small raine, they tooke in their sailes, and ancred in 3 fathoms water and soft ooze, where they rode still all night, and the 20 day and night the winde Northeast, as before with small raine.

The 21 day the winde Northwest, they likewise rode still. The 22 day about 3 of the clocke in the afternoone, they waied ancre, the winde Westnorthwest, and sailed from thence till five of the clocke at night North 4 leagues, then they ancred in 2 fathoms and a halfe soft ooze, the winde at West a small breath.

The 23 day about 7 of the clocke in the morning, they waied ancre, and set saile, being little winde Easterly, and sailed till 2 of the clocke after noone Northwest in with the shoze about five leagues, and then ancred in 6 foot water, having perfect sight of the low land (sand hilles) being about 3 miles from the nereſt land. This place of the land that they were against, they perceiued to be to the Westwards of the 4 Islands (called in the Russe tongue Chetera Bougori) and they found it afterwards by due proofe, to be about 50 uersts, or 30 English miles to the Southward, or Southwest by South, from the sayd Chetera Bougori.

The 24 day the winde at East, and by South, a fresh winde called Gillauar, caused them to ride still. The 25 day they thought good to send in their Shiffe Robert Golding, and certaine Russes, to row him alongst Northwards by the shoze, to seeke the foure Islands, and so to passe vnto the Vchooge, and there to land the sayd Robert Golding to proceed to Astracan, to deliuer Amos Riall a letter, wherein he was required to prouide Pauoses to meet the shippe at the sayd Islands, and the Shiffe with the Russes were appointed to returne from the Vchooge with victuals to the shippe, which Shiffe departed from the shippe about nine of the clocke in the forenoone. The 26, 27, 28, and 29 dayes, the winde Easterly and Northeast, they rode still with their ship. The 30 day the winde Southeast, they waied, and set saile to the Northeastwards: but the ship fell so on the shoze to the shozewards, that they were forced eftsoones to take in their saile, and ancre againe, from whence they neuer removed her. That day they shared their bread: but in their want God sent them two couies of partridges, that came from the shoze, and lighted in and about their ships, whereby they were comforted, and one that lay sicke, of whose life was small hope, recouered his health.

All strange accident of prouision for their reliefe.

November.

The 4 of November the Shiffe returned to the ship with some victuals, and certified that the foure Islands were about 60 uersts from them to the Northeastwards. When Robert Golding came to Astracan, and deliuered there the Factors letters to Amos Rial, the duke, captaine of the place, was done to vnderstand of the ships arriuall, & of the state they were in, and their request for Pauoses, who was very glad to heare of their safe returne, and appointed to be sent with all speed two Pauoses and a Stroog, with gunners to gard and to defend them. With the which Stroog and Pauoses, Amos Riall went downe to the Chetera Bougori, or 4 Islands aforesayd, where they stayed with those barks, according to the Factors appointment. The 5 day they purposed to send from the ship their Shiffe with the carpenter, and 4 Russes to row him to the 4 Bougoes, to request Amos Riall to come from thence with the Pauoses to the shippe with all possible speed. The Shiffe with those men departed from the ship in the morning, and within one houre they met with a small boat with Russes, rowing towards the ship, which came from the Ouchooge with wilde swine and other victuals to sell: with the same boat the Shiffe returned backe to the ship after the Russes had receiued and were satisfied for the victuals they brought: the same day they returned with their boat backe toward the Ouchooge, and with them in the same boat was sent the Carpenter of the shippe to the Chetera Bougori, which were in their way, to declare vnto Amos Riall the message before appointed him. From the 5 vntill the 9 day the ship rode still with contrary winds Easterly. The same 9 day came to the shippe certaine Russes in a small boat, which brought with them some victuals sent by Amos Riall, and declared that he with the Pauoses and Stroog had remained at the Chetera Bougori fiue dayes, expecting the comming thither of the ship. The 10 day being doubtfull of the Pauoses comming, they sent Thomas Hudson Master of the ship in the Shiffe (and with her went the foresayd Shiffe boat) towards the Chetera Bougori to the Pauoses to bring word whether they would come to the ship or not, the wind then at East with fogge. The 11 day the winde Northerly with fogge, the ship rode still. The 12 day Amos Riall, Christopher Fawcet, and a new gunner came to the ship, and with them the M. Thomas Hudson returned; but the Stroog with the gunners remained at the Chetera Bougori: and from thence (when it began to freese) returned to Astracan, Amos Riall declared that he sent

carpen

carpenter backe from the Chetera Bougori in a small boat on the 10 day, and marueiled that he was not come to the shippe (but in the fogge the day before as afterwards they learned) missed the shippe, and our rebot her, and afterwards returning backe, he found the ship at ancre, and nothing in her but the Russes that were left to keepe her, and then he departed thence, and went to the Vchooge, and there stayed. Presently vpon the comming of the Pauoses to the ship they vsed as much speed as might be, to get the goods out of the shippe into them, and after the goods were landed, they tooke in also of the shippes ordinance, furniture and prouision, as much as they could.

The 13 day in the morning Amos Riall was sent away in a small boat towards Astracan, to prouide victuals and cariages to relieue and helpe them, who could passe no further then the foure Illands, but was there ouertaken with yce, and forced to leaue his boat, and from thence passed on foote to Astracan, finding at the Vchooge the Carpenter returned from his ill iourney, very ill handled with the extremity of the colde. The same day they departed also in those lighters with the goods towards the Chetera Bougori, leauing the ship at ancre, and in her two Russes, which with three more that went in the Pauoses, to prouide victuals for themselues and the rest, & therebies in money to carry the ship into some harborow, where she might safely winter, or els to keepe her where she rode all winter, which was promised to be giuen them if they did it: and the same day when with those lighters they had gotten sight of the foure Illands being about eight verstes Southwest from them, the winde then at Northeast, did freese the sea so as they could not row, nor remoue the said lighters, but as the winde and yce did force them. And so they continued driuing with the yce, Southeast into the sea by the space of foure houres, and then being the fifteenth day the yce stood. Whiles they droue with the yce, the dangers which they incurred were great: for oftentimes when the yce with the force of winde and sea did breake, pieces of it were tossed and driuen one vpon another with great force, terrible to beholde, and the same hapned sometimes so neere vnto the lighters, that they expected it would haue ouerwhelmed them to their vtter destruction: but God who had preserued them from many perils before, did also saue and deliuer them then.

In the 13 of November in the mouth of the riuer of Volga.

The 16 day.

Within three or foure dayes after the first standing of the yce, when it was firme and strong, they tooke out all their goods, being fourty and eight bales or packes of raw silke, &c. layde it on the yce, and couered the same with such prouisions as they had. Then for want of victuals, &c. they agreed to leaue all the goods there vpon the yce, and to go to the shore: and thereupon brake their Chests and Corobias, wherewith, and with such other things as they could get, they made sleedges for euery of them to draw vpon the yce, whereon they layed their clothes to keepe them warme, and such victuals as they had, and such other things as they might conueniently carry, and so they departed from the layd goods and Pauoses very early about one of the clocke in the morning, and trauailing on the yce, directed their way North, as neere as they could iudge, and the same day about two of the clocke in the afternoone, they had sight of the Chetera Babbas (foure by kinds of Illands so called) vnto the same they directed themselues, and there remained that night.

Trauaile vpon the yce.

Chetera Babbas.

The goods and Pauoses which they left on the yce they iudged to be from those Chetera Babbas about 20 verstes.

And the next morning departed thence Eastwards, and came to the Chetera Bougories (or foure Illands before spoken of) before noone (the distance betweene those places is about 15 verstes) where they remained all that night, departing thence towards Astracan: the next morning very early they lost their way through the perswasion of the Russes which were with them, making too much towards the left hand (contrary to the opinion of M. Hudson) whereby wandering vpon the yce foure or fiue dayes, not knowing whether they were entred into the Crimme Tartars land or not, at length it fortuned they met with a way that had bene trauailed, which crost northwards towards the sea: that way they tooke, and following the same, within two dayes trauaile it brought them to a place called the Crasnoyare (that is to say in the English tongue) Red Cliffe, which diuers of the company knew.

There they remained that night, hauing nothing to eat but one loafe of bread, which they happened to finde: with the two Russes that were left in the ship to keepe her all the Winter (as is aforesaid) whom they chanced to meet going towards Astracan, about fiue miles before they came to the said Crasnoyare, who certified them that the ship was cut in peeces with the yce, and that they had hard scraping with their liues.

The English ship cut in peeces with yce.

In the morning they departed early from Crasnoyare towards the Ouchooge, and about 9 of the clocke before noone, being within 10 verstes of the Vchooge, they met Amos Riall, with the

the carpenter, which he found at Ouchooge, and a gunner newly come out of England, and alſo 65 horſes with ſo many Caſſacks to guide them, and 50 gunners for gard, which brought proviſion of victuals, &c. and were ſent by the Duke to fetch the goods to Aſtracan. The meeting of that company was much for ioy to them.

The Factors ſent backe with Amos Riall and the ſayd company to fetch the goods, Thomas Hudſon the Maſter, Tobias Pariſhes Mate, and ſo they the ſayd Factors and their company marched on to the Vchooge, where they refreſhed themſelues that day, and the night following. And from thence proceeded on towards Aſtracan, where they arriued the laſt day of November. Theſe that went for the goods after their departure from the Factors trauailed the ſame day vntill they came within 10 verſts of the Chetera Babbas, where they reſted that night. The next morning by the breake of the day they departed thence, and before noone were at the Chetera Babbas, where they ſtayed all night; but preſently departed thence Thomas Hudſon with the Carpenter and gunner to ſeeke where the goods lay: who found the ſame, and the next day they returned backe to their company at the Chetera Babbas, and declared vnto them in what ſort they had found the ſayd goods.

December.

The 3 day early in the morning they departed all from the 4 Babbas towards the ſaid goods, and the ſame day did lade all the goods they could find vpon the ſaid ſleds, and with all conuenient ſpeed returned backe towards Aſtracan. And when they came to the Chetera Bougori, where they reſted the night, in the morning very early before the breake of day, they were aſſaulted by a great company of the Nagays Tartars horſemen, which came ſhowting and hallowing with a great noiſe, but our people were ſo inuironed with the ſleds, that they durſt not enter vpon them, but ranne by, and ſhot their arrowes amongſt them, and hurt but one man in the head, who was a Ruſſe, and ſo departed preſently. Yet when it was day, they ſhewed themſelues a good diſtance off from our men, bring a very great troope of them, but did not aſſaule them any more. The ſame day our men with thoſe cartages, departed from thence towards Aſtracan, where they arriued in ſafety the 4 of December, about 3 of the clocke in the afternoone, where our people greatly reioyced of their great good happe to haue eſcaped ſo many hard euents, troubles and miſeries, as they did in that voyage, and had great cauſe therefore to praiſe the Almighty, who had ſo mercifully preſerued and deliuered them. They remained the Winter at Aſtracan, where they found great fauour and friendſhip of the duke, captaine, and other cheefe officers of that place: but that Winter there happened no great matter worth the noting.

Their returne to Aſtracan.

In the ſpring of the yeere 1581, about the mids of March, the yce was broken vp, and cleane gone before Aſtracan, and the ninth of Aprill, hauing all the goods that were returned from the parts of Media, laden into a Stroog, the Factors, William Turnebull, Matthew Taileboyes, Giles Crow, Chriſtopher Burrough, Michael Lane, Laurence Prouſe gunner, Pandolfe Fox, Tho. Hudſon, Tobias Parris, Morgan Hubblethorne the dier, Rich. the ſurgean, Rob. Golding, Ioh. Smith, Edw. Reding carpenter, and William Perrin gunner, hauing alſo 40 Ruſſes, whereof 36 were Caſſacks to row, the reſt merchants paſſengers, departed from Aſtracan with the ſaid Stroog and goods vp the Volga towards Yeraſlaue. They left behinde them at Aſtracan, with the Engliſh goods & merchandiſe there remaining, Amos Riall, W. Wincoll, and Richard Reis, and appointed them to ſell & barter the ſame, or ſo much thereof as they could to the Tiſſiks, if there came any thither that ſpring, and to others as they might, & the reſt with ſuch as they ſhould take in exchange to returne vp to Yeraſlaue that Summer, when the Emperors carriage ſhould paſſe vp the Volga. The 21 day they came with their Stroog to the Perauolok, but made no ſtay in that place: for they had beene much troubled with yce in their comming from Aſtracan. The 23 of May about noone they came to Oueak, and from thence proceeding vp the riuer, on the 27 day William Turnebull departed from the Stroog in a ſmall boat, and went before towards Tetuſha to prouide victuals, and ſend downe to the Stroog, from which place they were then about 30 verſts. The 23 day they met a boat with victuals, which William Turnebull ſent from Tetuſha, and the ſame day they arriued with their Stroog at Tetuſha, where they ſtayed all night, and the next morning betimes departed thence, but W. Turnebull was gone in the ſmall boat before to Cazan, to prouide neceſſaries from thence, and to make way for their diſpatch. The 26 day they arriued with their Stroog at Cazan, where they remained till the fourth of June: the Factors ſent Giles Crow from Cazan to the Moſco, with their letters the 30 of May. The 4 day of June they departed from Cazan with their Stroog, and arriued at Yeraſlaue the 22 day about 8 of the clocke in the morning.

The breaking vp of the yce.

Morgan Hubblethorne dier ſent into Perſia.

May.

The 23 day they prouided Telegos, to carry the goods to Vologda. The 24 day hauing [illegible] goods laden vpon Telegos, they departed with the ſame towards Vologda, and remained the ſame day fiue verſts from Yeraſlaue.

The 29 day they came to V
29, William Turnbull and P
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came from Vologda towards
of Iuly, and found there the 9
and ſeuen ready to depart.

The 25 day departed for C
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The 21 of Auguſt, the ſame
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whereof was M. Chriſtopher
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The 25 of September both t
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The 29 day they came to Vologda, with all their goods in ſafety, and good order. The ſame 29, William Turnbull and Peter Garrard departed from Vologda poſt by water towards Colmogro, the third of July, hauing their goods laden in a ſmall doſhnik, they departed with the ſame from Vologda towards Roſe Iſland by S. Nicholas, where they arriued in ſafety the 16 of July, and found there the Agents of Ruſſia, and in the rode the ſhips ſent out of England, almoſt laden ready to depart.

The 25 day departed for England (out of the rode of S. Nicholas) the ſhip Elizabeth.

The 26 day departed thence the Thomas Allen and Mary Suſan, and in the Thomas Allen went William Turnbul, Matthew Tailboys, Thomas Hudſon, and others. The goods returned of the Perſia voyage were laden into the ſhip, William and John, wherof was Maſter, William Rigge, and in her with the ſame goods came Peter Garrard and Tobias Parris.

The 11 of Auguſt, the ſame ſhip being laden and diſpatched departed from the rode of S. Nicholas, and with her in company another of the companies fraighted ſhips, called the Tomaſin, wherof was M. Chriſtopher Hall. In their returne homewards they had ſome foule weather, and were ſeparated at the ſea, the William and John put into Newcaſtle the 24 of September: from whence the ſayd Peter Garrard and Tobias Parris came to London by land, and brought newes of the arriuall of the ſhip.

The 25 of September both the ſayd ſhips arriued at the poſt of London in ſafety, and ankered before Limehouſe and Wapping, where they were diſcharged, 1581.

Obſeruations of the latitudes and meridian altitudes of diuers places in Ruſſia, from the North to the South: *Anno* 1581.

Michael Archangel.	Meridian altitude obſerued at Michael the Archangel, 42. degrees, 30. minutes. The true latitude, 64. degrees, 54. minutes.	
The Engliſh houſe in Colmogro.	The Engliſh houſe in Colmogro, in latitude, 64. d. 25. m. The meridian altitude there obſerued, the 29 of July, 42. d. 15. m.	
Kerols.	Meridian altitude the 30 of July, 41. d. 40. m. Declination, 16. d. 6. m.	64. d. 20. m.
Tergris.	Meridian, 4 of Auguſt, 41. d. 50. m. Declination Northerly, 14. d. 49. m.	62. d. 59. m.
Towlma.	Meridian altitude, the 15 of Auguſt, 40. d. 45. m. Declination Northerly, 11. d. 2. m.	60. d. 17. m.
Vologda.	Meridian altitude, the 20 of Auguſt, 40. d. Declination Northerly, 9. d. 17. m.	59. d. 17. m.
Vologda.	Meridian altitude, 21 of Auguſt, 39. d. 36. m. Declination, 8. d. 56. m.	59. d. 20. m.
Ereſlue.	Latitude by geſſe, 57. d. 50. m.	
Nyskagorod.	Meridian altitude, 21. September, 31. d. Declination, 2. d. 56. m.	56. d. 4. m.
Solas Monaſtery.	Meridian altitude, 23. September, 30. d. 26. m. Declination, 2. d. 56. m.	55. d. 51. m.
Nskagorod.	Meridian altitude, 28. September, 28. d. 28. m. Declination, 5. d. 35. m.	55. d. 22. m.
Vsk.	Meridian altitude, 5. October, 30. d. 12. m. Declination, 8. d. 18. m.	51. d. 30. m.
Aſtran.	Aſtracan meridian altitude, 22. October, 29. d. 36. m. Declination, 14. d. 16. m.	46. d. 10. m.
Aſtran.	Meridian altitude, 1 of November, 26. d. 35. m. Declination, 17. d. 16. m.	46. d. 9. m.

Certaine

Certaine directions giuen by M. *Richard Hackluit* of the *Middle Temple*, to M. *Morgan Hubblethorne*, Dier, sent into *Persia*, 1579.

1 FOr that England hath the best wool & cloth of the world, and for that the clothes of the realme haue no good vent, if good dying be not added: therfore it is much to be wished, that the dying of forren countreyes were seene, to the end that the arte of dying may be brought into the Realme in greatest excellency: for thereof will follow honour to the Realme, and great and ample vent of our clothes: and of the vent of clothes, will follow the setting of our people on worke, in all degrees of labour in clothing and dying: for which cause most principally you are sent ouer at the charge of the city: and therfore for the satisfying the lords, and of the expectation of the merchants and of your company, it behooues you to haue care to returne home with more knowledge then you caried out.

2 The great dearth of clothes is a great let in the ample vent of clothes, and the price of a cloth, for a fifth, sixth and seuenth part riseth by the colour and dying: and therefore to deuise to die as good colours with the one halfe of the present price were to the great commodity of the Realme, by sauing of great treasure in time to come. And therefore you must haue great care to haue knowledge of the materials of all the countreys that you shall passe thorow, that may be vsed in dying, be they hearbs, woods, barks, gummes, earths, or what els soeuer.

3 In Persia you shall finde carpets of course thrummed wooll, the best of the world, and excellently coloured: those cities & townes you must repaire to, and you must vse meanes to learne all the order of the dying of those thrummes, which are so died as neither raine, wine, nor vinegar can staine: and if you may attaine to that cunning, you shall not need to feare dying of cloth: For if the colour holde in yarne and thrumme, it will holde much better in cloth.

4 For that in Persia they haue great colouring of silks, it behooues you to learne the like, for that cloth dying & silke dying haue a certaine affinity, and your merchants mind to bring much raw silke into the Realme, and therefore it is more requisit you learne the same.

5 In Persia there are that staine linnen cloth: it is not amisse you learne it if you can: it hath bene an olde trade in England, whereof some excellent clothes yet remaine: but the arte is now lost, and not to be found in the Realme.

6 They haue a cunning in Persia to make in buil kins of Spanish leather flowers of many kindes, in most liuely colours, and these the Courtiers do weare there: to learne which arte will no harme.

7 If any Dier of China, or of the East parts of the world, be to be found in Persia, acquaint your selfe with him, and learne what you may of him.

8 You shall finde Anile there, if you can procure the herbe that it is made of, either by seed or by plant, to carry into England, you may do well to endeuour to enrich your countrey with the same: but withall learne you the making of the Anile, and if you can get the herbe, you may send the same dyed into England, for possibly it groweth here already.

9 Returne home with you all the materials and substances that they die withall in Russia, and also in Persia, that your company may see all.

10 In some little pot in your lodging, I wish you to make daily trials in your arte, as you shall from time to time learne ought among them.

11 Set downe in writing whatsoeuer you shall learne from day to day, lest you should forget, or lest God should call you to his mercy: and by each returne I wish you to send in writing whatsoeuer you haue learned, or at the least keepe the same safe in your coffer, that come what will your countrey may enioy the thing that you goe for, and not lose the charge, and trauell stowed in this case.

12 Learne you there to fixe and make sure the colour to be giuen by logge woods: so shall we not need to buy woad so deare, to the enriching of our enemies.

13 Enquire of the price of lecker, and all other things belonging to dying.

14 In any wise set downe in writing a true note from whence euery of them doe come, and where, and in what countrey each of them doth grow, I meane where the naturall place of each of them is, as how neere to such a citty, or to such a sea, or to such a nauigable riuer in Russia, Persia, or elsewhere.

15 If before you returne you could procure a singular good woorkeman in the arte of Turkish carpet making, you should bring the arte into this Realme, and also thereby increase much to your company.

Commissio

Commiſsion giuen by ſir *Rowland Hayward* knight, and *George Barne*, Aldermen and gouernours of the company of Engliſh Merchants, for diſcouery of new trades, vnto *Arthur Pet*, and *Charles Iackman*, for a voyage by them to be made, for diſcouery of *Cathay*, 1580. in forme following.

IN the Name of God Almighty, and euerlaſting, Amen. This writing for commiſsion Tripartite, made the twentieth day of May Anno Dom. 1580. and in the 22. yeere of the reigne of our Soueraigne Lady Elizabeth by the grace of God, Queene of England, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. Betweene ſir Rowland Hayward knight, and George Barne, Aldermen of the Citie of London, and gouernours of the company of Engliſh Merchants, for diſcouery of new trades, for the behoofe, and in the name of the ſaid company, on the firſt partie, and Arthur Pet of Ratcliffe, in the Countie Middleſex, Captaine, Maſter, and chiefe ruler of the good barke, called the George of London, of the burthen of 40. tunnes, or thereabouts, on the ſecond partie, and Charles Iackman of Popler, in the ſaid Countie of Middleſex, Captaine, Maſter and ruler of the good barke, called the William of London, of the burthen of 20. tunnes, or thereabouts, (which barkes are now riding at anker in the riuer of Thames againſt Limehouſe) on the third partie: witneſſeth, that the ſaid Gouernours, and company haue hired the ſaide Arthur Pet, to ſerue in the ſaid barke, called the George, with nine men and a boy: And likewiſe the ſaid Charles Iackman, to ſerue in the ſaid barke, called the William, with nine men and a boy, for a voyage by them to be made by Gods grace, for ſearch and diſcoueries of a paſſage by ſea from hence by Boroughs ſtreights, and the Iſland Vaigats, Eaſtwards, to the countries or dominions of the mightie Prince, the Emperour of Cathay, and in the ſame vnto the Cities of Cambalu and Quinſay, or to either of them. Burroughs ſtreits.

The which paſſage (vpon authoritie of writers, and great reaſon) is conceiued to bee from the Vaigats Eaſtwards, according to the deſcription in plat of ſpirall lines, made by maſter William Borrough, whereof either of the ſaide Arthur Pet, and Charles Iackman, haue one deliuered vnto them, and alſo one other ſailing carde, and a blanke plat for either of them. But if it ſhould not be in all points, according to that deſcription, yet we hope that the continent or firme land of Aſia doth not ſtretch it ſelfe ſo farre Northwards, but that there may be found a ſea paſſeable by it, betweene the latitude of 70. and 80. degrees. And therefore we haue appointed you with theſe two barkes to make triall of the ſame: wiſhing you both to ioyne in friendſhip together, as moſt deere friends and brothers, to all purpoſes and effects, to the furtherance and orderly performing of the ſame voyage. And likewiſe order your companies, that they of the one barke may haue ſuch loue and care, to helpe and ſuccour them of the other, as moſt deere friends and brothers would doe: ſo as it may appeare, that though they be two barkes, and two companies, (which is ſo appointed for your greater comfort and aſſurance) yet that you are wholy of one minde, and bend your ſelues to the vttermoſt of your powers, to performe the thing that you are both employed for.

Doe you obſerue good order in your dayly ſeruice, and pray vnto God, ſo ſhall you proſper in the matter.

We would haue you to meete often together, to talke, conferre, conſult, and agree how, and by what meanes you may beſt performe this purpoſed voyage, according to our intents. And at ſuch meeting we thinke it requiſite, that you call vnto you your mates, and alſo Nicholas Chanceler, whom wee doe appoint as merchant, to keepe accompt of the merchandize you ſhall buy or ſell, (matter of change) to the end that whatſoeuer God ſhould diſpoſe of either of you, yet they may haue ſame inſtructions and knowledge howe to deale in your place, or places. And of all your aſſemblies and conſultations together, and the ſubſtance of matter you ſhal at euery time agree vpon, we would haue you to note them in the paper bookes that wee giue you for that purpoſe, vnto each barke one. We do appoint Arthur Pet in the George, as Admiral, to weare the flagge in the maine top, and Charles Iackman in the William, as Viceadmirall. For good orders to be taken for your good and orderly keeping of company together, which we truſt may be ſuch, as you ſhould not loſe ſight the one of the other, except by both your conſents, to diſcouer about an Iſland, or ſome riuer, when and where you may certainly appoint to meete together againe, wee referre the ſame to your diſcretions.

Alſo now for your good direction in this voyage, we would haue you with the next good winde and weather, that God ſhall ſend thereunto meete and conuenient, after the ſayling of this preſent moneth of May, ſaile from this riuer of Thames, to the coaſt of Finmarke, to the North Cape of Lappia, or Wardhouſe, and from thence direct your courſe to haue ſight of Willoughbies Iſland, and from it paſſe alongſt to the Noua Zemla, keeping the ſame landes alwayes in your ſight

our Barbouroſſes (if conueniently you may) to the ende you may diſcouer, whether the ſame Willoughbies land be continent and firme land with Noua Zembla, or not: notwithſtanding we would not haue you to entangle your ſelues in any Bay, or otherwiſe, ſo that it might hinder your ſpeedy proceeding to the Iſland Vaigats.

The land of Samoeda.

And when you come to Vaigats, we would haue you to get ſight of the maine land of Samoeda, which is ouer againſt the South part of the ſame Iſland, and from thence with Gods permiſſion, to paſſe Eaſtwards alongſt the ſame coaſt, keeping it alwayes in your ſight (if conueniently you may) vntill you come to the mouth of the riuer Ob, and when you come vnto it, paſſe ouer the ſaid riuers mouth vnto the border of land, as the Caſtlike of the ſame (without any trap to be made for ſearching inwardly in the ſame riuer) and being in ſight of the ſame Eaſterly land, doe you in Gods name proceed alongſt by it, from thence Eaſtwards, keeping the ſame alwayes on your Barbouroſſe in ſight, if you may, and ſollow the tract of it, whether it incline Southerly, Northerly (as at times it may do both) vntill you come to the Countrey of Cathay, or the dominion of that mightie Emperour.

And if God proſper your voyage with ſuch good ſucceſſe, that you may attaine to the ſame, doe you ſeeke by all meanes you can to arriue to the Cities Cambalu, and Quinſay, or to the one of them. But if it happen that you cannot conueniently come to either of thoſe places, or ſhall be driuen to remaine a winter in ſome other port or place of his dominion, doe you ſeeke by all meanes poſſible to winne fauour and liking of the people, by gifts and friendly demeanes towards them, and not to offer violence, or do wrong to any people or nation whatſoeuer, but therein to be innocent as doues, yet wiſe as ſerpents, to auoid miſchiefe, and defend you from hurt. And when you ſhall haue gotten friendſhip through your diſcreete ordering of your ſelues, towards the people, doe you learne of them what you can of their Prince, and ſhewe them one of the Queenes Maieſties letters, which ſhe ſendeth with you (by either of you one, made of one ſubſtance and effect, for eth of you particularly) written in Latine, whereunto her Maieſtie hath ſubſcribed, and cauſed her ſignet ſeale to be ſet, the effect of the ſame letters you haue alſo written in Engliſh, for your owne vnderſtanding thereof.

The Queenes letters.

The ſame her Maieſties letters you ſhall procure to deliuer vnto the ſame mightie Prince, or Gouernour, with ſome preſent to be giuen, ſuch as you ſhall thinke meete and conuenient, alſo your ſelues in all points according to the effect of the ſame letters, and procure againe from the ſame Prince, his letters accordingly.

And if God ſo proſper your voyage, that you may this Summer paſſe the Streights, and compaſſe about the Northermoſt land of Aſia, vnto the countrey of Cathay, or dominion of that mightie Prince, and wintering in it, may obtaine from him his letters of priuiledge againſt the next yeeres ſpring, you may then after your firſt ſetting forth, ſearch and diſcouer ſomewhat further then you had diſcouered before your wintering, ſo farre as you ſhall thinke conuenient, hauing regard had, and alwayes prouided, that you may returne home hither, to giue vs aduiſe of your proceedings the ſame Summer, or before the ſharpeneſs or extremitie of winter ouertake you.

And if it happen you cannot this ſummer attaine to the border of Cathay, and yet find the land beyond the Ob, to ſtretch it ſelfe Eaſterly, with the ſea adioyning vnto it nauigable, doe you then proceed on your diſcouery (as before ſaid) alongſt the ſame continent, ſo farre as you can this ſummer, hauing care in the trauel to finde out ſome conuenient harborow and place, where you may winter: and when you thinke it conuenient, put your ſelfe to wintering, where if you happen to finde people, you ſhall deale with them, as we haue before aduiſed you to do with the people of Cathay, &c. And if you can learne that they haue a prince or chiefe gouernour, do you procure to deliuer vnto the ſame Prince or gouernour one of the Queenes Maieſties letters, as before ſaid, and ſeeke to obtaine againe his letters accordingly. If you ſo happen to winter & obtaine letters of priuiledge, finding the countrey and people, with the commodities to bee ſuch, that by trading thither with the people, and for the commodities, it may be beneficial vnto vs (as we hope you may) the ſame will be ſome good liking vnto vs: notwithſtanding we would haue you the next ſummer (by the grace of God) at your firſt ſetting out of your wintering harborough, proceed alongſt the tract of land to Cathay, if you ſee likelihood to paſſe it (for that is the Counteruaile that we chiefly deſire to diſcouer) and ſeeing you are fully victualed for two yeres and bywards, which you may very wel make to ſerue you for two yeres and a halfe, though you finde no other help, you may therefore be the bolder to aduenture in proceeding vpon your diſcouery: which if you do, we hope that you ſhall atchieue the Countrey of Cathay, & deliuer to the prince there, one of her Highneſſes letters, bringing from thence the ſame princes letters anſwerable: and ſo (in the peace of our Lord 1582. returne home with good newes, and glad tidings, not only vnto vs the aduenturers of this voyage, but alſo to our whole Countrey and nation, which God graunt you may do, Amen.

But if it happen that the land of Asia, from beyond the riuer Ob, extende it selfe Northwards to 80. degrees, or neerer the poole, whereby you finde it to leade you into that extremitie, that small or no hope may be looked for, to sayle that way to Cathay, doe you notwithstanding followe the tract of the same land, as farre as you can discouer this Summer, hauing care to finde out by the way a conuenient place for you to Winter in, the which (if you may discouer the same lande of Asia this Summer to extende it selfe to 80. degrees of latitude, and vpwards or to 85. degrees) we wish then that the same your wintering place may be in the riuer of Ob, or as neere the same riuer as you can, and finding in such wintering place, people, be they Samoeds, Yowgorians or Molgomzes, &c. doe you gently entreat with them as aforesaide, and if you can learne that they haue a prince or chiefe gouernour amongst them, doe you deliuer him one of her Maiesties letters, and procure thereof an answere accordingly: doe you procure to barter & exchange with the people, of the merchandise and commodities that you shall carry with you, for such commodities as you shall finde them to haue, &c. The Queenes letters.

If you so happen to winter, we would haue you the next Summer to discouer into the riuer Ob, so farre as conueniently you may: And if you shall finde the same riuer (which is reported to be wide or broad) to be also naugable and pleasant for you, to trauell farre into, happily you may come to the citie Siberia, or to some other towne or place habited vpon or neere the border of it, and thereby haue liking to winter out the second winter: vse you therein your discretions. The Citie of Siberia.

But if you finde the said riuer Ob to be sholde, or not such as you may conueniently trauell in with your barkes, so you then the next Summer returne backe through Boroughs streights: And from that part of Noua Zembla, adioyning to the same streights, doe you come alongst the tract of that coast Westwards, keeping it on the starbord side, and the same alwayes in sight, if conueniently you may, vntill you come to Willoughbies land, & the same alwayes in sight, if conuenient discouer and trie whether the said Willoughbies land doe ioyne continent with the same Noua Zembla, or not. But if you shall then proue them to be one firme and continent, you may from Noua Zembla direct your course vnto the said Willoughbies land, as you shall thinke good, and as you may most conueniently: and from Willoughbies land you shall proceed Westwards alongst the tract of it, (though it incline Northerly) euen so farre as you may or can trauell, hauing regard that in conuenient time you may returne home hither to London for wintering. Willoughbies land.

And for your orderly passing in this voyage, and making obseruations in the same, we referre you to the instructions giuen by M. William Burrough, whereof one copie is annexed vnto the first part of this Indenture vnder our seale, for you Arthur Pet, another copie of it is annexed to the second part of this Indenture, vnder our seale also, for you Charles Iackman, and a third copy thereof is annexed vnto the third part of this Indenture, remaining with vs the saide companie, sealed and subscribed by you the said Arthur Pet, and Charles Iackman.

Vnto the obseruing of all things contained in this Commission (so neere as God will permit me grace thereunto) I the said Arthur Pet doe couenant by these presents to performe them, and euery part and parcell thereof. And I the said Charles Iackman doe for my part likewise couenant by these presents to performe the same, and euery part thereof, so neere as God will giue me grace thereunto.

And in witnes thereof these Indentures were sealed and deliuered accordingly, the day and yeere first aboue written. Thus the Lorde God Almighty sende you a prosperous voyage, with happie successe and safe returne, Amen.

Instructions and notes very necessary and needfull to be obserued in the purposed voyage for discouery of *Cathay* Eastwards, by *Arthur Pet*, and *Charles Iackman*: giuen by *M. William Burrough*. 1580.

When you come to Orfordnesse, if the winde doe serue you to goe a seaborde the sands, vse you set off from thence, and note the time diligently of your being against the saide [illegible] turning then your glasse, whereby you intende to keepe your continuall watch, and apoint your course as you shal thinke good, according as the winde seruerh you: and frō that time forwards [illegible] (if your ship be lofe, vnder sayle, a hull or rie) do you at the end of [illegible] glasses at the least (except calme) sound with your diptin lead, and note diligently what [illegible] you find ground. But if it happen by [illegible] of the Skippes way, or otherwise, that you cannot get your voyage, as well outwards as homewards.) But when you come vpon any sholde, or deepe any sholde banke in the sea, you are then to vse your leade oftener, as you shal thinke it requisite,

fire, noting diligently the order of your depth, and the keeping and holding. And so likewise doe you note the depches into harboroughs, riuers, &c.

How to note downe in the Iournall of the voyage, the dead reckoning, and other obseruations.

And in keeping your dead reckoning, it is very necessary that you doe note at the ende of euery foure glasses, what way the shippe hath made (by your best proofes to be vsed) and howe her way hath ben eschough the water, considering withall for the sagge of the sea, to leewards, according as you shall finde it growen: and also to note the depth, and what things worth the noting happened in that time, with also the winde vpon what point you finde it then, and of what force or strength it is, and what sailes you beare.

But if you should omit to note those things at the end of euery foure glasses, I would not haue you to let it slip any longer time, then to note it diligently at the end of euery watch, or eight glasses at the farthest.

Doe you diligently obserue the latitude as often, and in as many places as you may possible, and also the variation of the Compasse (especially when you may bee at shoare vpon any land) noting the same obseruations truely, and the place and places where, and the time and times when you do the same.

When you come to haue sight of any coast or land whatsoeuer, doe you presently set the same with your sailing Compasse, howe it beares off you, noting your iudgement how farre you thinke it from you, drawing also the forme of it in your booke, howe it appeares vnto you, noting diligently how the highest or notablest part thereof beareth off you, and the extreames also in sight of the same land at both ends, distinguishing them by letters, A. B. C. &c. Afterwards when you haue sailed 1. 2. 3. or 4. glasses (at the most) noting diligently what way your barke hath made, and vpon what point of the Compasse, do you againe set that first land seene, or the parts thereof, that you first obserued, if you can well perceiue or discerne them, and likewise such other notable points or signes, vpon the land that you may then see, and could not perceiue at the first time, distinguishing it also by letters from the other, and drawing in your booke the shape of the same land, as it appeareth vnto you, and so the third time, &c.

For noting the shape and birth of the land at first discouery, &c.

And also in passing alongst by any and euery coast, doe you drawe the maner of biting in of euery Bay, and entrance of euery harborow or riuers mouth, with the lying out of euery point, or headland, (vnto the which you may giue apt names at your pleasure) and make some marke in drawing the forme and border of the same, where the high cliffs are, and where lowe lande is, whether sande, hils, or woods, or whatsoeuer, not omitting to note any thing that may be sensible and apparent to you. which may serue to any good purpose. If you carefully with great heede and diligence, note the obseruations in your booke, as aforesaid, and afterwards make demonstration thereof in your plat, you shall thereby perceiue howe farre the land you first sawe, or the parts thereof obserued, was then from you, and consequently of all the rest: and also how farre the one part was from the other, and vpon what course or point of the Compasse the one lieth from the other.

And when you come vpon any coast where you find floods and ebs, doe you diligently note the time of the highest and lowest water in euery place, and the slake or still water of full sea, and low water, and also which way the flood doeth runne, how the tides doe set, how much water it hath, and what force the tide hath to driue a ship in one houre, or in the whole tide, as neere as you can iudge it, and what difference in time you finde betwene the running of the flood, and the ebb. And if you finde vpon any coast the currant to runne alwayes one way, doe you also note the same well, how it setteth in euery place, and obserue what force it hath to driue a ship in one houre, &c.

For obseruing of tides and currants.

Item, as often and when as you may conueniently come vpon any land, to make obseruation for the latitude and variation, &c. doe you also (if you may) with your instrument, for trying distances, obserue the platforme of the place, and of as many things (worth the noting) as you may then conueniently see from time to time. These orders if you diligently obserue, you may thereby perfectly set downe in the plats, that I haue giuen you your whole trauell, and description of your discouery, which is a thing that will be chiefly expected at your hands. But withall you may not forget to note as much as you can learne, vnderstand or perceiue of the maner of the soile, or fruitfulnesse of euery place and countrey you shall come in, and of the maner, shape, attire and disposition of the people, and of the commodities they haue, and what they most couet and desire of the commodities you carry with you. It behoueth you to giue trifling things vnto such people as you shall happen to see, and to offer them all courtesie and friendship you may or can, to winne their loue and fauour towardes you, not doing or offering them any wrong or hurt. And though you should be offered wrong at their handes, yet not to reuenge the same lightly, but by all meanes possible seeke to winne them, yet alwayes dealing wisely and with such circumspection that you keepe your selues out of their dangers.

To take the platformes of places within compasse of view vpon land.

The

Thus I beſeech God Almighty to bleſſe you, and proſper your voyage with good and happie ſucceſſe, and ſend you ſafely to returne home againe, to the great ioy and reioycing of the aduenturers with you, and all your friends, and our whole countrey. Amen.

Certaine briefe aduiſes giuen by *Maſter Dee*, to *Arthur Pet*, and *Charles Iackman*, to bee obſerued in their Northeaſterne diſcouerie, Anno 1580.

IF we reckon from Wardhouſe to Colgoicue Iſland 400. miles for almoſt 20. degrees difference onely of longitude very neere Eaſt and Weſt, and about the latitude of 70. degrees and two thirds parts: From Colgoicue to Vaigats 200. miles for 10. degrees difference onely in longitude, at 70. degrees of latitude alſo: From Vaigats to the promontorie Tabin 60. degrees difference of longitude (the whole courſe, or ſhorteſt diſtance being Eaſt and Weſt) in the latitude aforeſaid of 70. degrees, maketh 1200. miles: then is ſumma totalis from Wardhouſe to Tabin 600. leagues, or 1800. Engliſh miles. Therefore allowing in a diſcouery voiage for one day with another but 50. Engliſh miles, it is euident that from Wardhouſe to Tabin, the courſe may bee ſailed eaſily in ſixe and thirtie dayes: but by Gods helpe it may be finiſhed in much ſhorter time, both by helpe of winde proſperous, and light continuall for the time requiſit thereunto.

M. Dee gaue them a Chart of his owne making, which here he refers them vnto.

When you are paſt Tabin, or come to the longitude of 142. degrees, as your chart ſheweth, or two, three, foure, or fiue degrees further Eaſterly, it is probable you ſhall finde the land on your right hand runne much Southerly and Eaſtward, in which courſe you are like either to fall into the mouth of the famous riuer Oechardes, or ſome other, which yet I coniecture to paſſe by the renowmed Citie of Cambalu, and the mouth to be in latitude about 50. or 52. degrees, and within 300. or 400. miles of Cambalu it ſelfe, being in the latitude of 45. degrees Southerly of the ſaide riuers mouth, or els that you ſhall trend about the very Northerne and moſt Eaſterly point of all Aſia, paſſing by the prouince Ania, and then to the latitude of 46. degrees, keeping ſtill the land in view on your right hand (as neere as you may with ſafetie) you may enter into Quinſay haven, being the chiefe citie in the Northern China, as I terme it for diſtinctions ſake, from the other better knowen.

Now in or about either or both of theſe two warme places, you may to great good purpoſe harborough the whole winter, after your arriuall in thoſe quarters, as ſometime by ſea, ſometime in freſh riuers, ſometime in diſcreet view and noting downe the ſituation of the Cities within land, &c. and euer attaping to come by ſome charts or maps of the countrey, made and printed in Cathay or China, and by ſome of their bookes likewiſe for language, &c. You may alſo haue opportunitie to paſſe ouer to Iapan Iſland, where you ſhall finde Chriſtian men, Ieſuits of many countreys of Chriſtendome ſome, and perhaps ſome Engliſhmen, at whoſe handes you may haue great inſtruction and aduiſe for your affaires in hand.

Notes in writing, beſides more priuie by mouth, that were giuen by *M. Richard Hakluyt* of *Eiton* in the Countie of *Hereford*, Eſquire, Anno 1580 to *M. Arthur Pet*, and to *M. Charles Iackman*, ſent by the Merchants of the *Moſcouie* companie for the diſcouery of the Northeaſt ſtraight, not altogether vnfit for ſome other enterpriſes of diſcouery, hereafter to be taken in hand.

What reſpect of Iſlands is to be had, and why.

WHerras the Portingals haue in their courſe to their Indies in the Southeaſt, certaine ports and fortifications to thruſt into by the way, to diuers great purpoſes: ſo you are to note what Iſlands, and what ports you had needs to haue by the way in your courſe to the Northeaſt. For which cauſe I will you to enter into conſideration of the matter, and to note all the Iſlands, and to ſet them downe in plat, to two ends: that is to ſay, That we may deuiſe to take the profit by them, And alſo foreſee how by them the Dangers of ciuill Princes may in any ſort annoy vs in our purpoſed trade that way.

Alſo ſee that the people to the which we purpoſe in this voyage to go, be no Chriſtians, it were better that the maſſe of our commodities were alwayes in our owne poſſeſſion, and not at the will of others. Therefore it were good that we did ſeeke out ſome ſmall Iſland in the Scithian ſea, where a ſtrong plant, fortreſſe, and ſtaple ſafely, from whence (as time ſhould ſerue) we might diſpoſe beaten nations with our commodities without cloying them, or without venturing the whole maſſe in the bowels of their countrey.

And to which Iſland (if neede were, and if wee ſhould thinke ſo good) wee might allure the Northeaſt naute, the naute of Cambalu to reſort with their commodities to vs there planted, and ſtapling there.

And if ſuch an Iſland might be found ſo ſtanding as might ſhorten our courſe, and ſo ſtanding, as that the naute of Cambalu, or other thoſe parties might conueniently ſaile vnto without their diſlike in reſpect of diſtance, then would it ſal out well. For ſo, beſides leſſe danger and more ſafetie, our ſhips might there vnlade and lade againe, and returne the ſelfe ſame ſummer to the ports of England or of Norway.

And if ſuch an Iſland may be for the ſtapling of our commodities, to the which they of Cambalu would not ſaile, yet we might, hauing ſhips there, imploy them in paſſing betweene Cambalu and that ſtapling place.

Reſpect of hauens and harborowes.

AND if no ſuch Iſlands may bee found in the Scithian ſea toward the ſtreme of Aſia, then are you to ſearch out the ports that be about Noua Zembla, all along the tract of that land, to the end you may winter there the firſt yeere, if you be let by contrary winds, and to the end that we may in ſhort time come vnto Cambalu, and vnlade and ſet ſaile againe for returne without venturing there at Cambalu, that you may on your way come as farre in returne as a port about Noua Zembla: that the ſummer following, you may the ſooner be in England for the more ſpeedy vent of your Eaſt commodities, and for the ſpeedier diſcharge of your Mariners: if you cannot go forward and backe in one ſelfe ſame Summer.

And touching the tract of the land of Noua Zembla, toward the Eaſt out of the circle Arctick in the more temperate Zone, you are to haue regard: for if you finde the ſame ſtored with people, it is like that in time an ample vent of our warme woollen clothes may be found. And if there be no people at all there to be found, then you ſhall ſpecially note what plentie of whales, and of other fiſh is to be found there, to the ende we may turne our newe found land fiſhing or Iſland fiſhing, or our whale fiſhing that way, for the eaſe and comfort of our newe trades to the Northeaſt to the coaſts of Aſia.

A good conſideration.

Reſpect of fiſh and certaine other things.

AND if the aire may be found vpon that tract temperate, and the ſoile yeelding wood, water, land and graſſe, and the ſeas fiſh, then we may plant on that maine the offals of our people, as the Portingals do in Braſill, and ſo they may in our fiſhing in our paſſage, and diuers wayes yeeld commoditie to England by harbouring and victualling vs.

And it may be, that the inland there may yeeld maſts, pitch, tarre, hempe, and all things fit for Naute, as plentifully as Eaſtland doth.

The Iſlands to be noted with their commodities and wants.

TO note the Iſlands, whether they be hie land or low land, mountaine or flat, grauelly, clay, chalkie, or of what ſoile, woody or not woody, with ſpringes and riuers or not, and what kinde of baſes they haue in the ſame.

And whether there ſeeme to be in the ſame apt matter to build withall, as ſtone free or rough, and ſtone to make lime withall, and wood or coale to burne the ſame withall.

To note the goodneſſe or badneſſe of the hauens and harborowes in the Iſlands.

If a ſtraight be found, what is to be done, and what great importance it may be of.

AND if there be a ſtraight in the paſſage into the Scithian ſeas, the ſame is ſpecially and with great regard to be noted, eſpecially if the ſame ſtraight be narrow and to be kept. For ſuch is to be noted as a thing that doeth much import: for what prince ſoeuer ſhall be Lorde of the ſame, and ſhall poſſeſſe the ſame, as the king of Denmarke doeth poſſeſſe the ſtraight of Denmarke, he onely ſhall haue the trade out of theſe regions into the Northeaſt parts of the world for his owne and for his priuate profit, or for his ſubiects onely, or to enioy wonderfull benefit of the toll of the ſame, like as the king of Denmarke doth enioy of his ſtraights, by ſuffring the merchants of other Princes to paſſe that way. If any ſuch ſtraight be found, the elleuation, the high or lowe land, the hauens neere, the length of the ſtraights, and all other ſuch circumſtances are to be ſet downe for many purpoſes: and al the Mariners in the voyage are to be ſworne to keepe cloſe all ſuch things, that other Princes preuent vs not of the ſame, after our returne vpon the diſcloſing of the Mariners, if any ſuch thing ſhould hap.

Which

Which way the Sauage may bee made able to purchase our cloth and other their wants.

If you find any Island or maine land populous, and that the same people hath need of cloth, then are you to deuise what commodities they haue to purchase the same withall.

If they be poore, then are you to consider of the soile, and how by any possibilitie the same may be made to inrich them, that hereafter they may haue something to purchase the cloth withall.

If you enter into any maine by portable riuer, and shall find any great woods, you are to note what kind of timber they be of, that we may know whether they are for pitch, tarre, masts, deale-boords, clapboords, or for building of ships or houses, for so, if the people haue no vse of them, they may be brought perhaps to vse.

Not to venture the losse of any one man.

You must haue great care to preserue your people, since your number is so small, and not to venture any one man in any wise.

To bring home besides merchandize certaine trifles.

Bring home with you (if you may) from Cambalu or other ciuill place, one or other young man, although you leaue one for him.

Also the fruites of the Countreys if they will not of themselues dure, vse them and so preserue them.

And bring with you the kernels of peares and apples, and the stones of such stonefruits as you shall find there.

Also the seeds of all strange herbs & flowers, for such seeds of fruits and herbs comming from another part of the world, and so far off, will delight the fansie of many for the strangenesse, and for that the same may grow, and continue the delight long time.

If you arriue at Cambalu or Quinsay, to bring thence the mappe of that countrey, for so shall you haue the perfect description, which is to great purpose.

To bring thence some old printed booke, to see whether they haue had print there before it was vsed in Europe as some write.

To note their force by sea and by land.

If you arriue in Cambalu or Quinsay, to take a speciall view of their Nauie, and to note the sort, greatnesse, maner of building of them, the sailes, the tackles, the ankers, the furniture of them, with ordinance, armour, and munition.

Also, to note the force of the wals and bulwarks of their cities, their ordonance, and whether they haue any calliuers, and what powder and shot.

To see what armour they haue.

What swords.

What pikes, halberds and bils.

What horses of force, and what light horses they haue.

And so throughout to note the force of the Countrey both by sea and by land.

Things to be marked to make coniectures by.

To take speciall note of their buildings, and of the ornaments of their houses within.

Take a speciall note of their apparell and furniture, and of the substance that the same is made of, of which a Merchant may make a gesse as well of their commodity, as also of their wants.

To note their Shoppes and Warehouses, and with what commodities they abound, the rather also.

To see their Shambles, and to view all such things as are brought into the Markets, for so shall soone see the commodities, and the maner of the people of the inland, and so giue a gesse of things.

To note their fields of graine, and their trees of fruite, and how they abound or not abound in the other, and what plenty or scarsitie of fish they haue.

Things

Things to be caried with you, whereof more or lesse is to bee carried for a shew of our commodities to be made.

KArsies of all orient colours, specially of Stamell, broadcloth of orient colours also.
Frizadoes, Bottes, Dossens friezes, Spanish blankets, Baies of all colours, specially with Stamel, Worsteds, Carels, Sayes, Woodmils, Flanels, Rash, &c.
Felts of diuers colours.
Taffeta hats.
Decpe caps for Mariners coloured in Stamel, whereof if ample vent may be found, it would turne to an infinite commoditie of the common poore people by knitting.
Quilted caps of Leuant taffeta of diuers colours, for the night.
Knit stocks of silke of orient colours.
Knit stocks of Jersie yarne of orient colours, whereof if ample vent might folow the poore multitude should be set in worke.
Stocks of karsie of diuers colours for men and for women.
Garters of silke of seuerall kinds, and of colours diuers.
Girdles of Buffe and all other leather, with gilt and vngilt buckles, specially waste girdles, waste girdles of veluet.
Gloues of all sorts knit, and of leather.
Gloues perfumed.
Points of all sorts of silke, threed, and leather, of all maner of colours.
Shooes of Spanish leather of diuers colours, of diuers length, cut and vncut.
Shooes of other leather.
Veluet shooes and pantophles.
These shooes and pantophles to be sent this time, rather for a shew then for any other vse.
Purses knit, and of leather.
Nightcaps knit, and other.
A garnish of pewter for a shew of a vent of that English commoditie, bottles, flagons, spoones, &c. of that mettall.
Glasses of English making.
Venice glasses.
Looking glasses for women, great and faire.
Small vials a few for proofe, although there they will not hold the order they do here.
Spectacles of the common sort.
Others of Christall trimmed with siluer, and otherwise.
Hower glasses.
Combes of Iuorie.
Combes of bone.
Linnen of diuers sorts.
Handkerchiefs with silke of seuerall colours wrought.
Glazen eyes to ride with against dust.
Knives in sheaths both single and double, of good edge.
Needles great and small of euery kind.
Buttons greater and smaller, with moulds of leather and not of wood, and such as be double of double silke, and that of sundry colours.
Bores with weights for gold, and of euery kind of the coine of gold, good and bad, to shew the people here vse weight and measure, which is a certaine shew of wisedom, and of certaine government setled here.
All the seuerall siluer coynes of our English monies, to be caried with you to be shewed the gouernours at Cambalu, which is a thing that shall in silence speake to wise men more then you imagine.
Locks and keyes, hinges, bolts, haspes, &c. great and small of excellent workemanship, whereof if vent may be, hereafter we shall set our subiects in worke, which you must haue in great regard. For in finding ample vent of any thing that is to be wrought in this realme, is more profit to our people besides the gaine of the merchant, then Christchurch, Bridewell, the Sauoy, and all the Hospitals of England.

For banketting on shipboord persons of credite.

FIrst, the sweetest perfumes to set vnder hatches to make the place sweet against their comming aboord, if you arriue at Cambalu, Quinsey, or in any such great citie, if not among Saluages.

Parmelane.
Sucket.
Comfets of diuers kinds.
Prunes damaske.
Quinces.
Peares.
Quaintnes.
Oliues to make them tart.
The apple iohn that dureth.
Pullocke.
Glasses of good sweet water.
Target to vse with their wine.
The sweet oyle of Zante, &c.
Cynnamon water } is to be had
Imperiall water } like in Italy.
With these and such like, you may
Or with the gift of these
graunte by way of gift, or you may
The Map
Take with you the mappe of
to make shew of your countrey
And also the large Mappe of
full of Ships of all sorts, to make
chuse.
Orte
If you take Ortelius booke of
vse: and if need were, to present
Ortelius account.
The booke
Sorts books caried with you
by sight.
If any man will lend you the
trees, fishes, fowles and beasts of the
use, and also their merchants to
differing from the things of those
chance, yet to see those things in a
Th
Vse with you the booke of
specified, that you shall chance
see you shall chance to be.
Books of Parchment, for that
shall come.
Canarie Glasses, for that we haue
Note
Glasses were because we haue
Sope
Any what vent it may haue, for

Marmelade.
Sucket.
Conſects of ſeuerall kinds made of purpoſe by him that is moſt excellent, that ſhall not diſſolue.
Prunes damaſke.
Dien peares.
Quelquits.
Figs barrelled.
Raiſins of the ſunne.
Walnuts.
Almonds.

Olives to make them taſte their wine,
The apple Iohn that durreth two yeeres to make ſhew of our fruits.
Pallocke.
Sacke.

Glaſs of good ſweet waters, and eaſſing bottels of glaſſes to beſprinkle the ſheets withall, at their comming aboord.
Vinger to vſe with their wine if they will.
The ſweet oyle of Zante, and excellent French vinegar, and a fine kind of Biſket ſteeped in the ſame to make a banketting diſh, and a little Sugar caſt in it cooleth and comforteth, and refreſheth the ſpirits of man.

Cynamon water
Imperiall water
} is to be had with you to make a ſhew of by taſte, and alſo to comfort your ſicke in the voyage.

With theſe and ſuch like, you may banket where you arriue the greater and beſt perſons. Or with the gift of theſe Marmelades in ſmall boxes, or ſmall vials of ſweet waters you may gratifie by way of gift, or you may make a merchandize of them.

The Mappe of England and of London.

Take with you the mappe of England ſet out in faire colours, one of the biggeſt ſort I meane, to make ſhew of your countrey from whence you come.
Take alſo the large Mappe of London to make ſhew of your Citie. And let the riuer be drawen full of ſhips of all ſorts, to make the more ſhew of your great trade and traffike in trade of merchandize.

Ortelius booke of Mappes.

If you take Ortelius booke of Mappes with you to marke all theſe Regions, it were not amiſſe: and if need were, to preſent the ſame to the great Can, for it would be to a Prince of maruelous account.

The booke of the attire of all Nations.

Such a booke caried with you and beſtowed in gift would be much eſteemed, as I perſwade my ſelfe.

Bookes.

If any man will lend you the new Herball and ſuch Bookes as make ſhew of herbes, plants, trees, fiſhes, foules and beaſts of theſe regions, it may much delight the great Can, and the nobility: and alſo their merchants to haue the view of them: for all things in theſe partes ſo much differing from the things of thoſe regions, ſince they may not be here to ſee them, by meane of the ſame, yet to ſee thoſe things in a ſhadow, by this meane will delight them.

The booke of Rates.

Take with you the booke of Rates, to the end you may pricke all thoſe commodities there ſpecified, that you ſhall chance to find in Cambalu, in Quinſay, or in any part of the Eaſt, where you ſhall chance to be.

Parchment.

Skinnes of Parchment, for that we may vent much without hurt to the Realme, and it lieth not roming.

Glew.

Lether Glew, for that we haue plentie and none vent.
Red Oker for Painters.
Alſtike vent becauſe we haue great mines of it, and haue no vent.
Sope of both kindes.
So any what vent it may haue, for that we make of both kinds, and may perhaps make more.
Saffron.



Saffron.

To try what vent you may haue of Saffron, because this realme yeelds the best of the world, and for the tillage and other labours may set the poore greatly in worke to their releefe.

Aquauitæ.

By new deuises wonderful quantities may be made here, and therefore to seeke the vent.

Blacke Conies skins.

To try the vent at Cambalu, for that it lieth towards the North, and for that we abound with the commoditie, and may spare it.

Threed of all colours.

The vent thereof may set our people in worke.

Copper Spurres and Hawkes bels.

To see the vent for it may set our people in worke.

A note and Caueat for the Merchant.

That before you offer your commodities to sale, you indeuour to learne what commodities the countrey there hath. For if you bring thither velues, taffeta, spice, or any such commoditie that you your selfe desire to lade your selfe home with, you must not sell yours deare, least hereafter you purchase theirs not so cheape as you would.

Seeds for sale.

Carie with you for that purpose all sorts of garden seeds, as well of sweete strawing herbs and of flowers, as also of pot herbes and all sorts for roots, &c.

Lead of the first melting.

Lead of the second melting of the slags.

To make triall of the vent of Lead of all kinds.

English iron, and wier of iron and copper.

To try the sale of the same.

Brimstone.

To try the vent of the same, because we abound with it more in the Realme.

Antimonie a Minerall.

To see whether they haue any ample vse there for it, for that we may lade whole naules of it and haue no vse of it vnlesse it be for some small portion in founding of bels, or a little that the Alcumists vse: of this you may haue two sortes at the Apothecaries.

Tinder boxes with Steele, Flint & Matches and Tinder, the Matches to be made of Iuniper to auoid the offence of Brimstone.

To trie and make the better sale of Brimstone by shewing the vse.

Candles of Ware to light.

A painted Bellowes.

For that perhaps they haue not the vse of them.

A pot of cast iron.

To try the sale, for that it is a naturall commoditie of this Realme.

All maner of edge tooles.

To be sold there or to the lesse ciuil people by the way where you shall touch.

What I would haue you there to remember.

To note specially what excellent dying they vse in these regions, and therefore to note their garments and ornaments of houses: and to see their Die houses and the Materials & Simples that they vse about the same, and to bring musters and shewes of the colours and of the materials, for that it may serue this clothing realme to great purpose.

To take with you for your owne vse.

All maner of engines to take fish and foule.

To take with you those things that be in perfection of goodnesse.

For as the goodnesse now at the first may make your commodities in credite in time to come, so falsse and Sophisticate commodities shall dearne you, and all your commodities into contempt and ill opinion.

A lette

A letter of *Gerardus Mercator*, written to M. *Richard Hakluyt* of Oxford, touching the intended discouerie of the Northeast passage, An. 1580.

LIteræ tuæ (vir humanissime) 19. Iunij demùm mihi redditę fuerunt: vehementer dolui visis illis tantam, non modo temporis, sed multò magis tempestiuæ instructionis iacturam factam esse. Optassem *Arthurum Pet* de qu. usdam non leuibus ante suum discessum præmonitum fuisse. Expeditissima sanè per Orientem in Cathaium est nauigatio: & sæpè miratus sum, eam fœliciter inchoatam, desertam fuisse, velis in Occidẽtem translatis, postquam plus quàm dimidium itineris vestri iam notum haberent. Nam post Insulam Vaigats, & Noua Zembla continuò ingens sequitur Sinus, quem ab ortu Tabin immane promontorium complectitur. In hunc medium maxima illabuntur flumina, quæ vniuersam Regionem Sericam perluentia, vtq; existimo, in intima continentis vsq; magnis nauigijs peruia, facillimam rationẽ exhibent quasliam deportandi. Cæterùm cùm non temerè eam nauigationem intermissam crederem, opinabar ab Imperatore Russorum & Moscouiæ obstaculum aliquod interiectum fuisse. Quod si verò cum illius gratia vlterior illac nauigatio detur, suaderem profectò nõ primùm Tabin promontorium quærere, atque explorare, sed Sinum hunc atque flumina, in ijsq; portum aliquem commodissimum, stationémq; Anglicis Mercatoribus deligere, ex quo d. inceps maiore opportunitate, minoribúsque periculis Tabin promontorium, & totius Cathai circumnauigatio indagari posset. Esse autem ingens in Septentrionem excurrens promontorium Tabin, non ex Plinio tantùm, verùm & alijs scriptoribus, & tabulis aliquot (licèt rudius depictis) certum habeo. Polum etiam Magnetis haud longè vltra Tabin situm esse, certis Magnetis obseruationibus didici: circa quem & Tabin plurimos esse scopulos, difficilémq; & periculosam nauigationem existimo: difficiliorem tamen ad Cathaium accessum fore opinor, ea qua nunc via in Occidentem tentatur. Propinquior enim fiet hæc nauigatio polo Magnetis, quàm altera, ad quem propiùs accedere non puto tutum esse. Quia verò Magnes alium quàm Mundi polum habet, quo ex omni parte respicit: quò propiùs ad eum acceditur, eò directorium illud Nauticũ magnetis virtute imbutum, magis à Septentrione deuiat, nunc in Occidentem, nunc in Orientem, prout quis vel orientalior, vel occidentalior est illo Meridiano, qui per vtrumq; polum Magnetis, & Mundi ducitur. Mirabilis etiam varietas, & quæ nauigantẽ plurimùm fallere potest, nisi hanc Magnetis inconstantiam nõrit, & ad poli eleuationem per instrumenta subinde respiciat. In hac re si non sit instructus D. Arthurus, aut ea sit dexteritate, vt deprehenso errore eum inuenire & castigare possit, timeo ne deuias faciat ambages, tempus illum fallat, & semperacto negotio, à gelu præoccupetur: Aiunt enim Sinum illum fortiùs quotannis congelari. Quod si contingat hoc quod consultius mihi visum fuit, proximum illi erit refugium, vt in eo sinu, ijsq; fluminibus quæ dixi, portum quærat, & per Legatum aliquem, cum magno Cham, nomine Seremissimæ Reginæ notitiam, amicitiámque contrahat: quam opinor Maximo orbis Imperatori gratam, imo gratissimam fore propter remotissima commercia. Opinor ab ostijs Bautisi & Oechardi fluminum maximorum, vsque ad Cambalu Regiam summam Chami, non vltra 300. milliaria Germanica esse, & iter sumendum per Ezinam vrbem regni Tangut, quę 100. tantùm milliarijs Germanicis ab ostijs distare videtur, & paret Magno Cham.

Ingens Sinus post Insulam Vaigats & Nouam Zemblam.

Tabin promontorium ingens.

Quo propius ad polum acceditur, eò directorium Nauticum magis a Septentrione deuiat.

Bautisus & Oechardus maxima flumina in hunc Sinum illabuntur.

Valde optarem cognoscere, quàm altè communiter exurgat æstus maris in eo Moscouiæ portu quem vestri pro statione habent, & in alijs versùs orientem locis vsque ad Tabin. Item, an mare in hoc districtu semper in vnam partem, videlicet Orientem, aut Occidentem fluat, an verò pro ratione æstuum fluat, & refluat, in medio inquam canali, hoc est, an ibi sex horis in occasum, & iterum sex in ortum fluat, an verò semper in eandem partem: aliæ enim speculationes non parum vtiles hinc dependent. Idem optarem à D. Frobisero in occidentem obseruati. Quod ad Sinum Merosivo, & Canadam, ac Nouam Franciam attinet, ea in meis tabulis desumpta sunt ex quadam Tabula marina, quę à quodam sacerdote ex earum ditionum Naucleri peritissimi Galli descriptione excerpta fuit, & illustrissimo Principi Georgio ab Austria episcopo Leodiensi oblata. Non dubito, quin quantùm ad littorum situm attinet & poli eleuationem, ad veritatem ea quàm proximè accedant. Habebat enim ea tabula præter scalam graduum latitudinis per medium sui extensam, aliam præterea particularem Nouæ Franciæ littoribus adiunctam, qua deprauatæ latitudines, occasione erroris Magnetis ibi commissæ, castigarentur. Iacobi Cnoyen Buscoducensis itinerarium per omnem Asiam, Affricam, & Septentrionem, olim mihi Amicus Antuerpiæ ab alio mutuò acceptum communicauit, eo vsus sum, & reddidi: post multos annos eundem ab amico repetij, & reminisci ille non potuit à quo accepisset, Guielmi Tripolitani & Ioannis de plano Carpini scripta non vidi, tantùm excerpta ex illis quædam

Postulata Mercatoris, de quibus certior fieri cupit.

dam in alijs scriptis libris inueni. Abilfadæ Epitome gaudeo verti, vtinam citò habeamus.

Hæc (mi Domine) tuis respondenda putaui: si quid est aliud quod à me desideres, libentissimè tibi communicabo: hoc vicissim amanter à tua humanitate petens, vt quæ ex vtriusq; nauigationis cursu obseruata nanciscì poteris, mihi communices, penes me pro tuo arbitrio manebunt omnia, & quæcunque inde collegero, fideliter ad te perscribam, si forte ad pulcherrimum, vtilissimúmq; orbi Christiano hoc nauigationis institutum aliquid opis & consilij adferre possint. Bene vale, vir doctissime. Duisburgi in Cliuia, 28. Iulij 1580.

Dulce mare inter Nouam Zemblam & Tabin suspicatur.

Redeunte Arthuro, quæso discas ab illo quę optaui, & num alicubi in suo itinere, dulce mare, aut parum salsum inuenerit: suspicor enim mare inter Noua Zembla, & Tabin dulce esse.

T. H. paratissimus quantus quantus sum.

Gerardus Mercator.

The same in English.

SIr, I receiued your letters the 19. of June: it grieued me much that vpon the sight of them the time being spent, I could not giue any conuenient instructions: I wish Arthur Pet had bene informed before his departure of some speciall points. The voyage to Cathaio by the East, is doubtlesse very easie and short, and I haue oftentimes marueiled, that being so happily begun, it hath bene left of, and the course changed into the West, after that more then halfe of your voiage was discouered. For beyond the Iland of Vaigats and Noua Zembla, there followeth presently a great Baie, which on the left side is inclosed with the mightie promontorie Tabin. Into the mids hereof there fall great riuers, which passing through the whole countrey of Serica, and bringing as I thinke nauigable with great vessels into y heart of the continent, may be an easie meanes whereby to traffique for all maner of merchandize, and transport them out of Cathaio, Mangi, Mien, and other kingdoms thereabouts into England. But considering with my selfe that that nauigation was not intermitted, but vpon great occasion, I thought that the Emperor of Russia and Moscouie had hindered the proceeding therein. If so be that with his grace and fauour further nauigation may be made, I would counsell them certainly not first to seeke out the promontorie Tabin, but to search this baie and riuers aforesayd, and in them to picke and chuse out some conuenient port and harborough for the English merchants: from whence afterward with more opportunitie and lesse perill, the promontorie Tabin and all the coast of Cathaio may be discouered. And that there is such a huge promontorie called Tabin, I am certainly perswaded not only out of Plinie, but also other writers, and some Mappes (though somewhat rudely drawen) and that the pole of the Loadstone is not farre beyond Tabin, I haue learned by the certaine obseruations of the Loadstone: about which pole and Tabin I thinke there are very many rockes, and very hard and dangerous sailing: and yet a more hard and difficile passage I thinke it to bee then that which is now attempted by the West, for it is neerer to the pole of the Loadstone, to the which I thinke it not safe to approach. And because the Loadstone hath another pole then that of the world, to the which from all parts it hath a respect, the neerer you come vnto it, the more the needle of the Compasse doeth varie from the North, sometimes to the West, and sometimes to the East, according as a man is to the Eastward or to the Westward of that Meridian, that passeth by both the poles of the Magnes and the World.

A great gulfe is beyond Vaigats, wherevnto mighty riuers do fall.

The best course to be taken in discoueries.

This is a strange alteration and very apt to deceiue the Sailer, vnlesse hee know the variance and variation of the Compasse, and take the eleuation of the pole sometimes with his instruments. If master Arthur be not well prouided in this [illegible], or of such dexteritie, that perceiuing the errour he be not able to correct the same, I feare [illegible] wandering vp and downe he lose his time, and be ouertaken with the ice in the midst of the enterprise. For that gulfe, as they say, is frozen euery yere very hard. Which if it be so, the best counsell I could giue for their best safetie were to seeke some harborough in that baie, and those riuers whereof I haue spoken, and by some Ambassador to make friendship and acquaintance with the great Can, in name of the Queenes maiestie, which I beleeue will be greatfull to the mightiest Emperour in the world, yea most excellent for the length of the traffique, and great distance of the places. I thinke from the mouthes of the mighty riuers Baurisus and Oechardus to Cambalu the chiefest seat of the prince the Can there are not past 300. Germane miles, and to passe by Ezina a citie of the kingdom of Tangut which seemeth to be but 100. Germane miles from the mouthes of the sayd riuers, and is subiect to the great Can.

The mouthes of Baurisus and Oechardus 300. leagues from Cambalu.

I would gladly know how high the sea doeth flowe commonly in the port of Moscouia where your men do harborow, and in other Easterly places vnto Tabin. And also whether the seam [illegible] streight do flow alwaies one way to the East or to the West, or whether it do ebbe and flow [illegible]

ding to the maner of the tides in the middle of the channel, that is to say, whether it flow three houres into the West, and as may backe againe to the East, for hereupon depend other speculations of importance. I would wish M. Frobisher to obserue the same Westwards. Concerning the gulfe of Merosio and Canada, and new France which are in my mappes, they were taken out of a certaine sea card drawn by a certaine priest out of the description of a Frenchman, a Pilot very skilfull in those partes, and presented to the worthy prince George of Austria, bishop of Liege: for which cause I doubt not but they are very neere the trending of the coast, and the elevation of the pole. I doubt not but they are very neere the truth: for the Charte had, before a scale of degrees of latitude falling through the middest of it, another particularly annexed to the coast of New France, wherewith the errour of the latitudes committed by reason of the variation of the compasse might be corrected. The historie of the voyage of Iacobus Cnoyen Buschoducensis throughout al Asia, Affrica, and the North, was lent me in time past by a friend of mine at Antwerpe. After I had vsed it, I restored it againe: after many yeeres I required it again of my friend, but hee had forgotten of whom hee had borrowed it. The writings of Gulielmus Tripolitanus, and Ioannes de Plano Carpini I neuer saw: onely I found certaine pieces of them in other written hand bookes. I am glad the Epitomie of Abilfada is translated. I would we might haue it shortly.

Upon the obseruations of the tides depend great speculations.

Thus much Sir: I thought good to answere your letters: if there bee any thing els that you would require of me, I will most willingly communicate it with you, craning this likewise of your curtesie, that whatsoeuer obseruations of both these voyages shall come to your hands, you would impart them to me, they shall all remaine with mee according to your discretion and pleasure, and whatsoeuer I gather of them, I will faithfully signifie vnto you by letters, if happily they may yeeld any helpe or light vnto this most excellent enterprise of nauigation, and most profitable to our christian common wealth. Fare you well most learned friend. At Duisburg in Cleueland, 28. of Iulie, the yeere, 1580.

At Arthur his returne I pray you learne of him the things I haue requested, and whether any where in his voiage, he found the sea fresh, or not very salt: for I suppose the Sea betweene Noua Zembla and Tabin to be fresh.

Yours wholly to my power to be commanded,
Gerardus Mercator.

The discouerie made by M. *Arthur Pet*, and M. *Charles Iackman*, of the Northeast parts, beyond the Island of *Vaigatz*, with two Barkes: the one called the *George*, the other the *William*, in the yeere 1580.

Written by *Hugh Smith*.

VPon Munday the 30. of May, we departed from Harwich in the afternoone, the winde being at South, and to the Eastward. The ebbe being spent we could not double the pole, and therefore were constrained to put in againe vntill the next day in the morning, being the last of May: which day wee waied our ankers about 3. a clocke in the morning, the winde being West southwest. The same day we passed Orfordnesse at an East Sunne, and Stamford at a West Sunne, and Yarmouth at a West northwest sunne, and so to Winterton, where we did anker al night: it was then calme, and the flood was come. May.

The next day being the first of June, we set saile at 3. a clocke in the morning, and set our course North, the wind at the Southwest, and at Southsouthwest. June.

The 10. day about one of the clocke in the afternoone, wee put into Norway to a place where one of the headlands of the sound is called Bottel: the other headland is called Moile. There is also an Island called Kene. Heere I did find the pole to be elevated 62. deg. it doeth flowe there South, and it highth 7. or 8. foote, not aboue. Kene an Island of Norway.

The 11. day in the morning the winde came to the South and to the Southeast: the same day fire in the afternoone we set saile, and bare along the coast: it was very foule weather with rayne and fogge.

The 22. day the wind being at West, we did hall the coast East northeast, and East. The same day at 6. in the morning we did double the north cape. About 3. in the afternoone wee past Skites Nesse, and hald along the coast East, and East southeast, and all the same night wee hailed Southeast, and Southeast by East. The North cape doubled.

The 23. day about 3. in the morning we came to Wardhouse, the wind at the Northwest. The cause of our coming in was to seeke the William, whose companie wee lost the 6. day of this Wardhouse,

moneth, and to send letters into England. About one of the clock in the after noone the William also came into Wardhouse to vs in good safetie, and all her company in good health.

The 24. the wind came to the East Northeast. This day the William was hald a ground, because she was somewhat leake, and to mend her steerage. This night about 12. of the clocke she did hale a flote againe.

The 25. day the wind was at East northeast.

The 26. day the Toby of Harwich departed from Wardhouse for London, Thomas Greene being master, to whom we deliuered our letters.

The 27. day the wind was at South southeast, and the 28. also.

The 29. day about 6. in the afternoone, the wind came to the West northwest for the space of one houre, and presently to the East againe, and so was variable all the same night.

The 30. about fiue in the morning, the winde came to East southeast, and continued so all the same day.

July. The first of July about 5. in the afternoone, the wind was at North northwest: and about 7. of the clocke we set saile from Wardhouse East and by South.

The second day about 5. in the morning, the wind was East, and East southeast, and we did lie to the shorewards. And about 10. in the morning the wind came to South southeast, and we lay it to the Eastward: sometime we lay East by South, sometime East southeast, and sometimes East by North. About 5. in the afternoone we bare with the William, who was willing to goe with Kegor, because we thought her to be out of trie, and sailed very ill, where we might mend her steerage: whereupon master Pet not willing to go into harborough said to master Jackman, that if he thought himselfe not able to keepe the sea, he should doe as he thought best, and that he in the meane time would beare with Willoughbies land, for that it was a parcel of our direction, and would meete him at Veroue Ostroue, or Vaigats, and so we set our course East northeast, the winde being at Southeast.

Willoughbies land.

The 3. day the winde at Southeast we found the pole to be eleuated 70. degrees, 46. minuts.

50. leagues from Kegor. The same night at 12. of the clocke we sounded, but had no ground, in 120. fathoms, being fifty leagues from the one side by our reckoning East northeast from Kegor.

The 4. day all the morning was calme. This day we found the pole to be eleuated 71. degrees 38. minutes. This day at 9. in the afternoone the wind at Northeast with a gentle gale, we hald along Southeast by East.

The 5. day the wind at Northwest, we hald East and East by South: this day we saw land, but we could not make it, the wind being Northerly, so that we could not come neere to it.

The 6. day about 2. in the afternoone, the wind at North northwest, we halde East southeast with a faire and gentle gale: this day we met with ice. About 6. in the afternoone it became calme: we with saile and oares laide it to the Northeast part, hoping that way to cleare vs of it: for that way we did see the head part of it, as we thought. Which done, about 12. of the clocke a night we gate cleere of it. We did thinke it to be ice of the bay of Saint Nicholas, but it was not, as we found afterwards.

At sight of perfect land. The seuenth day we met with more yce, at the East part of the other yce: we halde along a weather the yce to finde some ende thereof by East northeast. This day there appeared more land North from vs being perfect land: the ice was betweene vs and it, so that we could not come neerer to it.

The same morning at fiue of the clocke wee put into the ice to finde some way through it, wee continued in it all the same day and all the night following, the winde by the North Northwest. Wee were constrained to goe many poinctes of our compasse, but we went not an Easterly course.

The eight day the winde at North northwest, we continued our course, and at fiue in the morning we sounded, and had 90. fadoms red ooze. This day at foure in the afternoone we sounded againe, and had 84. fadoms ooze, as before. At fiue in the after noone we cleared our selues of the ice, and hald along Southeast by South: we sounded againe at 10. a clocke at night, and had 43. fathom sandy ooze.

The 9. day at 2. in the morning, we sounded againe, and had 45. fadoms, then there appeared a shadow of land to vs East Northeast, and so we ran with it the space of 2. houres, and then perceiuing that it was but fogge, we hald along Southeast.

70. deg. 3. min. This day at 2. in the afternoone wee sounded and had fiftie fadoms blacke ooze. Our latitude was 70. degrees three minutes. At tenne a clocke at night wee sounded againe, and had 60. fadoms blacke ooze.

The tenth day the wind being at North northwest, we haled East and by North, which cour-

we set, because at ten of the clocke afore noone wee did see land, and then wee sounded hauing 35. fadoms blacke oze. All this day there was a great fogge, so that wee durst not beare with the land to make it, and so we kept an outwardly course. This day at 6. in the afternoone we espied land, wherewith we hailed, and then it grew calme: we sounded and had 120. fadoms blacke oze: and then we sent our boat a land to sound and proue the land. The same night we came with our ship within an Iland, where we rode all the same night. The same night we came with our ship neere the land for wood and water.

An Iland.

The 11. day the wind came to the East southeast: this day about a league from vs to the Eastwards, we saw a very faire sound or riuer that past very farre into the countrey with 2. or 3. branches with an Iland in the midst.

The maine land.

The 12. of July the wind was East Southeast. This day about 11. a clocke in the morning, there came a great white beare down to the water side, and tooke the water of his own accord, we chased him with our boate, but for all that we could doe, he gote to land and escaped from vs, where we named the bay Bearebay. This day at 7. in the after noone we set saile, for we had good hope that the winde would come Westerly, and with saile and oares we gate the sea. All the night it was calme with fogge.

Bearebay.

The 13. day in the morning the wind was very variable with fog, and as it cleared by wee met with great store of ice, which at the first shewed like land. This ice did vs much trouble, and the more because of the fog, which continued vntill the 14. day, 12. of the clocke.

The 14. day in the morning we were so imbayed with ice, y we were constrained to come out as we went in, which was by great good fortune, or rather by the goodnesse of God, otherwise it had by West. The same day we found the pole to be eleuated 70. degrees, 26. minutes: we lay along the east Northwest, thinking it to be an Iland, but finding no end in rowing so long, we supposed it to be the maine of Noua Zembla. About 2. in the afternoone we laide it to the Southward to double the ice, which wee could not doe vpon that boord, so that we cast about againe and lay West along vnder the ice. About seuen in the afternoone we gote about the greatest part thereof. About 11. a clock at night we brought the ice Southeast of vs, and thus we were ridde of this trouble at this time.

70. deg. 26. min.

The supposed maine of Noua Zembla.

The 15. day about 3. in the morning, the wind was at South southwest: wee cast about and lay to the East wards: the winde did West, so that wee lay South southwest with a flawne or two small grey sand. This night at twelue of the clocke we sounded againe, and had 29. fadoms sand, as afore.

The 16. day vnto 3. in the morning we hald along East Southeast, where we found 18. fadoms red land, then we hald along Northeast. In these soundings wee had many ouerfals. This day at 10. of the clocke we met with more ice, which was very great, so that we could not tell which way to get cleere of it. Then the winde came to the South Southeast, so that we lay to the Northwards. We thought that way to cleare our selues of it, but that way we had more ice. About 6. in the afternoone, the wind came to the East. Then we lay to the Southwards that wee had 30. fadoms blacke oze. This day we found the pole to bee eleuated 69. deg. 40. minutes, and this night at 12. a clocke we had 41. fadoms red sand.

Many ouerfals.

The 17. day at 3. in the morning, we had 12. fadoms. At 9. we had 8. and 7. all this day we ran South and South by West, at the depth afore said, red sand, being but shallow water. At eight in the afternoone, the winde with a showre and thunder came to the Southwest, and then wee ranne East Northeast. At 12. at night it came to the South and by East, and all this was in the bay of Pechora.

The bay of Pechora.

The 18. day at 7. in the morning we bare with the headland of the bay, where wee founde two Ilands. There are also ouerfals of water or tides. We went between the maine and the Iland, and went to the head, where we had about 2. fadoms and a halfe. We found the pole eleuated 69. deg. 13 minutes, This day we had sight of Vaigatz: the land of the maine of Pechora did trend South-East, we hald East southeast, and had 10. fadoms oze all the same day vntill 4. in the after noone, then being calme, we ankered in 10. fadoms all the same night.

They had sight of Vaygatz.

The 19. day at two in the morning we set saile, and ran South and South southwest all the same day at 8. and 6. fadoms, this was off the South part of Vaigatz, this part of the land lieth North and South. This day at 4. in the afternoone we found shallow water sometime 4. fadoms, sometime 3. and 2. and a halfe, and one fadome and a halfe: there we ankered and sent our boate to sound, and all to leeward we had 4. foote and 3. foote, and 2. foot, there was not water for our boate betweene Vaigatz & the other shore: finding no more water, there was no other way but

to goe backe as we came in, hauing the winde Northwest, so at twelue at night we set saile.

The 20. day we plied to the Northwards, and got deepe water againe 6. and 7. fadoms.

The 21. day the winde by the Northwest, we had along the coast North and North northwest, we had 8. and 9. and 10. fadoms.

The 22. day the winde came to the Southwest, wee bare along the coast of Vaygatz, as we found it to lie North and by West, and North northwest, and North. The winde blew very much with great fogge, we lacking water and wood bare within an Iland where wee found great store of wood and water, there were three or foure goodly sounds. Vnder two points there was a crosse set vp, and a man buried at the foote of it. Vpon the said crosse Master Pet did graue his name with the date of our Loade, and likewise vpon a stone at the foote of the crosse, and so did I also, to the end that if the William did chaunce to come thither, they might haue knowledge that wee had beene there. At eight in the afternoone the winde came to the North northwest, we set saile and turned out of the Bay. The same night the winde came to the West, so that we lay North along the land.

An Iland hauing store of wood & water.

The 23. day at fiue in the morning, the wind came to the Southwest, a Sea boord we saw a great number of faire Ilands, to the number of fiue: a sea boord of these Ilands, there are many great ouerfals, as great streames or tides: we halue Northeast and East northeast as the lande did trend. At eight afternoone the winde came to the Southeast with very much wind, raine and fogge, and very great store of ice a sea boorde: so we lay to the Southwest to attaine to one of the Ilands to harbour vs if the weather did so extremely continue, and to take in our boate, thinking it meete so to doe, and not to towe her in such weather. About twelue of the clocke it became very calme vpon the sudden, and came vp to the West Northwest, and Northwest by West, and then we tooke in our boate, and this done, there came downe so much winde, as we were not able to steere afore it, with coorse and bonnets of each, we laid South with the land, for so the land did trend. This day all the afternoone we sailed vnder a great land of ice, we sailed betweene the land and it, being not able to crosse it. About twelue at night we found the ice to stretch into the land, that we could not get cleare to the Eastward, so we laide it to the shore, and there we found it cleare hard aboord the shore, and we found also a very faire Iland which makes a very good harbour, and within are 12. fadoms.

6. faire Ilands.

This Iland is to þ Eastwards of Vaigatz, 4. or 5. leagues. This land of the maine both runs Southeast, and Southeast by East. It is a very faire coast, and euen and plaine, and not full of mountaines nor rocks: you haue but shallow water of 6. or 7. fadoms, about a league from the shore, all this morning we hailed East southeast. This day we found the pole to be elenated 69. degrees 14. minutes. About 12. a clocke we were constrained to put into the ice to seeke some way to get to the Northwards of it, hoping to haue some cleare passage that way, but there was nothing but whole ice. About nine in the afternoone we had sight of the William, and when we sawe her, there was a great land of ice betweene her and vs, so that we could not come one to the other, but as we came neere to her, we sounded our trumpet and shot off two muskets, and she put out her flag vpon her foretopmaste in token that she did see vs: all this time wee did shorten our sailes, and went with our foresaile & mainetopsaile, seeking the best way through the brokenice, she making away the best that she could to follow vs, we put out our flagge to answere her again with the like: thus wee continued all the afternoone till about 12. a clocke at night, and then we moored our ship to a piece of ice to tarie for the William.

An Iland to the East of Vaigatz 4. or 5. leagues.

The 25. day about fiue in the morning, the William came to vs, being both glad of our meeting. The William had her sterne post broken, that the rudder did hang cleane besides the sterne, so that she could in no wise port her helme, with all hands she did lighten her sterne, and trimme her head, and when we had brought her forward all that we could, wee brought a cable vnder her sterne, and without captaine did wind vp her sterne, and so we made it as wel as the place would giue vs leaue, and in the ende wee brought her to steere againe. Wee acknowledge this our meeting to be a great benefite of God for our mutuall comfort, and so giue his maiestie thanks for it. All the night after we tooke our rest being made fast vpon a piece of ice: the winde was at West Northwest, but wee were so inclosed with ice that we coulde not tell which way to passe. Windes wee haue had at will, but ice and fogge too much against our willes, if it had pleased the Lord God otherwise.

The 26. day the wind was at West Northwest: we set saile to the Northwards, to seeke if we could finde any way cleare to passe to the Eastward, but the further we went that way, the more and thicker was the ice, so that wee coulde goe no further. So about foure in the afternoone we were constrained to moore vpon another piece of ice. I thinke we sailed in all a league this day: here we had 15. fadoms ooze, and this ooze is all the chamell ouer. All the same day after foure

The William and the George meete againe.

the clocke, and all the night we tarried there, being without all good hope, but rather in despaire. This day Master Iugman did see land East Northeast from vs, as he did thinke, whether it were land or no, I cannot tell well, but it was very like land, but the fogges haue many times deceiued vs.

The 27. day the winde was at Northwest. This day at nine in the morning we set saile to seeke the shore. Further into the ice we could not goe, and at seuen in the afternoone we moared to a piece of ice, and the William with vs, here we had 14. fathoms oze. At three in the afternoone we warpt from one ice to another. At nine in the afternoone we moared againe to a piece of ice vntill the next day. All this night it did snow with much wind, being at West Northwest, and by West.

The 28. day the winde came to the Southwest, and Southsouthwest: this day was a very faire day. At one in the afternoone master Pet and master Iackman did conferre together what was best to be done considering that the windes were good for vs, and we not able to passe for ice, they did agree to seeke to the land againe, and so to Vaygatz, and there to conferre further. At 3. in the afternoone we did warpe from one piece of ice to another to get from them if it were possible: here were pieces of ice so great, that we could not see beyond them out of the toppe. Thus we warped vntil 9. in the afternoone, and then we moared both our shippes to a great and high piece of ice, vntill the next morning. Their returne.

The nine and twentie day the winde came to the Southwest, wee set saile at fiue in the morning to plie into the shore if it were possible, we made many turnes among the ice to small purpose, for with the winde doeth the currant runne. This day by misfortune a piece of ice stroke of our greepe afore at two afternoone, yet for all this we turned to doe our best. The William being incumbered with ice, and perceiuing that shee did little good, tooke in all her sailes, and made her selfe fast to a piece of ice, and about foure in the afternoone she set saile to followe vs. We were afraide that shee had taken some hurt, but she was well. At seuen afore noone we tooke in all our sailes to tarie for the William, and made our shippe fast to a piece of ice: the William before she came to vs tooke in all her sailes, and moared to another piece of ice, and thus we continued vntill the next morning. The currant runneth with the winde.

The 30. day the winde at Southeast, and by South, and at 9. in the morning we set saile, and sooner would haue done if the William had bene by vs, but we did tary for her to know whether all was well with her: But as soone as we made saile, she did the like. All this day wee did our best to seeke our way as the ice would giue vs leaue, sometime we lay South, sometime West, and sometime East, and thus we continued vntill eight at night, and then being calme, wee made our ships fast to a piece of ice, and went to supper. In the meane time the wind with a faire gentle gale came by to the East, and East and by South, but there came downe a showre of raine with it, which continued the space of one houre: Which being done, it became calme againe, so that wee could doe no good all that night, but tooke our rest vntill the next day.

The 31. the winde being at Southwest, we set saile to turne to windeward at three a clock in the morning. In this turning we did little good, for the currant would not giue vs leaue. For as the winde is, so is the currant. We did our best vntill ten of the clocke, and then perceiuing that we did no good, and being incloled with ice, wee made our ships fast to a piece of ice: All this day the William lay still, and did as much good as we that did labour all the forenoone. Thus we took rest all the same day.

In the afternoone we set saile, the winde being at South by East, we lay to the Westwards, Southwest and Southwest and by South, and sometime to the Westward as wee might. Thus we continued vntil 9. at night, and then we could go no further for ice: so we with the William were constrained to make our ship fast to a piece of ice al the same night. This day we found the pole elevated 69. degrees 20. minutes, and here we had 17. fathoms oze.

The first day of August was verie calme in the morning, the winde being at West Northwest. About twelue the winde came to the West, and continued so all the same night with great fogge. August.

The second day the winde was at Southwest all day with rayne and fogge. All this day we were incloled with ice, so that we were forced to lye still. Here we had one and twentie fathoms oze. At fiue in the afternoone the winde was at West with very much foule weather, and continued all the same night.

The third day the winde was at West, and West by North, and West Northwest, this day we were still incloled with yce, the weather beeing darke with fogge: thus abiding the Lords leasure, we continued with patience. And sounding we found 21. fathoms.

The fourth day we lay still incloled with ice, the winde being at West Northwest, this ice did

did euery day increase vpon vs, per putting our trust in God, we hoped to be deliuered out of it in good time.

The firſt day all the morning it rained with very much wind, being at South Southeaſt: about 3. in the after noone we ſet ſayle, and preſently it became calme for the ſpace of one houre, then the wind came to the North Northeaſt, and here we had 33. fathoms: thus we made way among the yce Southweſt, and Southſouthweſt, & Weſt, as we might finde our way for the ſpace of 3. houres: then we met with a whole land of yce, ſo that we could go no further: here we moored our ſhip to tarie for a further opening. Here we found 45. fathoms oze, and all the night was very darke with fogge.

A whole land of yce.

The firſt day hauing no opening of the yce wee lay ſtill, the winde being at Weſt, and Weſt by South: here we had ſixty three fathoms oze: all the ſame night the winde was at the Weſt Northweſt.

The 7. day the winde was at Weſt, and Weſt and by North all day. And all this day we lay ſtill being incloſed with yce, that we could not ſtirre, labouring onely to defend the yce as it came vpon vs. Here we had 68. fathoms oze.

The 8. day was very faire & calme but foggy. This day towards night there was little winde by the South Southweſt: then the yce began a little to open, and here we had 70. fathoms oze: all the night was foggy.

70. degr. 4. min.

The 9. day the winde was at Northweſt, and by Weſt, all the afternoone we lay ſtill becauſe of the yce, which did ſtill incloſe vs. This day we found the pole eleuated ſeuenty degrees, 4. minutes, we had 63. fathoms oze: this night was a very fayre night, but it freezed: in the morning we had much adoe to goe through the ſame: and we were in doubt that if it ſhould haue freezed ſo much the night following, we ſhould hardly haue paſſed out of it. This night there was one ſtar that appeared to vs.

Froſt.

The appearing of the ſtarres, ſigne of Winter.

The tenth day the winde was at Eaſt Northeaſt with a very ſmall gale. Wee with ſaile and oares made way through the yce: about fiue in the morning we ſet ſaile: ſometime wee lyed Southweſt, and ſometime South, and ſometime Weſt, as wee might beſt finde the way. About three in the afternoone the gale began to freſh: about ſixe in the afternoone the winde was at Northeaſt with fogge. Here we had eighty eight fathoms: we bare ſaile all the ſame night, and it ſnowed very much.

much ſnow.

The eleuenth day we were much troubled with yce, and by great force we made our way through it, which we thought a thing impoſſible: but extremity doth cauſe men to doe much, and in the weakeneſſe of man Gods ſtrength moſt appeareth. This day we had 95. fathoms. At three in the afternoone the winde came to the Southweſt, we were forced to make our ſhippe faſt to a piece of yce, for we were incloſed with it, and taried the Lordes leaſure. This night we had 97. fathoms.

The 12. day the wind was at the Southeaſt not very much but in a maner calme: at 11. of the clocke the winde came to the Weſt Southweſt: all the day was very darke with ſnowe and fogge. At 6. in the afternoone we ſet ſaile the winde being at the North Northeaſt: all this night we bare away Southweſt, and Southſouthweſt, as well and as neere as the yce would giue vs leaue: all this night we found the yce ſomewhat fauourable to vs, more then it was before, hereupon we ſtood in good hope to get out of it.

The 13. day at 7. in the morning, the winde was at the Northeaſt, and Northeaſt and by Eaſt all this day we were much troubled with the yce, for with a blow againſt a piece of yce we brake the ſtocke of our ancre, and many other great blowes we had againſt the yce, that it was marueilous that the ſhip was able to abide them: the ſide of our boate was broken with our ſhip when it recule backe, the boate being betwixt a great piece of yce, and the ſhip, and it periſhed the head of our rudder. This day was a very hard day with vs: at night we found much broken yce, and all this night it blew very much winde, ſo that we lay in drift with the yce, & our drift was South, for the winde was at North all this night, and we had great froze of ſnowe.

Great froze of ſnowe.

The 14. day in the morning wee made our ſhippe faſt to a piece of yce, and let her drift with it. In the meane time wee mended our boate and our ſterrage: all this day the winde continued Northerly, and here wee had threeſcore and two fathoms. Thus wee lay a drift all the ſame night.

The 15. day we ſet ſaile at 6. in the morning, the winde being at Northeaſt. At 9. of the clocke we entred into a cleare Sea without yce, whereof wee were moſt glad, and not without great cauſe, and gaue God the praiſe. We had 19. fathoms water, and ranne in Southweſt all the morning vntill we came to 14. fathoms, and thence we hailed Weſt, till we came to 10. fathoms, and then we went Northweſt, for ſo the land doeth trend. At 12. of the clocke we had ſight

the land, which wee might haue had sooner, but it was darke and foggie all the same day: for when wee had sight of the lande, wee were not passing three leagues from it. This day we had the pole elevated 69 degrees 49 minutes. All day we ran along the coast in ten and nine fadoms, prported sand. It is a very goodly coast and a bolde, and faire soundings off it, without sandes or rocks. 69 degrees 49 minutes.

The 16 day the winde was at East: this day we were troubled againe with ice, but we made great shift with it: for we gotte betweene the shoare and it. This day at twelue of the clocke we were thwart of the Southeast part of Vaigats, all along which part there was great store of yce, so that we stood in doubt of passage, yet by much adoe we got betwixt the shoare and it: about noone it was darke with fogge. And all the night we haled North and North by West, and somewhat North and by East, for so doth the land trend. They are thwart against Vaigats.

The 17 day in the morning we haled West, for so doth the land lie. The wind was at South-east, and it was very darke with fogge, and in running along the shoare we fell a ground, but God be praised without hurt, for wee came presently off againe. The William came to an anker to vs we came to the William we did know our boates, and made saile, we went within some of the Ilands, and haled West South west. Sands. The Ilands.

About two of the clocke in the afternoone, we set our course South west and by South: so we ranne South west vntill twelue at night, the wind came to the North North east, and then we haled West.

The 18 day at 6 in the morning we had 16 fadoms red sand: at 6 in the morning 13 fadoms, at 10, 14 fadoms, and we haled West North west. At 12 a clocke the winde came to the East, and East by South, we haled West and by North all the same day and night. At 6 in the afternoone we had 17 fadoms red sand.

The 19 day the wind was at East North east: at 6 in the morning wee had 19 fathoms red sand: at 12 of the clocke the wind blew North and North by East, we had 17 fadoms of water, at 3 in the afternoone 15.

The 20 day the wind was at North east, and North North east: at 7 in the morning we had 30 fadomes blacke oze: at twelue of the clocke we were vpon the suddaine in shoale water, among great sands, and could find no way out. By sounding and seeking about, we came aground, as did the William, but we had no hurt, for the wind was off the shoare, and the same night it was calme: all night we did our best, but we could not haue her aflote. These shoales doe lie off Colgoyeue: it is very flat a great way off, and it doth not high aboue 2 or 3 foote water: it standeth North east, and South west. Shoales off Colgoyeue.

The 21 day the wind was at South west, and being very faire weather we did lighten our ships as much as was possible for vs to doe, by reason of the place. The same high water, by the helpe of God, we got both a floate, and the wind being at the South west did help vs, for it caused it to flow the more water.

This day we found the pole to be elevated 68 degrees 40 min. In the afternoone we both set saile to seeke way to get out of these sands, our boate a head sounding, hauing 6, 7, and 8 fadomes all within the sand which was without vs. We bare to the Southward, and the William bare more to the Eastwards, and night being at hand the wind came to the Southeast, whereupon we layd it to the Southwards, lying South west, and South and by West, and ran to 19, and 12 and 14 fadoms, and presently we had but fiue fadoms, which was off the sands head, which we were a ground vpon the day before. Then we cast about to the Eastwards for deepe water, which we presently had, as 10, 15, and 20 and so to 23 fadoms.

The 22 day at 8 in the morning, we cast about to the Southward, and this day in the morning we saw the William vnder our lee as far as we could see her, and with a great fogge we lost the sight of her, and since we haue not seene her. Thus we ranne till we came to thirtie fadomes darke oze, which we had at twelue of the clocke, and at three in the afternoone we had twenty and three fadoms, and then we ranne West North west, and West by North, all the same night following. They lost the William here.

The 23 day we had at 6 in the morning 27 fadoms, at 8 a clocke 28 fadoms: at 9 the winde being at East South east, we haled West North west: this day we had sight of the land of Hugri side. At twelue of the clocke we had thirty two fadoms sand, This day we ranne West and by North, and came to fiue fadoms off the bay of Morzouets. Then we layd it to the Northwards, so that we lay North North east off. The wind after came to the North, and North by East, and we lay East and East by North, then we layd it to the Westward againe: and thus we lay till we came The land of Hugry. The bay of Morzouets.

to

to foztie fadoms, and then we went Nozthwest till wee came to fourteene fadoms, and so to tenne fadoms. Then we cast about to the Eastwards and lay East, and East by Nozth all the same night.

The 24 day at 8 in the mozning we had 32 fadoms. We ran Nozthwest till we came to 11 fadoms, then we lay to the Nozthwards till 12 at night, and then we came to fozty fadoms, then the wind at Noztheast we lay to the West wards, and haled Nozthwest along.

The 25 at 4 in the mozning we had 37 fadoms, wee ranne Nozthwest, the winde at Nozthnoztheast very much.

The 26 day we ran with the same winde, and found the pole to be eleuated 70 deg. 40 min.

The 27 at 7 in the mozning we saw land, which we made to be Kegor, then we haled Nozthwest, and Nozth by West to double the Nozth Cape.

The 28 day at 3 in the mozning we ran Nozthwest, and so all day. At night the wind came to the Southwest, and we ran Nozthwest all that night.

The towne of Hungon.

The 29 day we put into a sound called Tane, and the towne is called Hungon: we came to an ancre at 5 in the afternoone, at 25 fadoms very faire sand. This sound is very large and good, and the same night we got water aboozd.

The 30 day in the mozning the winde at Nozteast, and but little, we set saile, and with our boate on head we got the sea about 12 of the clocke: the wind with a faire gale came to the East Southeast, and all this day and night we ran Westnozthwest.

They double the Nozth Cape in their returne.

The 31 day at 12 of the clocke we doubled the Nozth Cape, the wind being at Eastsoutheast, we haled West all the same day, and at night we ran Westsouthwest.

The 1 day of September the wind was at Nozteast with very much fogge: and this day we ran Westsouthwest: at 2 in the afternoone the wind came Nozth.

The second day at 3 in the mozning we doubled Fowlnesse, & the wind was this day variable at all parts of the Compasse. In the afternoone we made but little way: at 6 a clocke the winde came to the Southwest, and we went Nozthwest. At 9 in the night there came downe so much winde by the Westsouthwest, that we were faine to lay it a hull, we haled it to Nozthwards for the space of 2 houres, and then we layd her head to the Southwards, and at the breake of day we

Fowlenesse.

saw land, which is very high, and is called by the men of the countrey Foulenesse. It is within full of small Ilands, and without full of rocks very farre out, and within the rockes you haue fayre sand at 20 fadoms.

The 3 day in the mozning we bare with the sound afozesaid: Within it is but sholde water, 4 5 and 3 fadoms, sandie ground, the land is very high, and the Church that is seene is called Helike Kirke. It doeth high here not aboue 8 oz 9 foote.

Lowfoote.

The 12 day at 3 in the afternoone, we put into a sound by Lowfoote, where it doeth flowe Southwest, and by South, and doth high 7 oz 8 foote water.

The 13 day much wind at West: we had a ledge of rocks in the wind of vs, but the road was reasonable good foz all Southerly and Westerly winds. We had the maine land in the winde of vs: this day was stormie with raine.

The sound of Romesal.

The 23 day at foure of the clocke in the afternoone we put into Norway, into a sound cal'd Romesal, where it floweth Southsoutheast, and doth high 8 foote water: this place is full of lowe Ilands, and many good sounds without the high mountaine land. Here is great store of wood growing, as firre, birch, oke, and hasell: all this night the wind was at the South, very much winde, with raine and fogge.

The 28 day in the mozning the wind being at Eastnozteast we set saile at 8 of the clocke, and haled out of the bay Westsouthwest, and Southwest, hauing a goodly gale vntill one of the clocke, and then the wind came to Southeast, and to the South with raine and fogge, and very much winde: at fiue of the clocke we came into a very good rode, where we did ride all the same night in good safetie.

The 29 day we put into a good sound, the wind by the Southwest: at three in the afternoone there came downe very much wind by the South, and all night with vehement blasts, and raine.

The 30 day all day the wind was at Westsouthwest. And in this sound the pole is eleuated 63 deg. 10 min.

October.

The first day of October the winde was at South with very much winde, and vehement blasts.

The 7 day we set saile: foz from the first of this moneth vntill this 7 day, we had very foule weather, but specially the fourth day when the wind was so great, that our cables brake with very stozme, and I do not thinke that it is possible that any moze wind then that was should blow

foz

for after the breaking of our cable, we did driue a league, before our ankers would take any hold: but God be thanked the storme began to slacke, otherwise we had bene in ill case.

The 7 day at night we came to an anker vntil the next day, which was the 8 day of the moneth, when as the winde grew great againe, with raine, whereupon we set saile and returned into the sound againe: and at our first comming to an anker, presently there blew so much winde, that although our best anker was out, yet the extremitie of the storm droue us vpon a ledge of rocks, and had vsed our ship in such sort, that we were constrained to lighten her to saue her, and by this meanes (by the helpe of God) we got off our ship and stopped our leakes, and moared her in good safety abiding for a wind. We rid from this day by reason of contrary winds, with fogge and raine vntil the 24 day, which day in the morning the wind came to the Northeast, and at 8 of the cloche we set saile. This sound is called Moore sound, where it highest hath about 5 foote water, & floweth Moore sound. Southsoutheast. The next day being the 25 day wee put into a sound which is called Vlsar sound, where was a ship of the king of Denmark put into another sound there by, being 2 leagues to the southwards of vs, that came out of Island: the wind was contrary for vs at Southsouthwest.

The 12 day of November we set saile the wind being at the East Southeast, and past through the sound where the kings ship did lie: which sound is called Sloure sound. But as we did open the sound, we found the wind at the Southwest, so that we could doe no good, so that we moared our ship betweene 2. Illands vntil the 18 day, and then the weather being faire and calme, we set saile, & went to sea hoping to find a faire wind, but in the sea we found the wind at the Southwest, and Southsouthwest, so that we were constrained to returne into the same sound.

The next day being the 19 the kings ship came out also, because she saw vs put to sea, & came as farre out as we, and moared where we did moare afore: And at our returne backe againe, we moared our ship in an other sound called Scorpe sound, because the kings ship was without victuals, and we did not greatly desire her company, although they desired ours. In this sound the pole is eleuated 62 deg. 47 min. Thus we lay still for a wind vntill the 1 of December, which day we set saile at 6 a clocke in the morning, & at 4 in the afternoone we laid it to the inwards.

The 9 day we had sight of the coast of Scotland which was Buquhamnesse.

The 10 day we were open off the Frith.

The 11 day at 4 in the morning we were thwart of Barwike: at 6 we were thwart of Bamburch: the same day at 10 at night we were shot as farre as Hollyfoote. Then the wind came in the South and Southeast, so that we lay still vntill the next day in the morning, and then we were constrained to put with Tinmouth. The same day at night wee haled aground to stoppe a leake, which we found to be in the starke afore. The wind continued by the Southeast & Southeast vntill the 20 day, and then we set saile about 12 at night, bearing along the coast.

The 22 day by reason of a Southeast wind, we thought we should haue vene put into Humber, but the wind came to the West, so that we haled Southeast: and at 5 in the afternoone we haled a sea boord the sands, and had shoale water off Lymery and Owry, and were in 4 fadomes off them. The next day we haled as we might to Lease Orfordnesse.

The 24 day we came thwart of the Nase, about 8 in the morning.

The 25 day being the Nativity of Christ, we came to an anker betweene Oldhauen, and Tilberie hope. The same day we turned as high as Porshet.

The 26 day we turned as high as Ratcliffe, and praised God for our safe returne. And thus I ende, 1580.

The William with Charles Iackman arriued at a port in Norway betweene Tronden and Rostock in October 1580, and there did winter: And from thence departed againe in February following, and went in company of a ship of the King of Denmarke toward Island: and since that time he was neuer heard of.

Instructions made by the company of English merchants for discouery of new trades, vnto *Richard Gibs*, *William Buggas*, *John Backhouse*, *William Freeman*, *John Holy*, and *Iames Woodcock*, &c. masters of the 9 ships, and one barke that we had freighted for a voiage with them to be made (by the grace of God) from hence to S. *Nicholas* in *Russia*, and backe againe: which ships being now in the riuer of Thames are presently ready to depart vpon the said voyage, with the next apt winds that may serue therunto: and with this Fleet afterwards was ioined M. *Christopher Carlile* with the *Tyger*. The 1 of Iune 1582.

Dyalmuch as the number of shippes which we purpose to send in this Fleete together for Saint Nicholas in Russia is greater then at any time heretofore we haue sent thither, as also for that some speeches are giuen out that you shall be met withall by such as with force & violence will assault you as enemies, to the end that good order

map

may be eſtabliſhed among you for keeping together in company, and vniting your forces, as well for the better direction to be had in your nauigation, as alſo for your more ſafety and ſtrength against the enemie, we haue thought good to appoint among you an Admirall and Viceadmirall, and that all of you and euery one particularly ſhall be bound in the ſumme of one hundred pounds to keepe company together.

2 Becauſe the Salomon is the biggeſt ſhip, beſt appointed, and of greateſt force to defend or offend the enemie, we doe therefore appoint that ſhip Admirall, which ſhall weare the flag in the maine top.

3 The Thomas Allen being a good ſhip and well appointed, and for that the maſter of her is the ancienteſt maſter of the Fleete that hath taken charge that way, we doe appoint the ſame ſhip to be Viceadmirall, and to weare the flag in the fore top.

4 And for that the maſter of the Prudence is of great experience, and knowledge in that voyage, we doe appoint that he with the maſter of the Admirall and Viceadmirall ſhall conferre, conſule and agree vpon the courſes and directions that ſhall be vſed in this voyage, and it ſhall be lawfull vnto the maſter of the Admiral, with the conſent of M. Gibs, and M. Biggar, or one of them to make his courſes and directions from time to time during the whole voyage, and all the fleete are to follow and obſerue the ſame without ſtraying or breaking of company at any time vpon the penalty before ſpecified.

5 The appointing of the ſhips for Admiral and Viceadmiral, and thoſe men to conſult and agree vpon the courſes and directions of the voyage, as aforeſaid, hath bene done by the conſents and with the liking of you all, and therefore we doubt not but that you will all carefully and willingly obſerue the premiſſes.

6 Item, we haue thought good to put you in mind, that at ſuch times as you may conueniently from time to time, you do aſſemble and meete together, to conſider, conſult, and determine vpon ſuch articles as you ſhall think neceſſary to be propounded touching your beſt ſafety and defence againſt all forces that may be offered you in this voyage, as well outwards bound, and while you ſhall remaine in the roade and bay of S. Nicholas, as alſo homewardes bound, and that which you ſhall agree vpon, or that which moſt of you ſhal conſent vnto, cauſe it to be ſet down in writing for record, which may ſerue for an acte amongſt your ſelues to binde you all to obſerue the ſame.

7 We haue appointed Iames Woodcock in the ſmal barke to attend vpon you, & to receiue his directions from you. You are therfore to remember well what conference and talke hath bene had with you here before your going touching ỹ ſayd barke, to what purpoſes ſhe may beſt ſerue, and the maner how to imploy her, and thereupon to giue your order and direction vnto him, as the time and place ſhall require.

Berozoua Vſtia. 8 Item, if you ſhall vnderſtand as you are outwards bound, that the enemie is gone before you to S. Nicholas, remember what aduiſe hath bene giuen you for your ſtay at Berozoua Vſtia, till you haue by eſpials viewed and vnderſtood the forces, and the maner of their abode at that place.

9 And if in the ſea either outwards or homewards, or in the time of your abode at anker at Saint Nicholas, you ſhall be aſſaulted by force of any, as enemie whatſoeuer, you are to defend your ſelues with ſuch forces as you may or can: truſt not too farre, neither giue place in inconuenience.

10 You will not forget what conference we had touching your paſſing outwards bound by Wardhouſe, to view and vnderſtand what you can at that place, and to ſhew your ſelues, to ſee if there be any there that haue a mind to ſpeake with you, for that we thinke it better there, & thereabout, then afterwards or els where.

11 While you ſhall remaine in the road at S. Nicholas, be circumſpect and carefull to haue your ſhips in readineſſe, and in good order alwaies, and vpon all ſuddens. The greateſt danger vnto you in that place will be while you ſhall ſhift your ſhips: therefore you are to conſider of it, but the fitteſt time for you to doe the ſame, will bee when the winde is Southerly off the ſhore, or calme, and at ſuch time you may the better doe it without danger. You muſt take ſuch order among you, that your companies may be alwaies willing and ready to helpe one the other, and appoint among your ſelues ſuch ſhips to ſhift firſt, and ſuch after, in ſuch ſort and forme as you ſhall thinke beſt and moſt conuenient. And while they ſhall be in diſcharging, ſhifting, and lading, let the reſt of your companies which haue not them to doe in lading or diſcharging, helpe thoſe ſhips that ſhall haue labour to doe, as well for carying the barkes from ſhips to the ſhoare or from ſhore to the ſhippe with your boates, as alſo for any other helpe that they ſhall haue neede of.

12 Re

12 Remember what hath bene ſaid vnto you touching the mouing of your ſhips, &c. for vſing aduantage againſt the enemie, if you ſhall be aſſaulted in that place.

13 See that you ſerue God, abolish ſwearing and gaming, be carefull of fire and candles, &c.

14 You are to conſult and agree among your ſelues vpon ſignes, tokens, and good orders for the better keeping of company together, and alſo the maner how and by what meanes, reſcue, ayde, or helpe may be giuen by one to the other in fight, if you happen to come to it.

Thus we pray God to ſend you a proſperous voyage and ſafe returne.

The opinion of Maſter *William Burrough* ſent to a friend, requiring his iudgement for the fitteſt time of the departure of our ſhips towards S. *Nicholas* in *Ruſſia*.

WHereas you requeſt me to perſwade the company not to ſend their ſhippes from hence before the fine of May, I do not thinke the ſame ſo good a courſe for them to obſerue: for you know that the ſooner wee ſende them hence, the ſooner we may looke for their returne. If wee ſende them in the beginning of May, then may they be at Saint Nicholas by the fine of the ſame moneth: and by that time the greateſt parte of your lading of neceſſitie muſt bee come downe, eſpecially the flare: but if it ſhould fall out ſo lateward a breaking vp of the riuer of Duyna, that by the ende of May the goods cannot be brought to Saint Nicholas, yet this is alwayes to be accounted for certaine, that before our ſhips can come thither, the goods may be brought downe to that place: and if though ice the ſhippes be kept backe any time, the loſſe and charge of that time toucheth not the companie at all, but the owners of the ſhippes, and yet will the Owners put that in aduenture, rather then tarie longer time before their going hence.

The Ruſſian fleet beſt to be ſet forth in the beginning of May.

Now ſeeing by ſending our ſhippes hence in the beginning of May, their arriuall at S. Nicholas may be at the ende of the ſame moneth, and remaining thirtie dayes there, they may bee laden and come thence by the laſt of June, and returne home hither by the 10 of Auguſt with commodities to ſerue the market then, it cannot bee denied but we ſhould reape thereby great commoditie.

But it may be obiected, that if all our ſhippes be ſent then to returne as afore ſaid, you ſhall not be able to ſend vs in ſo much corrage, Maze and Dyles, as otherwiſe you ſhould doe if they remained a moneth longer, neither could you by that time perfect your accounts to be ſent in them as you would doe.

For anſwere thereunto this is my meaning: th[illegible] I wiſh the greateſt part of our ſhipping ſo go as afore ſaid, yet would I haue one good ſhip or two at the moſt well furniſhed in al points that ſhould depart al waies from hence, betweene the beginning and the 10 day of June: and the ſame to be conditioned withall to remaine at S. Nicholas from the firſt arriuall there vntill the middeſt of Auguſt, or to be diſpatched thence ſooner, at the will and liking of our factors for the ſame: by this order theſe commodities following may enſue.

1 You may haue our commodities there timely to ſend vp the riuer before it ware ſhallow, to be diſperſed in the countrey at your pleaſure.

2 The greateſt part of our goods may be returned hither timely to ſerue the firſt markets.

3 Our late ſhips remaining ſo long here may ſerue to good purpoſe, for returning anſwere of ſuch letters as may be ſent ouer land, and receiued here before their departure.

4 Their remaining ſo late with you ſhal ſatisfie your deſire for perfecting your accounts, and by bring ſuch corrage, Maze, Dile, & other commodities, as you can prouide before that time: which chiefly may ſerue vs in ſtead to bring home our goods that may be ſent vs from Perſia.

Now ſeeing it may be ſo many wayes commodious to the commpany to obſerue this order, without any charge vnto them, I wiſh that you put to your helping hand to further the ſame.

A copie of the Commiſſion giuen to Sir *Ierome Bowes*, authorizing him her Maieſties Ambaſſadour vnto the Emperour of *Ruſſia*, *Anno* 1583.

ELIZABETHA Dei gratia, Angliæ, Franciæ, & Hyberniæ Regina, fidei defenſatrix, &c. Vniuerſis & ſingulis præſentes literas viſuris & inſpecturis, ſalutem. Cùm Sereniſſimus Princeps, Ioannes Baſilius, Rex, & magnus Dux Ruſſiæ, Volodimeræ, Moſcouiæ, & Nouogrodiæ, Rex Cazani, & Aſtracani, Dominus Pleſcoæ, & magnus Dux Smolenſcoæ, Tueri, Vgori, Permiæ, Valeæ, Bolharæ, & aliarum ditionum: Dominus & magnus Dux Nouogrodiæ

uogrodiæ in inferiori regione Chernigæ, Rezanæ, Polotſcoæ, Ratſauiæ, Yeraſlauiæ, Bealozeri, Liſlandiæ, Oudori, & Condenſæ, & gubernator in tota prouincia Siberiæ, & partium Septentrionalium, & aliarum, frater, & Amicus chariſſimus, Nobilem virum, Feodor Andrewich Spiſemski, nuper ad nos ablegauerit, ad certa quædam negotia nobiſcum agenda, quæ honorem vtrinque noſtrum quàm proximè attingunt, quęque rectè definiri concludíque nequeunt, niſi Ambaſſiatorem aliquem & oratorem ad præfatum ſereniſſimum principem amandauerimus: Hinc eſt, quòd nos de fidelitate, induſtria, prouida circumſpectione, & ſatis magnorum vſu, prędilecti nobis famuli noſtri, Hieronimi Bowes Militis, ex nobilibus domeſticis noſtris vnius, plurimùm confidentes, præfatum Hieronimum Bowes Militem, noſtrum verum & indubitatum Ambaſſiatorem, Oratorem, & Commiſſarium ſpecialem facimus, & conſtituimus per præſentes. Dantes, & concedentes eidem Hieronimo Bowes Militi oratori noſtro tenore præſentium, authoritatem, & mandatum, tam generale, quàm ſpeciale, ita quòd ſpecialitas non deroget generalitati, nec è contrà generalitas ſpecialitati, nomine noſtro, & pro nobis, cum præfato ſereniſſimo principe, eiuſque conſiliarijs, & deputatis quibuſcunque de præfatis negotijs & eorum ſingulis, tractandi, cõferendi, concludendi appunctuandiq; prout præfato Oratori noſtro æquum, & ex honore noſtro videbitur: Nec non de, & ſuper huiuſmodi tractatis, concluſis, appunctuatiſq; cæteriſque omnibus & ſingulis, præmiſſa quouismodo concernentibus, literas, & inſtrumenta valida & efficacia, nomine noſtro, & pro nobis tradendi, literaſq; & inſtrumenta conſimilis vigoris & effectus, ex altera parte petendi, & conficiendi, & ſigillari debitè procurandi, & recipiendi, & generaliter omnia, & ſingula præmiſſa qualitercunq; concernentia, faciendi, exercendi, & expediendi, in, & eodem modo, ſicut nos ipſi facere-mus, & facere poſſemus, ſi eſſemus præſentes, etiamſi talia ſint, quæ de ſe mandatum exigant magis ſpeciale: promittentes bona fide, & in verbo Regio, omnia & ſingula, quæ per prædictum Ambaſſiatorem, & oratorem noſtrum appunctuata, promiſſa, conuenta, concordata, & concluſa fuerint in hac parte; nos rata & grata, & firma habituras & obſeruaturas, & ſuper inde literas noſtras patentes confirmatorias, & approbatorias in forma valida, & autentica, prout opus fuerit, daturas. In cuius rei teſtimonium, his præſentibus manu noſtra ſignatis, magnum ſigillum noſtrum regni noſtri Anglię apponi fecimus. Datæ è Regia noſtra Grenwici quinto die menſis Iunij, Anno Dom. 1583. Regni verò noſtri viceſſimo quinto.

The ſame in Engliſh.

ELIZABETH by the grace of God, Queene of England, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. to al and ſinguler, to whom theſe preſents ſhal come to be ſeen and red, greeting. Whereas the moſt excellent prince Iohn Baſiliwich king, and great duke of all Ruſſia, Volodomer, Moſcouie, and Nouogrod, king of Cazan and Aſtracan, lord of Pleſco, and great duke of Smolenſco, of Tuer, Vgor, and Permia, Valca, Bolhar and others, lord great duke of Nouogrod in the low country, of Cherniga, Rezan, Polotſco, Roſtoue, Yeraſlaue, Bealozera, Lieſland, Oudor, Obdor and Condenſa, and gouernour of al the land of Siberia, and of the North parts and other, our moſt deare brother and friēd did of late ſend vnto vs one Feodor Andrewich Spiſemsky, a noble man of his, to deale with vs in certaine ſpeciall buſineſſes, reſpecting very neerely the honour of either of vs, and being ſuch as without the ſpeeding of ſome Ambaſſadour of ours to the foreſaid moſt excellent prince, cannot be ſufficiently determined and cõcluded: For this cauſe hauing great cõfidence in the fidelitie, induſtrie, prouident circumſpection and conuenient experience of our welbeloued ſeruant Ierome Bowes knight, a gentleman of qualitie of our houſhold, do by theſe preſents make and conſtitute the foreſaid Ierome Bowes knight our true & vndoubted Ambaſſadour, Orator and ſpecial commiſſioner, giuing and graunting to the ſame Ierome Bowes knight, our Orator, by the vertue of theſe preſents authoritie and commandement, as well general as ſpecial, ſo that the ſpecial ſhall not preiudice the generall, nor on the other ſide the generall the ſpecial, to intreat, conferre, conclude, and appoint in our name, and for vs with the foreſaid moſt excellent prince and his counſellers and deputies whatſoeuer, concerning the foreſaid buſineſſes, and ech of them, according as it ſhall ſeeme good, and for our honour to our foreſaid Orator, as alſo of and vpon ſuch things intreated, concluded and appointed, as in all and ſinguler other things, any maner of way concerning the premiſſes, to deliuer in our name and for vs, ſufficient and effectual letters and inſtruments, and to require letters & inſtruments of the like validitie and effect of the other part, and to procure them lawfully to bee made and ſealed, and them receiue them, and generally to doe, execute, and diſpatch al and ſingular other things concerning the premiſſes, in, and after the ſame maner, as we our ſelues would and might do if we were preſent, although they be ſuch things as may ſeeme of themſelues to require a more ſpeciall commaun-

mazement: promiſing in good faith and in the word of a prince, that we will hold and obſerue all and ſingular the things which by our Ambaſſador aforeſayd ſhall be appointed, promiſed, agreed, accorded and concluded in this behalfe, as lawfull, gracefull, and firme, and thereupon as need ſhall require, will giue our letters patents, confirmatory and approbatory, in forme effectuall and autenticall. In witeneſſe whereof, we haue cauſed our great ſeale of our kingdome of England to be put to theſe preſents, and ſigned them with our owne hand.

Giuen at our pallace of Greenewich the fourth day of Iune, in the yeere of our Lord 1583, and of our reigne the fiue and twentieth.

A Letter ſent from her Highneſſe to the ſayd great Duke of *Ruſsia*, by ſir *Hierome Bowes* aforeſayd, her Maieſties Ambaſſador.

Sereniſſimo Principi ac Domino, Ioanni Baſilio, *Dei gratia Regi & magno Duci totius* Ruſſiæ, Volodomeræ, *&c. Regi* Cazani, *&c. Domino* Pleſcoæ, *&c. Domino & magno Duci* Nouogrodiæ, *&c. & Gubernatori in tota Prouincia* Siberiæ, *&c. Fratri & amico noſtro charisſimo.*

ELIZABETHA, Dei gratia Angliæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ Regina, fidei defenſatrix &c. Sereniſſimo Principi ac Domino, Ioanni Baſilio, eadem Dei gratia Regi & magno Duci totius Ruſſiæ, Volodomeræ, Moſcouiæ, & Nouogrodiæ, Regi Cazani & Aſtracani, Domino Pleſcoæ, & magno Duci Smolenſcoæ, Tuer, Vgori, Permiæ, Viatskæ, Bolhareę, & aliarum ditionum, Domino & magno Duci Nouogrodiæ in inferiori regione, Chernigæ, Rezanæ, Polotſcoæ, Roſtouæ, Iaroſlauæ, Bealozeri, Liſtandiæ, Oudori, & Condenſiæ, & Gubernatori in tota prouncia Siberiæ, & partium Septentrionalium, & aliarum, fratri & amico ſuo chariſſimo, Salutem.

Sereniſſime princeps, frater & amice chariſſime, ex ijs quæ nobiſcum egit S. V. illuſtris legatus, intelleximus, quàm grate vobis faceremus ſatis, ſi legatum aliquem cum mandatis inſtructum, ad S. V. ablegaremus. In quo certè quidem inſtituto adeò nobis ex animo placuit, quod eſt honeſtè poſtulatum, vt non niſi præſtita re, poſſemus nobis quoquo modo ſatisfacere. Atq; cum id haberemus apud nos decretum, nobis non incommodè incurrit in mentem & oculos Hieronimus Bowes miles, ex nobilibus noſtris Domeſticis, plurimùm nobis dilectus, quem in præſentiarum ad S. V. ablegamus, cuius prudentiæ & fidei, totum hoc quic quid eſt, quod ad Serenitatum mutuò noſtrarum dignitatem ornandam pertinere poſſe arbitramur, commiſimus. In quo munere perfungendo, quin omnem curam & diligentiam ſit collaturus, neutiquam dubitamus: à S. autem V. rogamus, velit ei eam fidem habere in ijs perſequendis quæ habet à nobis in mandatis, quam nobis habendam putaret, ſi eſſemus præſentes. Præterea, cùm nobis multum charus ſit Robertus Iacobus medicus, quem ſuperiori ‖ anno, ad S. V. 1582
niſimus, rogamus vt eum eo loco S. V. habeat, quo virum probatiſſimum, & ſingulari quàm
lurimarum virtutum laude ornatum habendum eſſe, boni principes cenſent. Quem à nobis
eutiquam ablegauiſſemus, niſi amicitiæ noſtræ, & ſtudio gratificandi S. V. plurimùm tribuiſ-
emus. In quadum voluntate manemus erga S. V. non non niſi optimè de bonis veſtris meritis in
æfatum Iacobum nobis pollicemur. Et Deum Opt. Max. precamur, vt S. V. ſaluam con-
ruet, & incolumem. Datæ è Regia noſtra Grenouici 19 die menſis Iunij, Anno Domini
83, regni verò noſtri viceſſimo quinto.

S. veſtra bona ſoror.

The ſame in Engliſh.

Lizabeth by the grace of God, Queene of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the
faith, &c. to the moſt excellent Prince and Lord, Iohn Baſiliwich, by the ſame grace of God,
g and great Duke of all Ruſsia, Volodomer, Moſcouie, and Nouogrod, King of Cazan
Aſtracan, Lord of Pleſco, and great Duke of Smolenſco, of Tuer, Vgor, and Permie, Viatſ-
Bolhar, and others, Lord and great Duke of Nouogrod in the lowe countrey, of Cherniga,
an, Polotsko, Roſtoue, Iaroſlaue, Bealozera, Liſland, Oudor, Obdor, and Condenſa, and
ermour of all the land of Siberia, and of the North parts and others, her deareſt brother and
nd, Salutations,

oſt excellent Prince, moſt deare brother and friend, by thoſe things which the worthy am-
ador of your excellency declared vnto vs, we haue vnderſtood how kindly it would be taken, if

we should send to your excellency an ambassador from vs, with commandement and instructions. In which matter your honourable request hath so much pleased vs, that we could not any maner of way satisfie our selues, except we performed the same. And hauing purposed with our selfe so to doe, we thought of, and remembred Ierome Bowes Knight, a gentleman of qualitie of our household, a man very much beloued of vs, whom at this present we send vnto your Maiestie, and to whose wisedome and faithfulnesse we haue committed all, whatsoeuer we take to appertaine to the aduancement of both our honors indifferently. In the discharge of which seruice, we doubt not but that all care and diligence shall be vsed on his part, so that we intreat your Maiestie to giue him credence in the prosecuting of those things which he hath from vs in commandement, no lesse then to our selfe, if we were present. And whereas Robert Iacob doctor of physicke is a man better deare vnto vs, whom the last yere we sent vnto your excellency, we desire that he may haue the like fauor and estimation with you, which good princes thinke a most honest and vertuous man worthy of: for had we not carried great respect to our mutual friendship, and indeuour to gratifie your Maiestie, we should in no case haue parted with him. And seeing we continue still the same good will towards your excellency, we doe euen promise to our selfe your honourable kindnesse towards him: and we pray the almightie God to preserue your Maiesty in good safetie and health. Giuen at our pallace of Greenewich the 19 day of June, in the yere of our Lord 1583, and of our reigne the fiue and twentieth.

Doctor Iacob.

Your Maiesties good sister.

A briefe discourse of the voyage of Sir *Ierome Bowes* knight, her Maiesties ambassador to *Ivan Vasilinich* the Emperour of *Muscouia*, in the yeere 1583.

The Emperour of Russia that then liued, by name Iuan Vasiliwich, hauing deliberately considered how necessary it were for the strengthening of his estate, that a sure commerce and entercourse of merchants should be againe renued betweene him and her sacred Maiesty of England, with such further immunities and priuileges for the honor and vtility of both their dominions, and subiects of the same, as vpon mutuall treatie of persons interpoled on both sides, might be assented vnto: sent ouer into this realme, in the yeere of our Lord 1582, as his ambassadour for that purpose, an ancient discreet gentleman of his household called Pheodor Andreuich Phisemsky, accompanied with one of his Secretaries, for his better assistance in that expedition: and besides his many other directions, whereof part were to be deliuered by word of mouth, and the rest set downe in a letter vnder the Emperours signature, addressed to her Maiesty: he had in speciall charge to sollicite her Maiesty to send ouer with him his maister an ambassador from her, to treat and contract of such affaires of importance as concerned both the realmes, which was the principall end of his imployments hither. Whereupon her Maiesty very graciously inclining to the Emperors motion, and at the humble suite of the English merchants trading those countreys being caried with the same princely respects, to satisfie his demands in that behalfe, made choice of Sir Ierome Bowes, a gentleman of her Court, ordinarie attending vpon her Maiesties person, towards whom was apparantly expressed her princely opinion and fauor by the credit of this negociation.

Pheodor Andreuich Phisemsky the Emperors ambassadour.

After he had receiued his commission, with other speciall letters to the Emperor, with all other instructions appertaining to his charge, and that the sayd Russe ambassadour was licenced to returne home to his maister, being honorably entertained and rewarded, the English ambassador being attended vpon with forty persons at the least, very honourably furnished, whereof many were gentlemen, and one M. Humfrey Cole a learned preacher, tooke his leaue of her Maiesty at the Court at Greenwich the eighteenth of June, and with the other ambassadour, with their seuerall companies, embarked themselues at Harwich the two and twentieth of the same, and after a prosperous voyage at the Sea, they arriued both in safety in the road of S. Nicholas the three and twentieth of July next following.

The Russe ambassador lodged himselfe at the abbey of S. Nicholas: and the English ambassador was lodged and well intertained by the English merchants, at their house at S. Nicholas standing in an Iland called Rose Iland.

The Russe ambassador hauing reposed himselfe one whole day, tooke his leaue of the English ambassador, and departed towards Mosco.

The English ambassadour abode yet at S. Nicholas foure or fiue dayes, when hauing made prouision of boats, and meanes to that purpose, he went forward vpon his iourney towards Mo

Mosco, to a towne called Co

You must here vnderstand … riuers strangers, but especi… trade into those countreys. … granted to the English merch… had by chargeable meanes w… assured friends, namely, Meki… cello): for besides dayly gifts … theirs at interest at fiue and tw… land marks yeerely for the vse … friend in Court.

The ambassador hauing now … to him then a gentleman sent fr… ioin vp the riuers towards Mos…

This gentleman being a follo… into that seruice of purpose, as … and occasions of mislike to the am… ther two great counsellors (spoke… selues directly against her Maie… strangers from trading into the …

This gentleman conducted th… and Soughana, to a citie called V… Emperor, a man of better coun… Emperor with two faire geldings …

At a city called Yeraslaue vpon … panied, sent from the Emperor, … for the more easie conueying of him… miles.

Two miles on this side Mosco … accompanied with two hundred ho… ing, told him that they had to say… sion to haue heard it, notwithstand… ambassador loone refused to doe, an… might or not: which afterwards agre… be first on ground.

Their message being deliuered, … ambassador to his lodging at Mosco, … in the next house to it, as appointed … her occasions.

The ambassador hauing beene so … honably vsed from the Emperor (for … as is sayd) had another purpose, and … Court, and was accompanied thither … orderly arayed, & in his passage from … two shot, that were of the Emperors … men apparelled in cloth of gold, and ri… conducted him towards the Emperor … ty, who guided him yet further to… miles, and sate vpon benches and foot… men and gentlemen, all apparelled … These foure noblemen accompanied … Emperors herald, whose office is there … his chamber, who all conducted him … three crownes standing by him, viz. of … gentlemen of about twenty yeres of age, … their shoulders ech of them a bowe a… type, the steale or handle not past halfe … and other low seats, about an hundr… the ambassador being thus brought t…

Moſco, to a towne called Colmogro, about foure ſcore miles diſtant from S. Nicholas.

You muſt here vnderſtand that before the Engliſh ambaſſadors going into Ruſſia, there were diuers ſtrangers, but eſpecially certeine Dutch merchants, who had intruded themſelues to trade into thoſe countreys. Notwithſtanding a priuiledge of the ſole trade thither was long before granted to the Engliſh merchants. These Dutch men had already ſo handled the matter, as they had by chargeable meanes woonne three of the cheefeſt counſellers to the Emperour to be their aſſured friends, namely, Mekita Romanouich, Bodan Belskoy, and Andrew Shalkan the chancellor: for beſides dayly gifts that they beſtowed vpon them all, they tooke ſo much money of theirs at intereſt at fiue and twenty vpon the hundred, as they payd to ſome one of them fiue thouſand marks yeerely for the vſe of his money, and the Engliſh merchants at that time had not one friend in Court. The Hollanders intrude into our trade.

The ambaſſador hauing now ſpent fiue weeks at S. Nicholas and at Colmogro, there came to him then a gentleman ſent from the Emperor to entertaine him, and had in charge to conduct him vp the riuers towards Moſco, and to deliuer him prouiſion of all kinde of victuals neceſſary. This gentleman being a follower of Shalkan the chancellor, was by him (as it ſeemed) foiſted into that ſeruice of purpoſe, as afterward appeared by the courſe he tooke, to offer diſcourteſies, and occaſions of miſlike to the ambaſſador: for you muſt vnderſtand that the chancellor and the other two great counſellors (ſpoken of as friends to the Dutchmen) had a purpoſe to oppoſe themſelues directly againſt her Maieſties ambaſſage, eſpecially in that point, for the barring of all ſtrangers from trading into the Emperors countrey.

This gentleman conducted the Engliſh ambaſſador a thouſand miles vp the riuers of Dwina and Soughana, to a citie called Vologda, where receiued him another gentleman ſent from the Emperor, a man of better countenance then the other, who preſented the ambaſſador from the Emperor with two faire geldings well furniſhed after their maner.

At a city called Yeraſlaue vpon the riuer Volga there met the ambaſſador a duke well accompanied, ſent from the Emperor, who preſented him from the Emperor a coach and ten geldings for the more eaſie conueying of him to Moſco, from whence this citie was diſtant fiue hundred miles.

Two miles on this ſide Moſco there met the ambaſſador foure gentlemen of good account, accompanied with two hundred horſe: who after a little ſalutation, not familiar, without imbracing, tolde him that they had to ſay to him from the Emperor, and would haue had him light on foot to haue heard it, notwithſtanding themſelues would ſtill haue ſit on horſebacke: which the ambaſſador ſoone refuſed to doe, and ſo they ſtood long vpon termes, whether both parties ſhould light or not: which afterwards agreed vpon, there was yet great niceneſſe whoſe foot ſhould not be firſt on ground.

Their meſſage being deliuered, and after hauing embraced eche other, they conducted the ſayd ambaſſador to his lodging at Moſco, a houſe builded of purpoſe for him, themſelues being placed in the next houſe to it, as appointed to furniſh him of all prouiſions, and to be vſed by him vpon all other occaſions.

The ambaſſador hauing beene ſome dayes in Moſco, and hauing in all that time bene very honorably vſed from the Emperor (for ſuch was his will) though ſome of his cheefeſt counſellors (as is ſayd) had another purpoſe, and did often times cunningly put it in vre: He was ſent for to the court, and was accompanied thither with about foure gentlemen honorably mounted, and ſumptuouſly arayed, & in his paſſage from his lodging to the court, were ſet in a ward fiue or ſixe thouſand hot, that were of the Emperors garde. At the entry into the court there met him foure noble men apparelled in cloth of gold, and rich furres, their caps embroidred with pearle and ſtone, who conducted him towards the Emperor, till he was met with foure others of greater degree then they, who guided him yet further towards the Emperor, in which paſſage there ſtood along the walles, and ſate vpon benches and fourmes in row, ſeuen or eight hundred perſons, ſaid to be noblemen and gentlemen, all apparelled in garments of coloured ſatins and cloth of golde.

These foure noblemen accompanied him to the Emperors chamber doore, where met him the Emperors herald, whoſe office is there held great: and with him all the great officers of the Emperors chamber, who all conducted him to the place where the Emperor ſate in his ſtate, hauing the crownes ſtanding by him, viz. of Moſcouia, Cazan, and Aſtrakan, and alſo by him 4 young gentlemen of about twenty yeres of age, of eche ſide twaine, coſtly apparelled in white, holding vpon their ſhoulders eche of them a brode axe, much like to a Galloglas axe of Ireland, thin and very ſharpe, the ſteale or handle not paſt halfe a yard long, and there ſate about the chamber vpon benches and other low ſeats, aboue an hundred noblemen richly apparelled in cloth of golde.

The ambaſſador being thus brought to the Emperor to kiſſe his hand, after ſome complemente

and inquisitiue of her Maiesties healthy, he willed him to goe sit downe in a place prouided for that purpose, nigh ten pales distant from him, from whence he would haue had him to haue sent him her Maiesties letters and present, which the ambassadour thinking not reasonable stept forward towards the Emperor: in which passage the chancellor came to meet him, and would haue taken his letters: to whom the ambassador sayd, that her Maiesty had directed no letters to him; and so went on, and deliuered them himselfe to the Emperors owne hands.

And after, hauing thus deliuered her Maiesties letters and what he had els to say at that time, he was conducted to the Councell chamber, where hauing had conference with the Councell of matters of his ambassage, he was soone after sent for againe to the Emperour, where he dined in his presence at a side table, nere vnto him, and all his company at another board by, where also dined at other tables in the same place, all the chiefe noble men that were about the Court, to the number of an hundred. And in the time of this dinner, the Emperor vsed many fauors to the ambassadour and about the midst of dinner (standing vp) dranke a great carouse to the health of the Queene his good sister, and sent him a great bowle full of Rhenish wine and sugar to pledge him.

The ambassadour after this, was often called to Court, where he had conference both with the Emperour and his councell of the matters in question, touching both ambassages, which diuers times raised many iarres: and in the end, after sundry meetings, the Emperour finding himselfe not satisfied to his liking, for that the ambassadour had not power by his commission to yeeld to euery thing that he thought fit, as a man whose will was seldome wonted to be gainsayd, let loose his passion, and with a sterne and angry countenance tolde him that he did not reckon the Queene of England to be his fellow: for there are (quoth he) that are her betters.

The ambassadour greatly misliking these speeches, & being very vnwilling (how dangerous soeuer it might proue to his owne person) to giue way to the Emperor, to derogate ought from the honour and greatnesse of her Maiesty: and finding also that to subiect himselfe to the angrie humour and disposition of the Emperour was not the meanes to winne ought at his hands, with like courage and countenance to answere his, tolde him that the Queene his Mistresse was as great a prince as any was in Christendome, equall to him that thought himselfe the greatest, well able to defend herselfe against his malice whosoeuer, and wanted no meanes to offend any that either shee had, or should haue cause to be enemy vnto. Yea (quoth he) How sayest thou to the French king, and the king of Spaine? Mary (quoth the ambassadour) I holde the Queene my Mistresse as great as any of them both. Then what sayest thou (quoth hee) to the Emperour of Germany? Such is the greatnesse of the Queene my Mistresse (quoth the ambassadour) as the King her father had (not long since) the Emperor in his pay, in his warres against France.

This answere misliked the Emperor yet so much more, as that he tolde the ambassadour, that were he not an ambassador, he would throw him out of the doores. Whereunto he answered that he might doe his will, for he was now fast within his country: but he had a Mistresse who (he doubted not) would be reuenged of any iniury that should be done vnto him. Whereupon the Emperour in great sudden bade him get him home. And he with no more reuerence then such a message required, saluted the Emperor, and went his way.

All this notwithstanding, the ambassadour was not much sooner out of the chamber, and the Emperours choler somewhat setled, but he deliuered to his councell that stood about him many commendations in the fauor of the ambassador, for that he would not indure one ill word to be spoken against his Mistresse, and there withall willed himselfe to haue such a seruant.

The ambassadour had not beene much more then one houre in his lodging, but the Emperour imagining (as it seemed) by the extraordinary behauiour of the ambassador (for he wanted not wit to iudge) that he had found what was the Emperors cale, sent his principall secretary vnto him to tell him, that notwithstanding what had past, yet for the great loue that he bare to the Queene his sister, he should very shortly be called againe to Court, and haue a resolution of all the matters in question: and this Secretary was now further content to impart, and sayd to the ambassadour that the Emperour was fully resolued to send a greater noble man home with him in ambassage to the Queene his sister, then euer he yet at any time sent out of his country: and that he determined also to send to the Queene a present worth three thousand pounds, and to gratifie himselfe for his departure with a gift that should be worth a thousand pounds: and tolde him also that the next day the Emperour would send a great noble man vnto him, to conferre with him of certaine abuses done him by Shalkan the chancellor, and his ministers.

And so the day following he sent Bodan Belskoy the chiefest counseller that he had, a man most in credit with him: this man examined all matters where with the ambassador had found himself grieued, and supplied him with what hee wanted, and righted him in all things wherein he had beene wronged.

Not long after the returne of this noble man, the Emperor caused to be set downe in his owne prsence, a new and much larger allowance of diet for the ambassador then he had had before, and shortly after sent the same to the ambassadour by his principall Secretarie Savio Frollo. This diet was so great, as the ambassadour often times sought to haue it lessened, but the Emperour would not by any meanes.

The scroule of the new diet was this:

- One bushell of fine meale for three dayes.
- One bushell of wheate meale for a day and a halfe.
- Two liue geese for one day.
- Twenty hennes for the day.
- Seuen sheepe for a day.
- One ore for three dayes.
- One side of porke for a day.
- Seuentie egges for a day.
- Ten pound of butter.
- Seuenty peny white loaues of bread.
- Twelue peny loaues of bread.
- One veather or gallon of vineger.
- Two veathers of sale cabiges.
- One pecke of onions.
- Ten pound of sale.
- One altine, or fiue peny wooth of waxe candles.
- Two altines of tallow candles.
- One fourth part of a veather of cherrie mead.
- As much of Mallynouomead.
- Halfe a veather of burnt wine.
- One veather of sodden mead called Obarni.
- Three veathers of sweet mead.
- Ten veathers of white mead.
- Fifteene veathers of ordinary mead.
- Foure veathers of sweet beere.
- Fifteene veathers of beere.
- Halfe a pound of pepper.
- Three sollitincks or ounces of saffron.
- One sollitincke of mase.
- One sollitincke of nutmegs.
- Two sollitincks of cloues.
- Three sollitincks of sinamon.

Prouender,
- One bushell of oats.
- One load of hay.
- One load of straw.

Now he began so much to discouer his purpose and affections towards her Maiestie & her countrey, as he sent to the ambassador, intreating him that his ‖ preacher, and doctor Iacob his English physician, might set downe the points of the religion in vse in England, which the ambassadour caused to be done accordingly, and sent them vnto him, who seemed so well to like them, as he caused them (with much good allowance) to be publikely read before diuers of his councell, and many others of his nobility. ‖ Sp. Cole.

Now he drew hotly againe in question to marry some kinswoman of her Maiesties, & that he would send againe into England, to haue some one of them to wife, and if her Maiestie would not vpon his next ambassage send him such a one as he required, himselfe would then goe into England, and carry his treasure with him, and marry one of them there.

Here you must vnderstand that the yeere before this ambassage, he had sent to her Maiestie by his ambassador to haue had the lady Mary Hastings in marriage, which intreaty by meanes of her inability of body, by occasion of much sicknesse, or perhaps, of no great liking either of herselfe or friends, or both, tooke no place.

The ambassador was now so farre growen into the Emperors fauor, & his affection so great to England, as those great counsellers that were the ambassadors great enemies before, were now desirous of some publike courtesies at his hands for their aduantage to the Emperour: neither durst they now any more interpose themselues twixt the Emperour and him: for not long before this, the Emperor for abusing the ambassador, had (to shew his fauor towards him) beaten Shalconer the chanceller very grieuously, and had sent him word, that he would not leaue one of his race aliue.

Now whilest the ambassador was thus strongly possest of the Emperours fauor, he imployed himselfe in all he might, not onely for the speedy dispatch of the negotiation he had in hand, but also by all the good meanes he might, further to benefit his countrey and countreymen, so not long after wanne at the Emperours hands not onely all those things he had in commission to treat for by his instructions, but also some other of good and great importance, for the behoofe of the merchants.

Priuate sutes obteined of the Emperor by the ambassador.

Sute for Richard Fransham an English man and apothecary to the Emperour, his wife, and children, to come home into England, and to bring with him all such goods as he had gotten

He obteined like leaue for Richard Elmes an Englishman one of the Emperours surgions.

He also got leaue for Iane Ricards the widow of Doctor Bomelius a Dutchman, and physician to the Emperour, who for treason practised with the king of Pole against the sayd Emperour, was rosted to death at the city of Mosco, in the yere 1579.

These following he obteined for the behoofe of the merchants.

HE procured for the merchants promise of recompense for certaine goods taken from their factors by robbery vpon the Volga.

He obtained likewise the payment of fiue hundred marks, which was payd for ten yeeres before his going into Russia (into the Emperours receit) for a rent of a house that they had at Vologda.

He also got granted for them the repayment of fifteene hundred marks, which had bene exacted of them the two last yeres before his comming thither.

He got also for them order for the repayment of an olde and desperate debt of three thousand marks, a debt so desperate, as foure peeres left out of their accounts, and by the opinion of them all, not thought fit to be dealt with, for too much offending the Emperor, or impeaching his other businesse, which was thought at least otherwise sufficient, and was therefore left out of his instructions from her Maiesty.

He obteined that all strangers were forbidden to trade any more into Russia, and that the passage and trade to all the Emperors Northren coasts and countries, from the Wardhouse to the riuer of Ob should be onely free to the English nation.

Lastly, of a great desire he had to do the merchants good, without motion either of themselues here, or their Agents there, or any other of them, he obteined of the Emperour the abatement of all their custome which they had long before payd, and agreed still to continue, which custome the Dutchmen and strangers being remooued, as now it was agreed, amounted to two thousand pounds yerely.

All these were granted, some already payd before his comming from Mosco, the olde priuiledge ratified, newly written, signed and sealed, and was to be deliuered to the ambassadour at his next comming to Court, before when the Emperor fell sicke of a surfet, and so died.

After whose death the case was woondrously altered with the ambassador: for whereas both in his owne conceit, and in all mens opinion els, he was in great forwardnes to haue growen a great man with the Emperor, what for the loue he bare to her Maiesty, and the particular liking he had of himselfe, he now fell into the hands of his great enemies, Mekita Romanouich and Andre Shalkan the chancellor, who, after the death of the Emperour, tooke the speciall gouernment vpon themselues, and so presently caused the ambassadour to be shut vp a close prisoner in his owne house, for the space of nine weeks, and was so straightly guarded and badly vsed by those that attended him, as he dayly suspected some further mischiefe to haue followed: for in this time there grew a great vproze in Mosco of nigh twenty thousand persons, which remembring that his enemies reigned, somewhat amazed the ambassadour, but yet afterwards the matter fell out against that great counsellor Bodan Belskoy, whom I noted before to be a special man in the olde Emperors fauor: who was now notwithstanding so outragiously assaulted, as that he was forced to flie the Emperors chamber for his safety, and was afterwards sent away to Cazan, a place he had gouernment, fiue hundred miles from Mosco, where he hath remained euer since, and neuer yet called againe to court, at which time the ambassador expected some such like measure, and prepared himselfe aswell as he could, for his defence: yet happily after this, was sent for to court, to haue his dispatch, and to take his leaue of the Emperor: whither being conducted (not after the woonted maner) and brought to the councell chamber, came to him onely Shalkan the chancellor and a brother of his, who without more adoe, tolde him for the summe of his dispatch, that the Emperour would not treat of further amity with the Queene his mistresse, then such as was twixt her late father and her, before his comming thither: and would not heare any reply to be made by the ambassadour, but presently caused both himselfe and all his company to be disarmed of their weapons, and go towards the Emperor. In which passage there were such outrages offered him, as had he not vsed more patience then his disposition afforded him, or the occasion required, he had not in likelihood escaped with life, but yet at length was brought to the presence of the Emperour, who sayd nothing to him, but what the chancellor had already done, but offered him a letter to carry to her Maiesty, which the ambassadour (for that he knew it conteined nothing that did concerne his ambassage) refused till he saw his danger grow too great: neither would the Emperour suffer the ambassadour to reply ought, nor well he could, for they had now of purpose taken away his interpretor, [illegible] purpose) that the Emperor a[illegible] there was at that time, in that [illegible] denoe, brother to the Empero[illegible] sse the ambassadour most hono[illegible] nesse, but his authority was n[illegible] sent of[illegible] into him, not long [illegible] with[illegible] at of two faire pie[illegible] that as there was kindnesse and [illegible] be loue and brotherhood twixt [illegible] no more fauour nor friendship [illegible] had now sent him word that the[illegible] dangers and disgraces too many [illegible] coronation of the new Emperor [illegible] one meane gentleman appointed [illegible] some sudden reuenge to be done [illegible] ming from the Mosco, & therefo[illegible] selfe and his seruants for his defe[illegible] chants did altogether leaue him, [illegible] pany him: that if any such thing s[illegible] should offer to execute it, should d[illegible] to make his passage the safer. So [illegible] length he recouered S. Nicholas [illegible] and his ill vsage since then at the [illegible] his dispatch, conteyning nothing [illegible] him (in the name of the Emperou[illegible] knowing all these to be done in di[illegible] discharged of some part of them in [illegible] his danger, in getting to his shipp[illegible] should be offered him, after he had [illegible] him thither, by three or foure of the[illegible] him or left at his lodging, his maist[illegible] pily (though hardly) recouered his s[illegible] hurly burly after him, to force him to[illegible] the ambassadour from S. Nichola[illegible] twelfe of September following, and[illegible] hauing kill her Maiesties hands, and[illegible] sented her an Elke or Losh, the Red[illegible] and Doe, both bearing very huge ho[illegible] vpon it, after the maner of the Samo[illegible] were that yeere come ouer the sea in[illegible] those yeere into Russia, where the am[illegible] mine aline into Kent.

The maner of the prefer[illegible] of our English merch[illegible]

IOhn Basiliwich, Lord, King, and gr[illegible] Ivane of Thomas, with his company[illegible] Lord, in the 7082. yeere of the wo[illegible] Mekitowich Borozden, tooke of vs fo[illegible] and, which sugar was sent to the ‖ Slob[illegible] by Maiestie 200. reames of paper, pri[illegible] hat bene payd which amounteth to 216[illegible] And in the 84. yeere thy diake Stephan[illegible] the summe of 1032. robles and one [illegible] Also in the said 84. yeere thy Maiestie[illegible] vs for thy vse, sundry commodities, an[illegible] the said goods.

taken away his interpretor, being yet vnwilling (as it seemed, and suspecting the ambassadours purpose) that the Emperor and other should know how dishonorably he had beene handled: for there was at that time, in that presence a noble braue gentleman, one Boris Pheodorouich Godenoe, brother to the Emperor that now is, who yet after the death of the Emperour did alwayes vse the ambassadour most honorably, and would very willingly haue done him much more kindnesse, but his authority was not yet, till the coronation of the Emperor: but notwithstanding he sent often vnto him, not long before his departure, and accompanied his many honorable fauours with [illegible] of two faire pieces of cloth of golde, and a tymber of very good sables: and desired that as there was kindnesse and brotherhood twixt the Emperor and her Maiesty, so there might be loue and brotherhood twixt him and the ambassadour. Sauing from this man, there was now no more fauour nor friendship left for the ambassadour in Moscouia: for the chancellor Shalkan had now sent him word that the English Emperor was dead: he had now nothing offered him but dangers and disgraces too many, and a hasty dispatch from the Mosco, that he might not tary the coronation of the new Emperour: offences many in his preparation for his long tourney, one by one meane gentleman appointed to accompany him to the sea side, expecting daily in his passage some sudden reuenge to be done vpon him, for so he vnderstood it was threatned before his coming from the Mosco, & therefore with resolution prouided by all the meanes he might, by himselfe and his seruants for his defence (for now was his danger knowen such, as the English merchants did altogether leaue him, although he commanded them in her Maiesties name to accompany him) that if any such thing should happen to be offered him, as many of them as he could that should offer to execute it, should die with him for company: which being perceiued was thought to make his passage the faker. So afterward being driuen to disgest many iniuries by the way, at length he recouered S. Nicholas, where remembring his vnfortunate losse of the old Emperor, and his ill vsage since then at the Mosco, he being forced to take a bare letter for the summe of his dispatch, conteyning nothing of that he came for, and the poore and disgracefull present sent him (in the name of the Emperour) in respect of that that was meant him by the olo Emperor, knowing all these to be done in disgrace of her Maiestie and himselfe, determined now to be discharged of some part of them in such sort as he could, and so prouiding as he might to preuent his danger, in getting to his shippe, furnishing and placing his men to answere any assault that should be offered him, after he had bidden farewell to the vncourteous gentleman that brought him thither, by three or foure of the valiantest and discreetest men he had, he sent to be deliuered him or left at his lodging, his masters weake letter, and worse present, and so afterwards happily (though hardly) recouered his ship in safetie, although presently afterwards, there was great hurly burly after him, to force him to receiue the same againe, but failed of their purpose. So came the ambassadour from S. Nicholas the twelft day of August, and arriued at Grauesend the twelft of September following, and attended her Maiestie at the court at Otelands, where, after hauing kist her Maiesties hands, and deliuered some part of the successe of his ambassage, he presented her an Elke or Losha, the Red deere of the countrey, and also a brace of Raine deare, Buck and Doe, both bearing very huge hornes: they in her Maiesties presence drew a sled and a man vpon it, after the maner of the Samoeds, a people that inhabite in the Northeast from Russia, and where that yeere come ouer the sea in the winter season vpon the yce, in their sleds, drawen with dogges alone into Kent.

The great friendship of L. Boris Pheodorouich.

The Emperours house of recreation.

The maner of the preferring of sutes in *Russia*, by the example of our English merchants bill, exhibited to the Emperour.

IOhn Basiliwich, Lord, King, and great Duke of all Russia, the English merchants, William, sonne of Thomas, with his company sue vnto.

Lord, in the 7082. yeere of the worlds creation, thy Maiesties treasurer, named Gregorie Alekiewich Borozden, tooke of vs for thy vse 12. poods of loafe sugar, prised at 8. robles the pood, which sugar was sent to the ‖ Sloboda. More, the sayd Gregorie treasurer, tooke of vs for thy Maiestie 200. reames of paper, prised at 20. altines the reame, for all which the money hath not bene payd which amounteth to 216. robles.

And in the 84. yeere thy drake Stephan Lighachdo tooke of vs for thy Maiesty copper plates, to the summe of 1032. robles and one fourth part vnpayd for.

Also in the said 84. yeere thy Maiesties drakes called Iuan Blasghoy, and Iuan Sobakin tooke vs for thy vse, sundry commodities, and haue not payd 630. robles, the rest of the money due for the said goods.

In

In the 85. yeere thy Maiesties treasurer Peter Gholouen tooke of vs for thy Maiestie, cloth of sundry sorts, and hath not payd of the money due therefore 538. robles.

In the 88. yeere, thy diake Andrea Shalkan, and Iltomay Yemkoy tooke of vs lead for thy Maiestie, to the value of 267. robles and a halfe not payd.

And in the same yeere thy Maiesties diak Boris Gregoriwich had for thy vse 15. broad cloths of diuerse sorts, prised at 210. robles, whereof 90. robles are vnpayd.

Also in the said 88. yere thy diak Andrea Shalkan tooke from vs 1000. robles for thee (Lord) in ready money, yet we know not whether by thy Maiesties appointment.

And also in the 89. yeere (Lord) thy diak Andrea Shalkan tooke from vs for thy Maiesty 500. robles, we know not whether by thy Maiesties order or no, because that thy authorized people to yeerely take away from vs, neither do they giue vs right in any cause.

All the mony (Lord) which is not payd vs out of thy Maiesties treasury for our commodities or wares, with the money taken from vs by Andrea Shalkan, is 4273. robles 25. altines.

Right noble king and Lord, shew thy mercy, and cause the money to be payd vs which is owing for our goods, as also that which hath beene taken from vs: extend thy fauor, King and Lord.

A letter of M. *Henrie Lane* to the worshipfull M. *William Sanderson*, conteining a briefe discourse of that which passed in the North-east discouery for the space of three and thirtie yeeres.

MAster Sanderson, as you lately requested mee, so haue I sought, and though I cannot finde things that heretofore I kept in writing, and lent out to others, yet perusing at London copies of mine old letters to content one that meaneth to pleasure many, I haue briefly and as truly as I may, drawen out as followeth: The rough hewing may be planed at your leasure, or as pleaseth him that shall take the paines.

First the honourable attempt to discouer by sea Northeast and Northwest named for Cathay, being chiefly procured by priuiledge from king Edward the first, and other his nobilitie, by and at the cost and sute of M. Sebastian Gabota, then gouernor for discoueries with sir Andrew Iudde, sir George Barnes, sir William Garrard, M. Anthony Hussie, and a companie of merchants, was in the last yeere of his Maiesties reigne 1553. The generall charge whereof was committed to one sir Hugh Willoughbie knight, a goodly Gentleman, accompanied with sufficient number of Pilots, Maisters, Merchants and Mariners, hauing three shippes well furnished, to wit, The Bona Speranza, the Edward Bonaduenture, and the Confidentia. The Edward Bonaduenture, Richard Chanceller being Pilot, and Steuen Burrough Maister, hauing discouered Wardhouse vpon the coast of Finmark, by stormie or foggie departed from the rest, found the bay of S. Nicholas now the chiefe port for Russia, there wintred in safetie, and had ayde of the people at a village called Newnox.

Anno 1553. M. William Burrough was then young, and with his brother in this first voyage.

Newnox is frō the road of S. Nicholas Westward 35 miles.

The other two shippes attempting further Northwards (as appeared by pamphlets found after written by sir Hugh Willoughbie) were in September encountred with such extreame colde, that they put backe to seeke a wintring place: and missing the saide bay fell vpon a desert coast in Lappia, entring into a Riuer immediately frozen vp, since discouered, named Arzina Reca, distant East from a Russian Monastery of Monkes called Pechingho, from whence they neuer returned, but all to the number of 70. persons perished, which was for want of experience to haue made caues and stoues. These were found with the shippes the next Summer Anno 1554. by Russe fishermen: and in Anno 1555. the place sent vnto by English Merchants as hereafter appeareth.

Note.

Anno 1554. the sayd shippe Edward Bonaduenture (although robbed homewardes by Flemings) returned with her company to London, shewing and setting forth their entertainment and discouery of the countreys euen to the citie of Mosco, from whence they brought a priuiledge written in Russe with the Kings or great Dukes seale, the other two shippes lookt for and vnknowen to them where they were.

Anno 1554.

An. 1555. the said company of Merchants for discouerie vpon a new supply, sent thither againe with two ships, to wit, the Edward Bonaduenture, & another bearing the name of the King and Queene, Philip and Marie, whose Maiesties by their letters to the said Moscouite, recommended sundry their subiects then passing, wherof certaine, to wit, Richard Chanceller, George Killingworth, Henry Lane, and Arthur Edwards, after their arriuall at the Bay, and passing by Dwina to Vologda, went first vp to Mosco, where, vpon knowledge of the said letters, they with their traine had speciall entertainment, with houses and diet appointed, and shortly permitted

Anno 1555.

The King and Queenes letters.

the pꝛinces pꝛeſence, they were with gentlemen bꝛought thꝛough the citie of Moſco, to the caſtle and palace, repleniſhed with numbers of people, and ſome gunners. They entred ſundꝛy roomes, furniſhed in ſhew with ancient graue perſonages, all in long garments of ſundꝛy colours, golde, tiſſue, baldekin, and violet, as our veſtments and copes haue bene in England, ſutable with caps, iewels, and chaines. Theſe were found to be no courtiers, but ancient Moſcouites, inhabitants, and other their merchants of credite, as the maner is, furniſhed thus from the Wardrobe and Treaſurie, waiting and wearing this apparell foꝛ the time, and ſo to reſtoꝛe it.

Then entring into the pꝛeſence, being a large roome flooꝛed with carpets, were men of moꝛe eſtate, and richer ſhew, in number aboue an hundꝛed ſet ſquare: who after the ſaid Engliſh men came in, doing reuerence, they all ſtood vp, the pꝛince onely ſitting, and yet riſing at any occaſion, when our King and Queenes names were read oꝛ ſpoken. Then after ſpeeches by interpꝛetation, our men killing his hande, and bidden to dinner, were ſtayed in another roome, and at dinner bꝛought (enough, where might be ſeene maſſie ſiluer and gilt plate, ſome like and as bigge as kilnerkins, and walbowles, and entring the dining place, being the greater roome, the pꝛince was ſet bare headed, his crowne and rich cappe ſtanding vpon a pinnacle by. Not farre diſtant ſate his Metropolitane, with diuers other of his kindꝛed, and chiefe Tartarian Captaines: none ſate ouer againſt him oꝛ any, at other tables, their backes towards him: which tables all furniſhed with ghells ſet, there was foꝛ the Engliſhmen, named by the Ruſſes, Ghoſti Carabelski, to wit, ſtrangers oꝛ merchants by ſhip, a table in the middeſt of the roome, where they were ſet diꝛect againſt the pꝛince: and then began the ſeruice, bꝛought in by a number of his yoong Lꝛdes and Gentlemen, in ſuch rich attire, as is aboue ſpecified: and ſtill from the Pꝛinces table (notwithſtanding their owne furniture) they had his whole meſſes ſet ouer all in maſſie fine golde, deliuecharde, George, Henry, Arthur. Likewiſe bꝛead and ſundꝛy dꝛinkes of puꝛified meade, made of fine white and clariſied honie. At their riſing, the pꝛince called them to his table, to receiue each one a cup from his hand to dꝛinke, and tooke into his hand Maſter George Killingworths beard, which reached ouer the table, & pleaſantly deliuered it the Metropolitane, who ſeeming to bleſſe it, ſayd in Ruſſe, this is Gods gift. As in deede at that time it was not onely thicke, bꝛoad, and yellow coloured, but in length fiue foot and two inches of aſſize. Then taking leaue, being night, they were accompanied and followed with a number, carying pots of dꝛinke, and diſhes of meat dꝛeſſed, to our lodging.

M. Killingworths beard of a maruelous length.

This yeere the two ſhippes, with the dead bodies of Sir Hugh Willoughbie, and his people, were ſent vnto by Maſter Killingwoꝛth, (which remained there in Moſco Agent almoſt two yeeres) and much of the goods and victuals were recouered and ſaued.

Anno 1556. The company ſent two ſhips foꝛ Ruſſia, with extꝛaoꝛdinary maſters and ſaylers to bꝛing home the two ſhips, which were fꝛozen in Lappia, in the riuer of Arzina afoꝛeſaid. The two ſhips ſent this yeere from England ſailing from Lapland to the Bay of S. Nicholas, tooke in lading with paſſengers, to wit, a Ruſſe ambaſſadoꝛ, named Ioſeph Napea, and ſome of his men ſhipped with Richard Chanceller in the Edward. But ſo it fel out that the two which came from Lappia, with all their new Maſters and Mariners, neuer were heard of, but in foule weather, and wꝛoughe ſeas, after their two yeeres wintering in Lapland, became, as is ſuppoſed, vnſtanch, and ſinke, wherein were dꝛowned alſo diuers Ruſſes merchants, and ſeruants of the ambaſſadour. A third ſhippe the Edward afoꝛeſayd, falling on the Noꝛth part of Scotland, vpon a rocke was alſo loſt, and Maſter Chanceller, with diuers other, dꝛowned. The ſayd Ruſſe ambaſſadour hardly eſcaping, with other his men, mariners, & ſome goods ſaued, were ſent foꝛ into Scotland, from the King, Queene, and Merchants (the meſſenger being M. Doctoꝛ Laurence Ruſſie, and others:) And then, as in the chꝛonicles appeareth, honoꝛably entertained and receiued at London.

Anno 1556.

This yeere alſo the company furniſhed and ſent out a pinneſſe, named the Serchthrift, to diſcouer the barboꝛowes in the Noꝛth coaſt from Norway to Wardhouſe, and ſo to the Bay of S. Nicholas. There was in her Maſter and Pilot, Stephen Burrough, with his bꝛother William, and eight other. Their diſcouery was beyond the Bay, towarde the Samoeds, people dwelling ate the riuer of Ob, and found a ſound oꝛ ſea with an Iſland called Vaigats, firſt by them put oꝛthe Carde oꝛ Mappe. In that place they ſhew ſnowe out of their ſaid pinneſſe, with ſhoels in Auguſt, by which extꝛemitie, and lacke of time, they came backe to Ruſſia, and wintred at Colmogro.

Anno 1557. The company with foure good ſhips, ſent backe the ſaid Ruſſe ambaſſadour, and company with him, ſent as an Agent, foꝛ further diſcouery, Maſter Anthony Ienkinſon, who afterward anno 1558, with great fauour of the pꝛince of Moſcouia, and his letters paſſed the

Anno 1557.

Boghar bapage.

riuer

riuer Volga to Cazan, and meaning to ſeeke Cathay by land, was by many troupes and companies of vnciuil Tartarians encountred, and in danger: but keeping company with merchants of Bactria, or Boghar, and Vrgeme, trauelling with camels, he with his company, went to Boghar, and no further: whoſe entertainment of the king is to be had of maſter Ienkinſon, which returned

1560. anno 1559. to Moſcouie. And in anno 1560. he, with Henry Lane, came home into England:

The firſt trade to the Narue, 1560. which yeere was the firſt ſafe returne, without loſſe or ſhipwracke, or dead fraught, or burnings. And at this time was the firſt traffike to the Narue in Liuonia, which confines with Lituania, & all the dominions of Ruſſia: and the markets, faires, commodities, great townes & riuers, were [illegible] vnto by diuers ſeruants: the reports were taken by Henry Lane, Agent, and deliuered to [illegible] companie, 1561. The trade to Rie, and Reuel, of old time hath bene long ſince frequented by [illegible] Engliſh nation, but this trade to the Narue was hitherto concealed from vs by the Danskers and Lubeckers.

Anno 1561. the ſaid Maſter Anthony Ienkinſon went Agent into Ruſſia, who the next yeere after, paſſing all the riuer of Volga to Aſtracan, and ouer the Caſpian ſea, arriued in Perſia, and opened the trade thither.

Alcock ſlaine in Perſia. Bannifter ſlaine in Media. Edwards died at Aſtracan. Alſo betweene the yeeres of 1568. and 1573. ſundry voyages after Maſter Ienkinſons, were made by Thomas Alcock, Arthur Edwards, Maſter Thomas Bannifter, and Maſter Geffrey Ducket, whoſe returne (if ſpoile neere Volga had not preuented by rouing theeues) had altogether ſaued and recouered the companies (called the olde companies) great loſſe, charges, and damages: but the ſaying is true, By vnitie ſmall things grow great, & by contention great things become ſmall. This may be vnderſtood beſt by the company. The froward meſſe of ſome few, and euill doing of ſome vniuſt factors, was cauſe of much of the euill ſucceſſe.

Arthur Edwards was ſent againe 1579. and died in the voyage at Aſtracan. About which matters, are to be remembred the voyages of Maſter Thomas Randolph Eſquire, Ambaſſador, anno 1567. And late of Sir Ierome Bowes, anno 1583. both tending and treating for further diſcoueries, freedomes, and priuileges, wherewith I meddle not. But in concluſion, for their paines and aduentures this way (as diuers do now adayes other wayes) as worthy Gentlemen ſent from princes, to doe their countrey good, I put them in your memorie, with my hearty farewell. From S. Magarets neere Dartforth in Kent.

Yours *Henry Lane.*

The moſt ſolemne, and magnificent coronation of ‖ *Pheodor Iuanowich*, Emperour of *Ruſſia* &c. the tenth of Iune, in the yeere 1584. ſeene and obſerued by Maſter *Ierom Horſey* gentleman, and ſeruant to her Maieſty, a man of great trauell, and long experience in thoſe parts: wherwith is alſo ioyned the courſe of his iourney ouer land from *Moſco* to *Emden*.

‖ Or Theodor.

The death of Iuan Vaſiliwich 1584. April. 18.

WHen the old Emperour Iuan Vaſiliwich died, (being about the eighteenth of Aprill, 1584. after our computation) in the citie of Moſco, hauing raigned 54. yeeres, there was ſome tumult and vprore among ſome of the nobilitie, and cominaltie, which notwithſtanding was quickly pacified. Immediately the ſame night, the Prince Boris Pheodorowich Godonou, Knez Iuan Pheodorowich, Meſtibis Slaſsky, Knez Iuan Petrowich Susky, Meſtra Romanowich & Bodan Iacoulewich Belskoy, being all noble men, and

L. Boris adopted as the Emperors third ſonne. chiefeſt in the Emperors Will, eſpecially the Lord Boris, whom he adopted as his third ſonne, (he was brother to the Empreſſe, who was a mã very wel liked of al eſtates, as no leſſe worthy for his valure & wiſedome: all theſe were appointed to diſpoſe, & ſettle his ſonne Pheodor Iuanowich hauing one ſworne another, and all the nobilitie, and officers whoſoeuer. In the morning the Emperor was layd into the Church of Michael the Archangel, into a hewen ſepulcre, very richly decked with veſtures fit for ſuch a purpoſe: and preſent [illegible] was made, (Emperor Pheodor Iuanowich of all Ruſſia &c.) Throughout all the [illegible] Moſco was great watch and ward, with ſouldiers, and gunners, good orders eſtabliſhed, [illegible] placed to ſuppreſſe the mutiners, and maintaine quietnes: to ſee what ſpeede and policie was in this caſe vſed was a thing worthy the beholding. This being done in Moſco, great men of birth and accompt were alſo preſently ſent to the bordering Townes, as Smolensko Vobsko, Kaſan, Nouogorod &c. with freſh garriſon, and the old ſent vp. As vpon the 4. of May a parliament was held, wherein were aſſembled, the Metropolitane, Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Priors, and chiefe clergie men, and all the nobilitie at [illegible]: where many matters were determined not pertinent to my purpoſe, yet all tend-

to a new reformation in the gouernment: but especially the terme, and time was agreed vpon for the solemnizing of the new Emperors coronation. In the meane time the Empresse, wife to the old Emperor, was with her child the Emperors sonne, Charlewich Demetrie Iuanowich, of one yeres age or there abouts, sent with her father Pheodor Pheodorowich Nagay, & that kindred, being 5. brothers, to a towne called Ouglets, which was giuen vnto her, and the young Prince her sonne, with all the lands belonging to it in the shire, with officers of all sortes appointed, hauing allowance of apparell, iewels, diet, horse &c. in ample maner belonging to the estate of a prince. The time of mourning after their vse being expired, called Soraschina, or sortie orderlie

The old Empresse, her father, and her young sonne sent to Ouglets.

The day of Pheodor Iuans coronation.

vpon the 20. day of June, 1584. and that day then Sunday, he being of the age of 25. yeeres: at which time, Walter Ierom Horsey was orderly sent for, and placed in a fit roome to see all the solemnitie. The Emperor comming out of his Pallace, there went before him, the Metropolitan, Archbishops, Bishops, and chiefest Monkes, and Clergie men, with very rich Copes, and Priestes garments vpon them, carying pictures of our Lady &c. with the Emperours Angell, banners, censers, and many other such ceremonious things, singing all the way. The Emperour with his nobilitie in order entred the Church named Blaueshina, or Blessednes, where prayers, and seruice were vsed, according to the maner of their Church: that done, they went thence to the Church, called Michael the Archangell, and there also vsed the like prayers, and seruice: and from thence to our Lady Church, Prechista, being their Cathedrall Church. In the middest thereof was a chaire of maiestie placed, wherein his Auncestors vsed to sit at such extraordinarie times: his robes were then changed, and most rich and vnualuable garments put on him: being placed in this Princely seate, his nobility standing round about him in their degres, his imperiall mond or Iustice in his left of great riches: his 6. Crownes also, by which he holdeth his kingdomes were set before him, and the Lord Boris Pheodorowich was placed at his right hand: then the Metropolitan read openly a booke of a small volume, with exhortations to the Emperour to minister true Iustice, to inioy with tranquilitie the Crowne of his auncestors, which God had giuen him, and vsed these words following:

Through the will of the almighty & without beginning God, which was before this world, whom we glorifie in the Trinitie, one onely God, the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghost, maker of all things, worker of all in all euery where, fulfiller of all things, by which will, and working, he both liueth, and giueth life to man: that our only God which enspireth euery one of vs his only children with his word to discerne God through our Lord Iesus Christ, and the holy quickning spirit of life, now in these perilous times establish vs to keep the right Scepter, and suffer vs to raigne of our seruantes to the good profit of the land, to the subduing of the people, together with the enemies, & the maintenance of vertue. And so the Metropolitan blessed him and layd his crosse vpon him. After this, he was taken out of his chaire of Maiestie, hauing vpon him an vpper robe adorned with pretious stones of all sortes, orient pearles of great quantitie, but all wayes augmented in riches: it was in waight two hundred pounds, the traine, and parts thereof borne vp by 6. Dukes, his chiefe imperiall Crowne vpon his head very pretious: his staffe imperiall in his right hand of an vnicornes horne of three foot and a halfe in length beset with rich stones, bought of Merchants of Ausburge by the old Emperour in An. 1581. and cost him 7000. markes sterling. This Iewel M. Horsey kept sometimes, before the Emperor had it. His sceptor globe was caried before him by the prince Boris Pheodorowich, his rich cap beset with rich stones and pearles was caried before him by a Duke: his 6. Crownes also were caried by Demetrius Iuanowich Godonoua, the Emperors vncle, Mekita Romanowich the Emperors vncle, Stephan Vasiliwich, Gregory Vasiliwich, Ivan Vasiliwich brothers of the blood royal. Thus at all the Emperor came to the great Church doore, and the people cried, God saue our Emperour Theodor Iuanowich of all Russia. His horse was there ready most richly adorned, with a couering powdered pearle and precious stones, saddle, and all furniture agreeable to it, reported to be worth 300000. markes sterling.

There was a bridge made of 150. fadome in length, three maner of waies, three foote about the ground and two fadome broad, for him to goe from one Church to the other with his Princes and nobles from the presse of the people, which were in number infinite, and some at that time lost their breath with the throng. As the Emperour returned out of the Churches, they were faine to lay vnder foot with cloth of gold, the porches of the Churches with red velvet, the bridges with skarlet, and Cammell cloth from one church to another: and as soone as the Emperor was passed ouer the cloth of gold, velluet and scarlet was cut, and taken of those that could come by it, euery man desirous to haue a piece, to reserue it for a monument: siluer and gold coyne, then vpon

of

of purpose was cast among the people in great quantitie. The lord Boris Pheodorowich was sumptuously, and richly attired, with his garments decked with great orient pearle, beset with all sorts of precious stones. In like rich maner were appareled all the family of the Godonouaes in their degrees, with the rest of the princes, and nobilitie, whereof one named Knez Iuan Michalowich Glynsky, whose robe, horse, and furniture, was in register found worth one hundred thousand markes sterling, being of great antiquitie. The Empresse being in her pallace, was placed in her chaire of Maiestie also before a great open window: most precious, and rich were her robes, and shining to behold, with rich stones, and orient pearle beset, her crowne was placed vpon her head, accompanied with her Princesses, and Ladies of estate: then cried out the people, God preserue our noble Empresse Irenia. After all this the Emperour came into the Parliament house which was richly decked: there he was placed in his royall seat adorned as before: his 6. crownes were set before him vpon a table: the basin, and ewer royall of gold held by his knight of gard with his men standing two on each side in white apparell of cloth of siluer, called Rindyp, with sceptres, and battle axes of gold in their hands: the Princes, and nobilitie were all placed according to their degrees all in their rich roabs.

The Emperour after a short oration, permitted euery man in order to kisse his hande: which being done, he remoued to a princely seate prepared for him at the table: where he was serued by his nobles in very princely order. The three out roomes being very great, and large were beset with plate of golde, and siluer round, from the ground vp to the vaults one vpon the other: among which plate were many barrels of siluer and golde: this solemnitie, and triumph lasted a whole weeke, wherein many royall pastimes were shewed and vsed: after which the chiefest men of the nobilitie were elected to their places of office, & dignitie, as the Prince Boris Pheodorowich was made chiefe Counseller to the Emperor, Master of the horse, had the charge of his person, Liuetenant of the Empire, and Marshall of the engins, Gouernor or Liuetenant of the Empire of Cazan, and Astracan and others: to this dignitie were by Parliament, and gift of the Emperor giuen him many reuenues, and rich lands, as there was giuen him, and his for euer to inherite a prouince called Vaga, of 300. English miles in length, and 250. in breath, with many townes and great villages populous and wealthy, his yeerely reuenue out of that prouince, is 35. thousand markes sterling, being not the 5. part of his yerely reuenue. Further, he and his houlde be of such authoritie, and power, that in 40. dayes warning they are able to bring into the fielde 100. thousand Souldiers well furnished.

The conclusion of the Emperors Coronation was a peale of ordinance, called a peale royall two miles without the citie, being 170. great pieces of hasse of all sorts, as faire as any can be made, these pieces were all discharged with shot against bulwarkes made of purpose: 20. thousand harqubusers standing in 8. rankes two miles in length, appareled all in veluet, coloures like Cammels, discharged their shot also twise ouer in good order: and so the Emperor accompanied with all his princes and nobles, at the least 50. thousand horse departed through the City to his pallace. This royall coronation would aske much time, and many leaues of paper to be described particularly as it was performed: it shal suffice, to vnderstand that the like magnificence was neuer seene in Russia.

The coronation, and other triumphes ended, al the nobilitie, officers, and merchants according to an accustomed order euery one in his place, and degree brought rich presents vnto the Emperor, wishing him long life, and ioy in his kingdome.

The same time also Master Ierom Horsey aforesaid, remayning as seruant in Russia for the Queenes most excellent Maiestie, was called for to the Emperor, as he late in his imperiall seat, and then also a famous Merchant of Netherland being newly come to Mosco, (who gaue him selfe out to be the king of Spaines subiect) called Ioan de Wale, was in like sort called for. Some of the nobilitie would haue preferred this subiect of the Spaniard before Master Horsey seruant to the Queene of England, whereunto Master Horsey would in no case agree, saying he would haue his legges cut off by the knees, before he would yeeld to such an indignitie offered to his Soueraigne the Queenes Maiestie of England, to bring the Emperor a present, in competition after the King of Spaines subiect, or any other whatsoeuer. The Emperor, and the Prince Boris Pheodorowich perceiuing the controuersie, sent the Lord Treasorer Peter Iuanowich Golouyn, and Vasili Shalkan, both of the Counsell, to them, who deliuered the Emperor backe, Master Horseys speech: whereupon he was first in order (as good reason) admitted and presented the Emperor in the behalfe of the English Merchants trading thither, a present wishing him long to raigne in tranquilitie, and so kissed the Emperors hand, he accepting the present with great liking, and auouching, that for his sisters sake Queene Elizabeth of England, he would be a gracious Lord to her Merchants, in as ample maner as euer his father had ben: and being dismissed

Ioan de Wale.

he had the same day sent him 70. dishes of sundry kinds of meats, with 3. carts laden with al sorts of drinks very bountifully. After him was the Embassador subiect of the Spanish king admitted with his present, whom the Emperor willed to be no lesse faithfull and seruiceable vnto him, then the Queene of Englands subiects were & had bene, and then the king of Spaines subiects should receiue fauour accordingly.

All these things thus in order performed, praises were sung in all the churches. The Emperor and Empresse very deuoutly resorted on foote to many principal Churches in the Citie, and vpon Trinitie Sunday betooke themselues to a progresse in order of procession, to a famous monasterie called Sergius and the Trinitie, 60. miles distant from the Citie of Mosco, accompanied with a huge armie of Noblemen, Gentlemen and others, mounted vpon goodly horses with furniture accordingly.

The Empresse of deuotion tooke this iourney on foot all the way, accompanied with her princesses and ladies, no small number: her guard and gunners were in number 20000. her chiefe counseller or attendant, was a noble man of the blood Roial her vncle of great authoritie called Demetri Iuanowich Godonoua. All this progresse ended, both the Emperor and Empresse returned to Mosco: shortly after the Emperor by the direction of the prince Boris Pheodorowich, sent a power into the land of Siberia, where all the rich Sables & Furres are gotten. This power conquered in one yeere and a halfe, 1000. miles. In the performance of this warre, there was taken prisoner the Emperor of the country called Chare Sibersky, and with him many other dukes and noble men, which were brought to Mosko with a guard of souldiers and gunners, who were receiued into the citie in very honorable maner, and do there remaine to this day.

Chare Siberski prince of Siberia taken prisoner and brought to Mosco.

Hereupon the corrupt officers, Iudges, Iustices, captains and lieutenants through the whole kingdom were remooued, and more honest men substituted in their places, with expresse commandement, vnder seuere punishment to surcease their old bribing & extortion which they had vsed in the old Emperors time, and now to execute true iustice without respect of persons: and to the end that this might be the better done, their lands and yeerly stipends were augmented: the great tasks, customes, and duties, which were before layd vpon the people in the old Emperors time, were now abated, and some wholy remitted, and no punishments commanded to be vsed, without sufficient and due proofe, although the crime were capitall, deserving death: many Dukes and noble men of great houses, that were vnder displeasure, and imprisoned 20. yeeres by the old Emperor, were now set at libertie and restored to their lands: all prisoners were set at libertie, and their trespasses forgiuen. In summe, a great alteration vniuersally in the gouernment followed, and yet all was done quietly, ciuilly, peaceably, without trouble to the Prince, or offence to the Subiect: and this bred great assurance and honour to the prince, or offence to the wisedom especially of Irenia the Empresse.

Sophet Keri Alli king of the Crimmes arriual at Mosco.

These things being reported and caried to the eares of the kings and princes that were borderers vpon Russia, they grew so fearefull and terrible to them, that the Monarch of all the Scythians called the Crimme Tartar or great Can himselfe, named Sophet Keri Alli, came out of his owne country to the Emperor of Russia, accompanied with a great number of his nobilitie well disposed, although to them that were Christians they seemed rude, yet they were personable men, and valiant: their comming was gratefull to the Emperor, and their entertainment was honourable. the Tartar prince hauing brought with him his wiues also, receiued of the Russe Emperor entertainment, and princely welcome according to their estates.

Not long after, 1200. Polish gentlemen, valiant Souldiors, and proper men came to Mosko offring their seruice to the Emperor, who were all entertained: and in like sort many Chirkasses, and people of other nations came and offred seruice. And assoone as the report of this new created Emperor was spred ouer other kingdoms of Europe, there were sent to him sundry Ambassadors with himself and prosperitie in his kingdom: thither came Ambassadors from the Turke, from the Persian, the Bogharian, the Crimme, the Georgian, and many other Tartar princes. There came also Ambassadors from the Emperor of Almaine, the Pole, the Swethen, the Dane, &c. And at his coronation no enemie of his hath preuailed in his attempts.

It fell out not long after, that the Emperor was desirous to send a message to the most excellent Queene of England, for which seruice he thought no man fitter then M. Ierome Horsey, supposing that one of the Queenes owne men and subiects would be the more acceptable to her. The summe of which message was, that the Emperor desired a continuance of that league, friendship, trade and intercourse of traffique which was betweene his father and the Queens maiestie and subiects, with other priuate affaires besides, which are not to be made common.

The new Emperor Pheodore Iuanowich his letters and requests to the Queene.

Master Horsey hauing receiued the letters and requests of the Emperour, prouided for his iourney ouer land, and departed from Mosco the 5. day of September, thence vnto Onor, to

M. Horseis voiage frō Mosco to England ouerland.

Torshook, to great Nouogrod, to Vobsky, and thence to Nyhouse in Liuonia, to Wenden, and so to Riga: (where he was beset, and brought forthwith before a Cardinall called Rageuil, but yet suffred to passe in the end:) From thence to Mito, to Golden, and Libou in Curland, to Memel, to Koningsburgh in Prussia, to Elbing, to Dantzike, to Stetine in Pomerland, to Rostock, to Lubeck, to Hamborough, to Breme, to Emden, and by sea to London. Being arriued at her maiesties roiall court, and hauing deliuered the Emperors letters with good fauour, and gracious acceptance, he was forthwith againe commaunded to repaire into Russia, with other letters from her maiestie to the Emperor, and prince Boris Pheodorowich, answering the Emperors letters, and withall requesting the fauour and friendship, which his father had yeelded to the English merchants: and hereunto was he earnestly also solicited by the merchants of London themselues of that company, to deale in their behalfe. Being thus dispatched from London by sea, he arrived in Mosco, the 20. of April 1586. and was very honorably welcommed. And for y merchants behoofe, obtained all his requests, being therein specially fauoured by y noble prince Boris Pheodorowich, who alwayes affected M. Horsey with special liking. And hauing obtained priuiledges for the merchants, he was recommended from the Emperor againe, to the Queene of England his mistresse, by whom the prince Boris, in token of his honorable and good opinion of the Queens maiestie, sent her highnesse a roiall present of Sables, Luzarns, cloth of gold and other rich things. So that the Companie of English merchants, next to their thankfulnes to her maiestie, are to account M. Horseis paines their special benefit, who obtained for them those priuiledges, which in twentie yeeres before would not be granted.

1586

The maner of M. Horseis last dispatch from the Emperor, because it was very honorable, I thought good to record. He was freely allowed post horses for him and his seruants, victuals and all other necessaries for his long iourney: at euery towne that he came vnto from Mosco to Vologda, which is by land fiue hundred miles, he receiued the like free and bountifull allowances, at the Emperors charge. New victuall and prouision were giuen him vpon the riuer Dwina at euery towne by the kings officers, being one thousand miles in length. When he came to the new castle called Archangel, he was receiued of the Duke Knez Vasili Andrewich Isuenogorodsky by the Emperors commission into the Castle, gunners being set in rankes after their vse, where he was sumptuously feasted: from thence hee was dispatched with bountifull prouision and allowance in the Dukes boat, with one hundred men to rowe him, and one hundred Gunners in other boats to conduct him, with a gentleman captaine of the Gunners. Comming to the road where the English, Dutch, and French ships rode, the gunners discharged, and the ships shot in like maner 46. pieces of their ordinance, & so he was brought to his lodging at the English house vpon Rose Island.

And that which was the full and complete conclusion of the fauour of the Emperor and Boris Pheodorowich toward M. Horsey, there were the next day sent him for his further prouision vpon the sea by a gentleman and a captaine the things following.

16. liue oxen.	2. swans.
70. sheepe.	65. gallons of mead.
600. hens.	40. gallons of Aquauitæ.
25. flitches of Bacon.	60. gallons of beere.
80. bushels of meale.	3. yong beares.
600. loaues of bread.	4. hawkes.
2000. egs.	Store of onions and garlike.
10. geese.	10. fresh salmons.
2. cranes.	A wild boze.

All these things were brought him downe by a Gentleman of the Emperors, and another of prince Boris Pheodorowich, & were received in order by Iohn Prese seruant to M. Horsey, together with an honorable present and reward from the prince Boris, sent him by M. Francis Cherry an Englishman: which present was a whole very rich piece of cloth of gold, & a faire paire of sables. This Gentleman hath obserued many other rare things concerning those parts, which hereafter (God willing) at more conuenient time and laisure shall come to light.

Pheodor Iuanowich the new Emperors gracious letter of priuilege to the English Merchants word for word, obtained by M. *Ierome Horsey*.

Through the wil of the almightie, and without beginning God, which was before the world, whom we glorifie in y Trinitie, one only God the father, the sonne, and the holy ghost, maker of all things, worker of all in all euery where, fulfiller of all things, which will and working, he both loueth and giueth like to man, That our onely God

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which inspireth euery one of vs his onely children with his word, to discerne God through our Lord Iesus Christ, and the holy quickning spirit of life now in these perilous times, Establish vs to keep the right Sceptre, and suffer vs of our selues to raigne to the good profite of the land, and to the subduing of the people, together with the enemies, and to the maintenance of vertue.

We Pheodor the offspring of Iohn, the great Lord, Emperor, king and great prince of all Russia, of Volodemeria, Moscouia and Nouogrod, king of Cazan, king of Astracan, Lord of Plesko, and great prince of Smolensko, of Tuer, Yougoria, Permia, Viatsko, of Bolghar and others, lord and great prince of the land of the lower Nouogrod, Chernigo, Rezan, Polotsko, Rostow, Yeraslaue, the White lake, Liefland, Oudor, Condensa, and Ruler of all Siberia, and all the Northin Abermen, sir George Barnes, Thomas Smith esquire, Ierome Horsey, Richard Salconstall, with their fellowes.

I haue licensed them to saile with their shippes into our dominion the land of Dwina, with all kind of commodities to trade freely, and vnto our kingdom and the citie of Mosco, and to all the cities of our empire of Moscouia.

And the english merchants sir Rowland Haiward & his societie desired vs, that we would graunt them to trade into our kingdom of Moscouia, and into our heritage of great Nouogrod and Plesko, and into all parts of our kingdom, to buy and sell with their wares without custome.

Therefore we for our sisters sake Queene Elizabeth, & also because that they allege that they had great losse and hinderance by the venture of the sea, and otherwise, haue gratified the said English merchants sir Rowland Haiward and his societie, freely to come into our kingdom of Moscouia, and into al our dominions with al kind of commodities, to trade, & traffique freely, & at their pleasure with all kind of their commodities: also I haue commanded not to take any maner of custome for their goods, nor other customs whatsoeuer: That is to say, neither for passing by any place by water, nor for lanching, neither for passing through any place by land, neither for the selling of boats, nor for their heads, nor for passing ouer bridges, nor for ferying ouer at any place, neither for acknowledgement at any place where they shall come, nor any maner of custome or duie, by what name soeuer.

Only they shal not bring with them into our dominions, neither recarie out of our dominions, by father any other mens goods but their owne, neither sell them nor barter them away for them.

Also our naturall people shall not buy and sell for them, or from them, neither shal they retaine or keepe any of our naturall subiects goods, or pawnes by them to colour them.

Also they shall not send any of their Russe seruants about into any citie to ingrosse, or buy vp commodities, but into what citie they themselues shal come, they shal buy and sel, and shal sel their owne commodities and not ours.

And when they shal come into our inheritance of great Nouogrod and Plesko, and through all our dominions with their commodities, then our noblemen and captains, and euery one of our officers shall suffer them to depart according to this our letter, & shall take no custom at all of them, for any of their commodities, neither for passing through or passing by, nor for passage ouer any bridges, nor shall take of them any other dutie whatsoeuer name they haue.

Also into what places of our dominion, or when they shal happen to come, and to proceed to buy or sell, and whersoeuer they shall passe through with goods not buying of any commodities, neither will sell their owne, then in those cities and townes they shall take no maner of custome or dutie of them, accordingly as before.

And I haue gratified them and giuen them free leaue to traffique throughout all the dominions of our kingdom in all cities with their goods, to buy and sell all maner of commodities, without any dutie or custome whatsoeuer.

And the English merchants where they are desirous to buy or sell, or barter their wares with our merchants, whole wares for wares, they shal sell their commodities whole, and not by retaile: That is to say, neither by small weight nor by the yard, to sell or barter in their owne houses, and they shal sel and barter their wares wholy, Cloth by the packe, and by the whole Cloth, and Damaske and veluet by the piece and not by the yard, and al maner of commodities that are to be sold by weight, not to sell by the small weights, as by the pound and ounce, but by whole sale: also they shall sel wines by the pipe: and by the gallon, quart or scoope they shal not sell.

And they shall buy, sell and exchange their owne commodities themselues, and the Russe merchants shall not make sales or exchange for them or from them any of their commodities, neither shall they themselues conuey or carry through any other mans goods at no place in stead of their owne: and which of the English merchants will at any time sell his commodities at Colmogro or

Vologda or Yeraſlaue, they may, and of their commodities throughout all our cities and dominions, our noblemen, captains, and euery of our officers ſhall take no maner of cuſtome, according as it is written in this our gracious letter: and throughout all our dominions and cities they ſhall hire carriers and veſſels with men to labour, at their owne charge, to tranſport their goods.

So likewiſe, whenſoeuer the Engliſh merchants are diſpoſed to depart out of our kingdom into any other countrey or into their owne land, if our pleaſure be, they ſhall take our goods with them from our Treaſurie, and ſhall ſell them, and exchange them for ſuch commoditie as is commodious for our kingdom, and ſhall deliuer it into our Treaſurie, and with thoſe our commodities, our Noblemen and captains, and euery of our officers ſhall let them paſſe through all our cities alſo without cuſtome according to theſe our letters.

Alſo whenſoeuer the Engliſh merchants ſhall haue ſold their own goods & bought themſelues commodities, & will depart out of Moſco, then they ſhal manifeſt themſelues to our chiefe Secretarie Andrew Sholkaloue, in the office where the Ambaſſadors are alwayes diſpatched.

And if the Engliſh merchants comming, haue had any miſchance by the ſea, inſomuch that the ſhip be broken, or if that ſhip do come to any part of our countrey: then we will cauſe the goods to be ſought out in true Iuſtice, and to be giuen to the Engliſh people, which at that time ſhall be here reſident in our countrey: and if ſo be that it ſo fall out that at that time there be no Engliſhmen within our realme: then will we cauſe theſe goods to be laid vp in a place together, and when the people of England ſhall come into our realme, then we will command all thoſe goods to be deliuered to the ſayd Engliſh people.

Alſo we haue gratified all the Engliſh merchants with the houſe of one Vrie here in the Moſco right ouer againſt S. Maximes church behind the market, and they ſhal dwel in the ſame houſe according as before time, and they ſhall keepe one alwayes in the houſe to keepe it, either a Ruſſe, or one of their owne people.

Alſo the Engliſh merchants ſhal poſſeſſe their houſes, to wit, at Yeraſlaue, Vologda, Colmogro, and the houſe at the hauen of the ſea, & they ſhal dwel in thoſe houſes, according as our goonnes hath bene to them heretofore: and we haue commanded, that there ſhall not be taken of them no yeerely rent, nor no maner of cuſtome, tare, rent or any other dutie whatſoeuer for thoſe houſes, neither ſhal they pay any dutie or tare with any of the townſmen of thoſe places, & in euery one of thoſe houſes, to wit, at Yeraſlaue, Vologda, and Colmogro, they ſhall haue men to keepe their houſes, two or three of their owne countrey people, ſtrangers or els Ruſſes, men of the meaneſt ſort, which ſhall be no merchants, that they may lay their goods in thoſe houſes, and they may ſell the commodities out of thoſe their houſes to whom they pleaſe, according to this our gracious letter: and thoſe that keepe their houſes ſhall not ſell or buy no part of their commoditie, except they be there or giue order, whereby they be not deceiued by them.

So likewiſe I haue gratified them with their houſe at the ſea hauen, at the mouth of Podzemsky, & we haue commanded that they ſhal not carry their goods from thence to the new caſtle S. Michael the archangel, but ſhall ariue, and doe as they haue done heretofore with their wares at that their houſe, and ſhall vnlade their commodities out of their ſhips, and ſhal lade them again with Ruſſe commodities, euen there at that their houſe without interruption: onely they ſhal permit our officers of Colmogro & ſworn men to write vp thoſe commodities, both the commodities of England, and thoſe of Ruſſeland, what the merchants ſhal declare themſelues, & no other wiſe, but they ſhal not ouerlooke their commodities, neither ſhal they vnbind any of their packs.

And when the Engliſh merchants are diſpoſed to ſend into their owne countrey, to wit, any of their owne people on land through any other kingdom whatſoeuer, they ſhall not ſend their people without our kingly knowledge and commandement, and which of their people ſo euer they meane to ſend out of our kingdom into their owne countrey, then they ſhal ſend thoſe their people, not without our kingly maieſties knowledge, to wit, thoſe that go of pleaſure without carying any commodities with them, and they ſhall haue a letter of paſſe giuen vnto them, out of the office where the Ambaſſadors haue alwayes their diſpatch.

And whoſoeuer hath any thing to doe with them in matters of controuerſie, either concerning merchandize or iniuries, then they are to be iudged by our treaſurers and Secretarie of the Ambaſſadors office to do iuſtice betweene both parties, & to ſeek out the trueth of matters in all things: and whatſoeuer cannot be found out by the Law, ſhalbe tried by othe and lots: whoſe lot ſoeuer is taken fooꝛth, him to haue right.

And in what place of all our kingdom, in what citie ſoeuer they or their people ſhall bee, and that there happen any matter of controuerſie, either concerning merchandiſe, iniuries or otherwiſe, that they haue occaſion to ſet vpon any man by lawe, or that any ſeeke vpon them, concerning what matter ſoeuer in all our kingdom and cities, then our lieutenants, captains, and

our officers ſhall giue them Iuſtice, and ſhall miniſter all true iuſtice betweene them, ſeeking out the truth: and what cannot be truly ſought by law, ſhalbe ſought out by the and lot: whoſe lot ſoeuer is taken out, him to haue right accordingly as before, and the Iudges or Iuſtices ſhall take of them no kind of dutie, for matters of law no where throughout all our realmes. This letter is giuen in our princely palace within the citie of Moſco, in the yeere from the foundation of the world, ſeuen thouſand foureſcore and fifteene in the moneth of February.

The Ambaſſage of M. *Giles Fletcher*, Doctor of the Ciuil Law, ſent from her Maieſtie to *Theodor* the Emperor of Ruſſia, *Anno 1588.*

IN the yeere 1588. was ſent Ambaſſador from her highneſſe into the countrey of Ruſſia, Giles Fletcher Doctor of the Ciuil Lawe, as well to treat with the new Emperor Pheodor Iuanowich, about league and amitie, in like maner as was before with his father Iuan Vaſilowich, as alſo for the reeſtabliſhing and reuoking into order the decaied trade of our Engliſhmen there. Who notwithſtanding at his firſt arriuall at the Moſco, found ſome parts of hard entertainment, by meanes of certaine rumors concerning the late nauall victory which was there reported to haue fallen on the Spaniſh ſide, as alſo for ſome diſlike conceiued againſt the priuileged trade of our Engliſh merchãts. Yet in the end he obtained of the Emperour many good & equall conditions, and was curteouſly and honourably diſmiſſed by him. The principall points which he entreated of, and were granted vnto him by the ſaid Emperor, were theſe:

1 A continuation of league and amitie betweene her Highneſſe and the ſayd Emperour *Pheodor Iuanowich*, in like maner as was before with his father *Iuan Vaſilowich*.

2 A confirmation and reeſtabliſhment of the former priuiledges of the Companie of our Engliſh merchants, which were infringed and annulled in the principal points, with diuers neceſſary additions to the ſame, for the better ordering of their trade in thoſe countreys hereafter, viz. That the ſtate of the priuiledge granted before in the names of ſome priuate and particular men, be altered in that point, and the ſame granted by the name and ſtile of their incorporation, viz. To the felowſhip of Engliſh merchants for the diſcouerie of new trades.

3 That vpon euery ſurmiſe and light quarel, the ſaid priuiledge be not reuoked and annulled, as before time it hath bene.

4 That iuſtice ſhall be adminiſtred to the ſaid Companie and their Agent without delay, vpon ſuch as ſhal offer them any deſpite or iniurie, or ſhal exact or impoſe vpon them any paiment, taxation or impoſition whatſoeuer, contrary to the freedome of the ſaid grant.

5 That the goods & commodities of the ſaid Companie, be not forcibly taken as before time they had bene by the Emperors officers or people of authoritie, either for the vſe of the ſaid Emperor or of his officers. But in caſe they haue need of the ſaid commodities, the ſame to be taken at reaſonable prices, and for ready money.

6 That the ſaid Companie be not charged hereafter with the anſwering of ſuch debts as are made by any Engliſhman not being of the ſocietie.

7 That the Emperors authorized people ſhall not hereafter repute any Engliſhman reſident in that countrey, to be any factor, ſeruant, or dealer in the ſaid Companies affaires, but ſuch as the Agent ſhall inregiſter by name, within the offices where cuſtome is entered in all ſuch places of the land where the ſayd Companie haue reſidencies to traffike.

8 That the names of ſuch as ſhall ſo be inregiſtred be no longer continued in record, nor themſelues reputed as factors or dealers for the ſaid Companie, then the Agent ſhall thinke good. But in caſe the ſaid Agent in his diſcretion ſhall thinke meet to ſtrike out of the Regiſter any name of ſuch as haue bene imployed in the Companies ſeruice, the ſaid perſon to be held priuate, & whoſe acte in bargaining or otherwiſe, ſhall not charge the ſaid Companie.

9 That if any Engliſh man within the countrey of Ruſſia be ſuſpected for any notorious crime, as felony, treaſon, &c. the ſame be not ſtraightwaies ſet vpõ the *Pudkey, nor otherwiſe puniſhed, till ſuch time as he ſhall be conuicted by plaine and euident proofes: which being *It is reſting to be ſeen.
done, the whole proceeding to be ſent ouer to the Queene of England.

10 That the ſaid priuiledge with the additions, ſhall be publiſhed in all townes and parts of the Emperors dominions, where the ſaid Companie haue traffike.

11 That the ſaid Companie ſhall be permitted to vſe a ſole trade through the Emperours countries, by the riuer Volga into Media, Perſia, Bogharia, and the other the Eaſt countries.

12 Whereas there was claimed of the ſaid Companie the ſumme of 23553. markes of

debt, made by certaine of their factors for the said company, for paiment whereof, their whole stocke was in danger of arrest, by publike authoritie: Further also 3140. rubbles for custome and houserent, he obtained a rebatement of eighteene thousand, one hundred fiftie and three marks of the sayd debt.

The late Ambassador M. Giles Fletcher, as I vnderstand, hath drawen a booke intituled, Of the Russe Common wealth, containing:

First, a Cosmographicall description of the countrey, which hath these chapters.

1 Of the length and bredth of the countrey of Russia, with the names of the shires.
2 Of the soile and climate.
3 Of the native commodities of the countrey.

Secondly, a description of their policie contained in these Chapters, viz.

1 Of the constitution or state of the Russe Common wealth.
2 Of their Parliaments, and maner of holding them.
3 Of the Russe Nobilitie and meanes whereby it is kept in an vnder proportion agreeable to that state.
4 Of the maner of gouerning their prouinces or shires.
5 Of the Emperours priuie counsell.
6 Of the Emperors customs & their reuenues, with the practises for the increase of them.
7 Of the Russe communaltie and their condition.
8 Of their publike iustice and maner of proceeding therein.
9 Of the Emperors forces for his warres, with the chiefe officers, and their salarie or pay.
10 Of their maner of mustering armour, and prouision for victuall.
11 Of their ordering, marching, charging, and their martiall discipline.
12 Of their colonies and policie in maintaining their purchases by conquest.
13 Of their borderers with whom they haue most to doe in warre and peace.
14 Of their church offices and degrees.
15 Of their liturgie or forme of Church seruice.
16 Of their maner of administring the Sacraments.
17 Of the doctrine of the Russe church.
18 Of the maner of solemnizing their mariages.
19 Of the other ceremonies of the Russe church.

Thirdly, the Oeconomie or priuate behauiour of the Russe containing these chapters.

1 Of the Emperors houshold officers, and order of his house.
2 Of the priuate behauiour and maner of the Russe people.

The description of the countrey of *Russia*, with the bredth, length, and names of the Shires.

THe countrey of Russia was somtimes called Sarmatia. It changed the name (as some do suppose) for that it was parted into diuers smal, and yet absolute gouernments, not depending, nor being subiect the one to the other. For Russe in that tongue doeth signifie as much as to part, or deuide. The Russe reporteth that foure brethren, Truber, Rurico, Sinees, and Varius deuided among them the North parts of the country. Likewise that the South parts were possessed by 4. other, Kio, Scieko, Choranus, and their sister Libeda: each calling his territorie after his own name. Of this partition it was called Russia, about the yere from Christ 860. As for the coniecture which I find in some Cosmographers, that the Russe nation borrowed the name of the people called Roxellani, & were the very same nation with them, it is without all good probabilitie, both in respect of the etymologie of the word (which is very farre) and especially for the seat and dwelling of that people, which was betwixt the two riuers of Tanais and Boristhenes, (as Strabo reporteth) quite another way from the countrey of Russia.

Strabo in his 7. booke of Geogr.

When it hare the name of Sarmatia, it was deuided into two chiefe parts: the White and the Black. The white Sarmatia was all that part that lieth towards the North, & on the side of Liefland: as the prouinces now called Dwina, Vagha, Vstiug, Vologda, Cargapolia, Nouogrodia, &c. whereof Nouogrod velica was the Metropolite or chiefe citie. Black Sarmatia was al that countrey that lieth Southward towards the Euxin or Black sea: as the dukedome of Volodemer, Mosco, Rezan, &c. Some haue thought that the name of Sarmatia was first taken frō one Sarmates, whom Moses & Iosephus cal Asarmathes sonne to Iokean, & nephew to Heber, of the posterity of Sem. But this seemeth to be nothing but a coniecture taken out of the likenes of the name Asarmathes. For the dwelling of all Iokeans posteritie is described by Moses to haue bene betwixt Mescha or Masius (an hil of the Ammonites) & Sephace, nere to the riuer Euphrates: which ma-

Gen. 10. Iosephi. l. 1. ca. 14

hit

hath it very unlikely that Aſſarmathes ſhould plant any colonies ſo far off in ꝑ Nozth & nozthweſt countries. It is bounded nozthward by the Lappes & the Nozth Ocean. On the Southſide by the Tartars called Crimmes. Eaſtward they haue the Nagaian Tartar, that poſſeſſeth all the countrey on the Eaſt ſide of Volga towards the Caſpian ſea. On the Weſt and Southweſt bozder lieth Lituania, Liuonia and Polonia. The bozders of Ruſſia.

The whole Countrey being nowe reduced vnder the gouernment of one, conteineth theſe chiefe Pzouinces oz Shires. Volodemer, (which beareth the firſt place in the Emperours ſtile, becauſe their houſe came of the Dukes of that Countrey) Moſco, Niſnouogrod, Pleſko, Smolensko, Nouogrod velica (oz Nouogrod of the low Countrey) Roſtoue, Yaruſlaue, Bealozera, Rezan, Duyna, Cargapolia, Meſchora, Vagha, Vſtuga, Ghaletſa. Theſe are the naturall ſhires pertayning to Ruſſia, but farre greater and larger then the ſhires of England, though not ſo well peopled. The other Countreys oz pzouinces which the Ruſſe Emperours haue gotten perforce and of late to their other dominion, are theſe which followe, Twerra, Youghoria, Permia, Vadika, Boulghoria, Chernigo, Oudoria, Obdoria, Condora, with a great part of Siberia: where the people though they be not naturall Ruſſes, yet obey the Emperour of Ruſſia, and are ruled by the Lawes of his Countrey, paying cuſtomes and taxes, as his owne people doe. Beſides theſe he hath vnder him the kingdomes of Cazan and Aſtracan, gotten by conqueſt not long ſince. As foz all his poſſeſſion in Lituania (to the number of 30. great Townes and moze,) with Narue and Dorp in Liuonia, they are quite gone, being ſurpziſed of late yeeres by the Kings of Poland and Sweden. Theſe Shires and Pzouinces are reduced all into foure Juriſdictions, which they call Cherſyrds (that is) Tetrarchies, oz Fourthparts. The Shires of Ruſſia. The Pzouinces oz Countries got by conqueſt.

The whole Countrey is of great length and bzeadth. From the Nozth to the South (if you meaſure from Cola to Aſtracan which bendeth ſomewhat Eaſtward) it reacheth in length about 4160. berſt, oz miles. Notwithſtanding the Emperour of Ruſſia hath moze territozie Nozthward, farre beyond Cola vnto the Riuer of Tromſchua, that runneth a hundzed berſt, welnigh beyond Pechinga, neere to Wardhouſe, but not intire noz clearely limited, by reaſon of the kings of Sweden and Denmarke, that haue diuers Townes there, aſwell as the Ruſſe, plaited together the one with the other: euery one of them claiming the whole of thoſe Nozth parts as his owne right. The bzeadth (if you go from that part of his territozie that lyeth fartheſt Weſtward on the Narue ſide, to the parts of Siberia Eaſtward, where the Emperour hath his garriſons) is 4400. berſt oz thereabouts. A berſt (by their reckoning) is a 1000. paces, yet leſſe by one quarter then an Engliſh mile. If the whole dominion of the Ruſſe Emperour were all habitable, and peopled in all places, as it is in ſome, he would either hardly holde it all within one regiment, oz be ouer mighty foz all his neighbour Pzinces. The bzeadth and length of the Countrey. Pechinga.

Of the Soile and Climate.

The ſoyle of the Countrey foz the moſt part is of a fleighte ſandie mouldy, yet very much different one place from another, foz the yeeld of ſuch things as grow out of the earth. The Countrey Nozthwards towards the parts of S. Nicholas and Cola, and Nozthealt towards Siberia, is all very barren, and full of deſert woods by reaſon of the Climate, and extremitie of the colde in Winter time. So likewiſe along the Riuer Volgha betwixt the Countreys of Cazan, and Aſtracan: where (notwithſtanding the ſoyle is very fruitfull) it is all vnhabited, ſauing that vpon the riuer Volgha on the Weſtſide, the Emperour hath ſome fewe Caſtels with garriſons in them. This happeneth by meanes of the Crimme Tartar, that will neither himſelfe plant Townes to dwell there, (liuing a wild and vagrant like) noz ſuffer the Ruſſe (that is farre off with the ſtrength of his Countrey) to people thoſe parts. From Vologda (which lyeth almoſt 1700. berſt from the poſt of S. Nicholas) downe towards Moſco, and ſo towards the South part that bendeth vpon the Crimme, (which conteineth the like ſpace of 1700. berſt oz there abouts) is a very fruitfull and pleaſant Countrey, peeloing paſture, and corne, with woods and waters in bewty great plentie. The like is betwixt Rezan (that lyeth Southeaſt from Moſco) to Nouogrod and Vobsko, that reach farthelt towards the Nozthweſt. So betwixt Moſco, and Smolensko (that lyeth Southweſt towards Liuania) is a very fruitfull and pleaſant ſoile.

The whole Countrey differeth very much from it ſelfe, by reaſon of the yeere: ſo that a man would marueile to ſee the great alteration and difference betwixt the Winter, and the Summer time. The whole Countrey in the Winter lieth vnder ſnow, which falleth continually, and is ſometime of a yard oz two thicke, but greater towards the Nozth. The Riuers and other waters are all frozen vp a yard oz moze thicke, how ſwift oz bzoade ſo euer they bee. And this continueth commonly fiue moneths, viz. from the beginning of Nouember till towardes the ende of

March,

The colde of Russia.

March, what time the snow beginneth to melt. So that it would breede a frost in a man to looke abroad at that time, and see the Winter face of that Countrey. The sharpenesse of the aire you may iudge of by this: for that water dropped downe or cast vp into the aire congealeth into yce before it come to the ground. In the extremitie of Winter, if you holde a pewter dish or pot in your hand, or any other mettall (except in some chamber where their warme stoues bee) your fingers will frieze fast vnto it, and draw off the skinne at the parting. When you passe out of a warme roome into a colde, you shall sensibly feele your breath to wax starke, and euen freezing with the colde, as you draw it in and out. Diuers not onely that trauell abroad, but in the very markets, and streetes of their Townes, are mortally pinched and killed withall: so that you shall see many drop downe in the streetes; many trauellers brought into the Townes sitting dead and stiffe in their Sleds. Diuers lose their noses, the tips of their eares, and the bals of their cheekes, their toes, feete, &c. Many times (when the Winter is very hard and extreeme) the beares and woolues issue by troupes out of the woods driuen by hunger, and enter the villages, tearing and rauening all they can finde: so that the inhabitants are faine to flie for safegard of their liues. And yet in the Sommer time you shal see such a new hiew and face of a Countrey, the woods (in the most part which are all of firre and birch) so fresh and so sweete, the pastures and meadowes so greene and well growen, (and that vpon the sudden) such varietie of flowers, such noyse of birdes (specially of Nightingales, that seeme to be more lowde and of a more variable note then in other Countreys) that a man shall not lightly trauell in a more pleasant Countrey.

And this fresh and speedy growth of the Spring there seemeth to proceede from the breathe of the snow: which all the Winter time being spread ouer the whole Countrey as a white robe, and keeping it warme from the rigour of the frost, in the Spring time (when the Sunne warmeth warme, and dissolueth it into water) doeth so throughly drench and soake the ground, that is some what of a sleight and sandie mould, and then shineth so hotely vpon it againe, that it draweth the hearbes and plants forth in great plentie and varietie, in a very short time. As the Winter exceedeth in colde, so the Sommer inclineth to ouer much heat, specially in the monethes of June, July and August, being much warmer then the Sommer aire in England.

The Countrey throughout is very well watred with springs, riuers, and Ozeraes, or lakes. Wherein the prouidence of God is to be noted, for that much of the Countrey being so farre inland, as that some part lieth a thousand miles and more euery way from any Sea, yet it is serued with faire Riuers, and that in very great number, that emptie themselues one into another, runne all into the Sea. Their lakes are many and large, some of 60, 80, 100, and 200, miles long, with breadth proportionate.

The chiefe Riuers of Russia.

The chiefe Riuers are these, First, Volgha, that hath his head or spring at the roote of an Aldertree, about 200. verst aboue Yaruslaue, and groweth so bigge by the encrease of other Riuers by that time it commeth thither, that it is broad an English mile and more, and so runneth into the Caspian sea, about 2800. verst or miles of length.

The next is Boristhenes (now called Neper) that diuideth the Countrey from Lituania, and falleth into the Euxin sea.

The third Tanais or Don, (the ancient bounder betwixt Europe and Asia) that taketh his head out of Rezan Ozera, and so running through the Countrey of the Chrim Tartar, falleth into the great Sea, lake, or meare, (called Mæotis) by the Citie of Azou. By this Riuer (as the Russe reporteth) you may passe from their Citie Mosco to Constantinople, and so into all those parts of the world by water, drawing your boate (as their maner is) ouer a little Isthmus or narrowe slip of land, a few verstes ouerthwart. Which was proued not long since by an Ambassadour sent to Constantinople, who passed the Riuer of Moscua, and so into another called Ocka, where he drew his boat ouer into Tanais, and thence passed the whole way by water.

The fourth is called Duyna, many hundred miles long, that falleth Northward into the bay of S. Nicholas, and hath great Alabaster rockes on the bankes towards the sea side.

The fifth Duna, that emptieth into the Baltick sea by the towne Riga.

The sixt Onega, that falleth into the Bay at Solouetsko 90. verst from the port of S. Nicholas. This Riuer, below the towne Cargapolia, meeteth with the Riuer Volock, that falleth into the Finland Sea by the towne Yama. So that from the port of S. Nicholas into the Finland sea, and so into the Sound, you may passe all by water, as hath bene tried by the Russe.

The seuenth Suchana, that floweth into Duyna, and so into the North sea.

The eight Ocka, that fetcheth his head from the borders of the Chrim, and streameth into Volgha.

The ninth Moscua, that runneth thorow the Citie Mosco, and giueth it the name.

There is Wichida also a very large and long riuer that riseth out of Permia, and falleth into Volgha

Volgha. All theſe are riuers of very large ſtreames, the leaſt to be compared to the Thames in bignelle, and in length farre more, beſides diuers other. The Pole at Moſco is 55. degrees 10. minutes. At the port of S. Nicholas towards the North 63. degrees and 50. minutes.

The natiue commodities of the Countrey.

The fruits and graine of Ruſsia.

FOr kinds of fruites, they haue Apples, peares, plummes, cherries, red and blacke, (but the blacke ſorte) a deene like a muſke millian, but more ſweete and pleaſant, cucumbers and gourds (which they call Arbouſe) raſps, ſtrawberies, and hurtilberies, with many other berries in great quantitie in euery wood and hedge. Their kindes of graine are wheat, rie, barley, oates, peaſe, buckwap, piſnycha, that in taſte is ſomewhat like to rice. Of all theſe graines the Countrey yeeldeth very ſufficient with an ouerplus quantitie, ſo that wheate is ſolde ſometime for two altens or ten pence ſtarling the Chetfird, which maketh almoſt three Engliſh buſhels.

Their rie is ſowed before the Winter, all their other graine in the Spring time, and for the moſt part in May. The Permians and ſome other that dwell farre North, and in deſert places, are ſerued from the parts that lye more Southward, and are forced to make bread ſometimes of a kinde of roote (called Vaghnoy) and of the middle rine of the firre tree. If there be any dearth (as they accompted this laſt yeere Anno 1588. wheat and rie being at 13. altens, or 5. ſhillings fiue pence ſtarling the Chetfird) the fault is rather in the practiſe of their Nobilitie that vſe to engroſſe it, then in the Countrey it ſelfe.

The chiefe commodities of the Countrey. 1. Furres.

The natiue commodities of the Countrey (wherewith they ſerue both their owne turnes, and ſomuch abroad to the great enriching of the Emperor, and his people) are many & ſubſtantiall, furres of all ſorts. Wherein the prouidence of God is to be noted, that prouideth a naturall remedie for them, to helpe the naturall inconuenience of their Countrey by the cold of the Climat. Their chiefe furres are theſe, Blacke fox, Sables, Luſernes, dun fox, Martrones, Gurneſtalles or Armins, Laſets or Miniuer, Beuer, Wuluerins, the skin of a great water Rat that ſmelleth naturally like muske, Calaber or gray ſquirrel, red ſquirrel, red & white fox. Beſides the great quantitie ſpent within the Countrey (the people being clad al in furres the whole winter) there are tranſported out of the Countrey ſome yeeres by the merchants of Turkie, Perſia, Bougharia, Georgia, Armenia, and ſome other of Chriſtendom, to the value of foure or fiue hundred thouſand rubles, as I haue heard of the merchants. The beſt Sable furre groweth in the countrey of Pechora, Momgoſorskoy and Obdorskoy, the worſer ſort in Siberia, Perm, & other places. The blacke fort and red come out of Siberia, white and dunne from Pechora, whence alſo come the white wolfe, and white Beare ſkin. The beſt Wuluerin alſo thence and from Perm. The beſt Martrons are from Siberia, Cadam, Morum, Perm, and Cazan. Luſerns, Mineuer, and Armins, the beſt are out of Gallets, and Ouglits, many from Nouogrod and Perm. The Beauer of the beſt ſort heereth in Murmonskey by Cola. Other common furres, and moſt of theſe kindes grow in many, and ſome in all parts of the Countrey.

These Rats are in Canada.

Momgoſorskoy perhaps Molgomzna.

2. Ware.

The ſecond commoditie is of Ware, whereof hath bene ſhipped into forreigne countreys (as I haue heard it reported by thoſe that beſt know it) the ſumme of 50000. pood yeerely, euery pood conteyneth 40. pound, but now about 10000. pood a yeere.

3. Hony.

The third is their Honie, whereof beſides an exceeding great quantitie ſpent in their ordinary drinkes (which is Mead of all ſorts) and their other vſes, ſome good quantitie is caried out of the Countrey. The chiefe encreaſe of hony is in Mordua and Cadam neere to the Cheremiſſen Tartar: much out of Seuerskoy, Rezan, Morum, Cazan, Dorogoboſe, and Vaſma.

4. Tallots.

Fourthly, of Tallow they alſoo haue a great waight for tranſportation: not onely for that their Countrey hath very much good ground apt for paſturage of cattell, but alſo by reaſon of their many faſtes and other faſtes: and partly becauſe their greater men vſe much ware for their lights, the poorer and meaner ſort birch dried in their ſtoaues, and cut into long ſhiuers, which they call Lucken. Of tallow there hath bene ſhipped out of the Realme a few yeeres ſince about 100000. pood yeerely, now not paſt 30000. or thereabouts. The beſt yeeld of tallow is in the parts and territories of Smolensko, Yaruſlauc, Ouglits, Nouogrod, and Vologda, Otſer, and Gorodetskey.

5. Hides.

An other principall commoditie is their Loth and Cow hide. Their Loth or Buffe hide is very great and large. Their bull and cowe hide (for oxen they make none, neither yet weather) is of a meane ſiſe. There hath bene tranſported by merchants ſtrangers ſome yeres 100000. hides. Now the number is decreaſed to 30000. or thereabouts. Beſides great ſtore of goates ſkinnes, whereof great number are ſhipped out of the countrey. The largeſt kinde of Loth or Buffe breedeth about Rogoue, Wichida, Nouogrod, Morum, and Perm. The leſſer ſort within the kingdome of Cazan.

6. Trane oyle.

An other very great and principall commoditie is their Trane oyle, drawen out of the Seal fiſh,

The maner of hunting the Seals fish.

fish. Where it will not be impertinent to shewe the maner of their hunting the Seal, which they make this ople of: which is in this sort. Towards the ende of Sommer (before the frost beginne) they goe downe with their boates into the Bay of S. Nicholas, to a cape called Cusconesse or Noznose, where they leaue their boats till the next spring tide. When the Sunne wareth warme towards the spring, and yet the yce not melted within the Bay, they returne thither againe. Then drawing their boates ouer the sea yce, they vse them for houses to rest and lodge in. There are commonly about 17. or 18. fleete of them, of great large boates, which diuide themselues into seuers companies, fiue or sixe boats in a consort.

They that first finde the haunt, fire a beacon, which they carry with them for the nonce. Which being espied by the other companies, by such among them as are appointed of purpose, they come altogether and compasse the Seales round about in a ring, that lie sunning themselues together vpon the yce, commonly foure or fiue thousand in a shoale, and so they inuade them euery man with his club in his hand. If they hit them on the nose, they are soone killed. If on the sides or backe they beare out the blow, and many times so catch and holde downe the clubbe with their teeth by maine force, that the partie is forced to call for helpe to his fellowes.

The maner of the Seals is when they see themselues beset, to gather all close together in a throng or plumpe, to sway downe the yce, and to breake it (if they can) which so beateth the yce that many times it taketh the sea water vpon it, and maketh the hunters to wade a foote or more deepe. After the slaughter when they haue killed what they can, they fall to sharing euery man his part in equall portions: and so they flay them, taking from the body the skin, and the lard with all that cleaueth to the skin. This they take with them, leauing the bodies behind, and go to shore. Where they digge pits in the ground of a fadome and an halfe deepe, or thereabout, and so taking the fat or lard off from the skinne, they throw it into the pit, and cast in among it hot burning stones to melt it withall. The vppermost and purest is sold, and vsed to oile wool for cloth, the groser (that is of a red colour) they sell to make sope.

7. Ickary. Likewise of Ickary or Cauery, a great quantitie is made vpon the riuer of Volgha out of the fish called Bellougina, the Sturgeon, the Seueriga and the Sterledey. Whereof the most part is shipped by French and Netherlandish merchants for Italy and Spaine, some by English merchants.

8. Hempe and Flaxe. The next is of Flax and Hempe, whereof there hath bene shipped (as I haue heard merchants say) at the port of Narue a great part of 100. ships small and great yerely. Now, not past fiue. The reason of this abating and decrease of this & other commodities, that were wont to be transported in a greater quantitie, is the shutting vp of the port of þ Narue towards the Finland sea, which now is in the handes and possession of the Sweden. Likewise the stopping of the passage ouerland by the way of Smolensko, & Plotsko, by reason of their warres with the Polonian, which causeth the people to be lesse prouident in manteining and gathering these and like commodities, for that they lacke sales. For the growth of flaxe the prouince of Vobsko, and the countrey about is the chiefe and onely place. For Hempe Smolensko, Dorogobose and Vasma.

9. Salt. The countrey besides maketh great store of salt. Their best salt is made at Stararouse in very great quantitie, where they haue great store of salt wels, about 250. verst from the sea. At Astracan salt is made naturally by the sea water, that casteth it vp into great hils, and so it is digged downe, and caried away by the merchants and other that will fetch it from thence. They pay to the Emperor for acknowledgement or custome 3. d. Russe vpon euery hundred weight. Besides these two, they make salt in many other places of the Realme, as in Perm, Wichida, Totma, Kenskma,

Nonocks. Solouetsky, Ocona, Bombasey, and Nonocks, all out of salt pits, saue at Solouetsky, which lieth neere to the sea.

10. Carre. Likewise of Carre they make a great quantitie out of their firre trees in the countrey of Dyna and Smolensko, whereof much is sent abroad. Besides these (which are all good and substantiall commodities) they haue diuers other of smaller accompt, that are naturall and proper to the

11. Ribazuba. countrey: as the fish tooth (which they call Ribazuba) which is vsed both among themselues, as the Persians and Bougharians that fetch it from thence for beads, knives, and sword hafts of gentlemen and gentlewomen, and for diuers other vses. Some vse the powder of it against poison, as the Vnicornes horne. The fish that weareth it is called a Morse, and is caught about Pechora. The fish teeth some of them are almost 2. foote of length, and weigh 11. or 12. pound apiece.

12. Slude. In the prouince of Corelia, and about the riuer Duyna towards the North sea, there groweth a soft rocke which they call Slude. This they cut into pieces, and so teare it into thin flakes, which naturally it is apt for, and so vse it for glasse-lanthorns and such like. It giueth both inwards and outwards a clearer light then glasse, and for this respect is better then either glasse or horne: for

13. Saltpeter and brimstone. that it neither breaketh like glasse, nor yet will burne like the lanthorne. Saltpeter they make in many places, as at Ouglits, Yaruslaue & Vstiug, and some smal store of brimstone vpon the ri-

Volgh

Volgha, but will ſkil to define it. Their iron is ſomewhat brittle, but a great wei[ght] is made in Corelia, Cargapolia, & Vſtiug Theleſna. Other mine they haue none growing [within] ye realme. 14 Iron.

Their beaſts of ſtrange kinds are the Loch, the Ollen, the wild horſe, the beare, the [ſable], the wood dog, the Lyſterne, the Beauer, the Sable, the Partron, the black and burne[t] the white Beare towards the ſea coaſt of Pechora, the Gurnſtale, the Laſet or Pineuer. They haue a kinde of Squirrell that hath growing on the pinion of the ſhoulder bone a long tuft of haire much like vnto feathers with a fax bronder taile then haue any other ſquirrels, which they moue and ſhake as they leape from tree to tree, much like vnto a wing. They ſkiſſe a large ſpace, & ſeeme for to ſlie withall, and therefore they cal them Letach Vechſhe, that is, the flying ſquirrels. Their hares and ſquirrels in Sommer are of the ſame colour with ours, in Winter the hare changeth her coate into white, the ſquirrel into gray, wherefore commeth the Calaber. The ſtrange beaſts, fish, fowles, and other things of Ruſsia.

They haue fallow deere, the roe bucke, & goates very great ſtore. Their horſes are but ſmal, but very ſwift & hard, they trauell them vnſhod both winter and Sommer, without all regard of pace. Their ſheepe are but ſmal & beare coarſe & harſh wool. Of foule they haue diuers of the principal ſort, great ſtore of hawks, the eagle, the gerfaulcon, the ſlightfaulcon, the gos hawk, the taſſel, the ſparhawk, &c. But the principal hawke ỳ breedeth in the country, is counted ỳ gerfaulcon. Of other foules their principal kinds are the ſwan tame & wilde, (whereof they haue great ſtore) the ſtorke, the crane, the tender of the colour of a ſeafome, but far bigger & liueth in the fire woods. Oſtriches and partridge they haue very great plentie. An owle there is of a very great bigneſſe, more vgly to behold then ỳ owles of this country, with a broad face, & eares much like vnto a man.

For freſh water fiſh, beſides the cõmon ſorts (as carpe, pikes, pearch, tench, roach, &c.) they haue diuers kinds very good and delicate: as the Bellouga or Bellougina of 4. or 5. elnes long, the Oſſinat ſo thicke not long. Theſe 4. kinds of fiſh breed in the Volgha, and are catched in great plenty, and ſerues thence into the whole Realme for a great food. Of the Roes of theſe foure kinds they make very great ſtore of Icary or Caueary as was ſaid before.

They haue beſides theſe that breed in the Volgha a fiſh called the Riba bela, or white ſalmon, which they accompe more delicate then they do the red ſalmon, whereof alſo they haue exceeding great plentie in the Riuers Northward, as in Duyna, the riuer of Cola, &c. In the Ozera or lake Beloe a towne called Periſlaue, not far frõ the Moſco, they haue a ſmal fiſh which they cal the freſh herring, of the faſhion, and ſomewhat of the taſte of a ſea-herring. Their chiefe townes for fiſh are, Yarſlaue, Bealozera, Nouogrod, Aſtracan, and Cazan: which all yeeld a large cuſtome to the Emperour euery peere for their trades of fiſhing, which they paccelle in Sommer, but ſende it forth in the Winter time into all parts of the Realme.

The chiefe Cities of *Ruſsia*.

THe chiefe cities of Ruſſia are Moſco, Nouogrod, Roſtoue, Volodomer, Pleſko, Smolensko, Iaruſlaue, Periſlaue, Niſnouogrod, Vologda, Vſtiug, Colmogro, Cazan, Aſtracan, Cargapolia, Columna. The city of Moſco is ſuppoſed to be of great antiquitie, though the firſt founder thereof be vnknowen to the Ruſſe. It ſeemeth to haue taken the name frõ the riuer that runneth on the one ſide of the towne. Beroſus the Chaldean in his 5. booke telleth vs: Nimrod (who other prophane writers call Saturne) ſent Aſſyrius, Medus, Moſcus, & Magog into Aſia to plant colonies there, and that Moſcus planted both in Aſia and Europe. Which may make ſome probabilitie, that the citie, or rather the riuer whereon it is buſte, tooke the denomination frõ this Moſcus: the rather becauſe of the climate or ſituation, which is in the very fartheſt part & laſt of Europe, bordering vpon Aſia. The Citie was much enlarged by one Iuan or Iohn, ſonne to Daniel, that firſt changed his title of Duke into King: though that honor continued not to his poſteritye: the rather becauſe he was inueighed againſt by the Popes Legate, who at that time was Innocentius the 4. about the yeere 1246. which was very much miſliked by the Ruſſe people, being then a part of the Eaſterne or Greeke Church. Since that time the name of this citie hath growen more famous, & better knowen to the world inſomuch that not only the prouince, but the whole Countrey of Ruſſia is termed by ſome by the name of Moſcouia the Metropolite citie. The forme of this City is in manner round with 3. ſtrong walls, circuling the one within the other, & ſtreets lying betwene, wherein the inmoſt wall, or the buildings cloſed within it (lying caſeſt as the heart within the body, fenced and warred with the riuer Moſcua, that runneth cloſe by it) is all accompaſſed the Emperours caſtle. The number of houſes (as I haue heard) through the whole Citie (being reckoned by the Emperour a little before it was fired by the Crim) was 41500. in all. Since the Tartar beſieged and fired the towne (which was in the yere 1571.) there lieth waſte of it a great breadth of ground, which before was wel ſet and planted with buildings, ſpecially that part on the South ſide of Moſcua, built not long before Moſco.

by

by Basilius the Emperor for his garrison of souldiers, to whom he gaue priuiledge to drinke Meth, and beere at the day of prohibited times, when other Russes may drinke nothing but water, and for that cause called this new city by the name of Naloi, that is skinck or poure in. So that now the city of Mosco is not much bigger then the city of London. The next in greatnes, & in a manner as large, is the citie Nouogrod: where was committed (as the Russe saith) the memorable warre so much spoke of in stories of the Scythians seruants, that tooke armes against their masters: which they report in this sort: viz. That the Boiarens or gentlemen of Nouogrod & the territory about (which only are souldiers after the discipline of these countreis) had war with the Tartars. Which being well performed & ended by them, they returned homewards. Where they vnderstood by the way that their Cholopey or bondslaues whom they left at home, had in their absence possessed their townes, lands, houses, wiues and all. At which newes being somewhat amased, and yet vnderstanding the villany of their seruants, they made the more speed home: and so not far from Nouograd met them in warlike maner marching against them. Whereupon aduising what was best to be done, they agreed all to set vpon them with no other shew of weapon but with their horse whips (which as their maner is euery man rideth withal) to put them in remembrance of their seruile condition, thereby to terrifie them, & abate their courage. And so marching on & lashing al together with their whips in their hands they gaue the onset. Which seemed so terrible in the eares of their villanes, and stroke such a sense into them of the smart of the whip which they had felt before, that they fled altogether like sheepe before the diuers. In memory of this victory the Nouogradians euer since haue stamped their coine (which they cal a dingoe Nouogrodskoy current through al Russia) with the figure of a horsman shaking a whip aloft in his hand. These 2. cities exceed ỹ rest in greatnes. For strength their chiefe townes are Vobsko, Smolensko, Cazan & Astracan, as lying vpon the borders. But for situation Iarusslaue far exceedeth the rest. For besides the commodities that the soile yeeldeth of pasture and corne, it lieth vpon the famous riuer of Volgha, & looketh ouer it from a high banke very faire & stately to behold: whereof the towne taketh the name. For Iarusslaue in that tongue signifieth as much as a faire or famous banke. In this towne (as may be ghessed by the name) dwelt the Russe king Vladimer surnamed Iarusslaue, that maried the daughter of Harald king of England, by mediation of Sueno the Dane, as is noted in the Danish story about the yere 1067.

Nouogrod.

Iarusslaue.

Saxo Grammaticus lib. 11. pag. 187.

The other townes haue nothing ỹ is greatly memorable, saue many ruines within their walls. The streets of their cities and townes in stead of pauing are planked with fir trees, plained & layd euen close the one to the other. Their houses are of wood without any lime or stone, built very close and warme with firre trees plained and piled one vpon another. They are fastned together with bents or notches at euery corner, & so clasped fast together. Betwixt the trees or timber they thrust in mosse (whereof they gather plenty in their woods) to keep out the aire. Euery house hath a paire of staires that lead vp into the chambers out of the part or street after the Scottish maner. This building seemeth far better for their countrey, then that of stone or bricke; as being colder & more dampish then their wooden houses, specially of fire, that is a ready & warme wood. Wherof the prouidence of God hath giuen them such store, as that you may build a faire house for 20. or 30. rubbles or little more, where wood is most scant. The greatest inconuenience of their wooden building is the apt nesse for firing, which happeneth very oft & in very fearful sort, by reason of the dryenesse and fatnes of the fir, that being once fired, burneth like a torch, & is hardly quenched til all be burnt vp.

The manner of Russe building.

Of the maner of Crowning or Inauguration of the Russe Emperours.

The solemnities vsed at ỹ Russe Emperors coronation, are on this maner. In the great church of Prechestie (or our Lady) within the Emperors castle is erected a stage whereon standeth a ferine that beareth vpon it the Imperial cap & robe of very rich stuffe. When the day of the Inauguratiõ is come, there resort thither, first the Patriarch w̃ the Metropolitanes, archbishops, bishops, abbots and priors, al richly clad in their pontificalibus. Then enter the Deacons with the quire of singers. Who so soone as the Emperor setteth foot into ỹ church, begin to sing: Many yeres may he liue noble Theodore Iuanowich, &c. Whereunto the patriarch and Metropolite with the rest of the clergy answere with a certaine hymne, in forme of a prayer, singing it altogether with a great noise. The hymne being ended, the patriarch with the Emperor mount vp the stage, where standeth a seat ready for the Emperor. Whereupon the patriarch willeth him to sit downe, & then placing himself by him vpõ another seat prouided for ỹ purpose, boweth downe his head towards ỹ groud and saith this prayer: Oh Lord God king of kings, Lord of lords, which by thy prophet Samuel didst chose thy seruant Dauid, & annoynt him for King ouer thy people Israel, heare now our prayer, & looke frõ thy sanctuary vpon this thy seruant Theodore, whom thou hast chosen and exalted for king ouer these thy holy natiõs, anoint him with the oile of gladnes, protect by thy powe

po[illegible] put vpon his head
him in the seat of Iustice,
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& protect the children of
with a lowd voice, & then pro
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Christ is layd by the Patriarch
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power, put vpon his head a crowne of gold & precious stones, giue him length of dayes, place him in the seat of Iustice, stregthen his arme, make subiect vnto him all the barbarous nations, &c. thy feare be in his whole heart, turne him from an euill faith, and all errour, and the we with a low voice, & then pronounceth aloud: Al praise and power to God the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghost. The prayer being ended, he commandeth certaine Abbots to reach the imperiall rearde & cap: which is done verie decently, and with great solemnitie, the Patriarch vnthat pronouncing aloud: Peace be vnto all. And so he beginneth another prayer to this effect: Bow yourselues together with vs, and pray to him that reigneth ouer all. Preserue him (oh Lord) vnder thy holy protection, keepe him that hee may doe good and holy things, let Iustice shine forth in his dayes, that we may liue quietly without strife and malice. This is pronounced somewhat softly by the Patriarch, whereto hee addeth againe aloud: Thou art the king of the whole world, and the sauiour of our soules, to thee the Father, Sonne and Holy ghost be al praise for euer and euer. Amen. Then putting on the roabe and the cap, he blesseth the Emperour with the signe of the crosse, saying withall: In the name of the Father, the Sonne, and the Holy ghost. The like is done by the Metropolites, Archbishops, and Bishops: who all in their order come to the chaire, and one after another blesse the Emperour with their two forefingers. This is done by the Patriarch another prayer, that beginneth: O most holy virgin, mother of God &c. After which a Deacon pronounceth with a loude voice: Many yeres to noble Theodore, good, honourable, beloued of God, great Duke of Volodemer, of Mosco, Emperour, and Monarch of all Russia, &c. Whereto the other Priests and Deacons that stand somewhat farre off by the aulter or table, answere singing: Many yeres, many yeres to the noble Theodore. The same note is taken vp by the Priests and Deacons, that are placed at the right and left side of the Church, and then altogether, they chaunt and thunder out, singing: Many yeares to the noble Theodore, good, honourable, beloued of God, great Duke of Volodomer, Mosco, Emperour of all Russia, &c. These solemnities being ended, first commeth the Patriarch with the Metropolites, Archbishops, and Bishops, then the Nobility, and the whole company in their order, to do homage to the Emperour, bending to him their heads, and knocking them at his feete to the ground.

The title wherewith he is inuested at his Coronation, runneth in this maner.

Theodore Iuanowich, by the grace of God great Lord and Emperour of all Russia, great Duke of Volodemer, Mosco, and Nouogrod, King of Cazan, King of Astracan, Lord of Plesko, and great Duke of Smolensco, of Twerria, Iougharia, Permia, Vadska, Bulgharia, and other Lord and great Duke of Nouogrod of the Low countrey, of Chernigo, Rezan, Polotske, Rostoue, Yarsslauley, Beelozera, Liefland, Oudoria, Obdoria, and Condensa, Commander of all Siberia, and of the North parts, and Lord of many other Countries, &c.

In this title concerneth in it all the Emperours Prouinces, and setteth forth his greatnesse. Therefore they haue a great delight and pride in it, forcing not onely their owne people but strangers (that haue any matter to deliuer to the Emperour by speech or writing) to recite the whole some from the beginning to the end, which breedeth much cauill, and sometime a quarrell betwixt them and the Tartar, and Poland Ambassadours: who refuse to call the Czar, that is Emperor, and to repeate the other parts of his long title. My selfe when I was in audience of the Emperour, thought good to salute him only with thus much vz. Emperour of Russia, great Duke of Volodomer, Mosco and Nouogrod, King of Cazan, King of Astracan. The rest I omitted of purpose, because I knew they gloried, to haue their title appeare vnto me of a larger volume then the Queenes of England. But this was certainly to ill part, that Ambassadour (who then attended the Emperour, with the rest of the nobility) with a loude charactor, called him vpon me to say out the rest. Whereto I answered, that the Emperors title was very long, and could not so well be remembred by strangers, that I had repeated so much of it, as might shew that I gaue honour to the rest of it. But all would not serue till I vttered any interpreter to say it all out.

Their forces for the wars, with the chief officers and their salaries.

The souldiers of Russia are called Sinaboyarskey, or the sons of Gentlemen: because they are all of that degree, by vertue of their military profession. For euery souldier in Russia is a Gentleman, and none are gentlemen, but only the souldiers, that take it by discent from their ancestors:

Souldiers by birth and inheritance.

ancestors: so that the sonne of a gentleman (which is borne a souldier) is euer a gentleman, and a souldier withall, & professeth nothing els but militarie matters. When they are of yeres able to beare armes, they come to the office of Roserade, or great Constable, and there present themselues: who entreth their names, and alloteth them certaine lands to maintaine their charges, for the most part the same that their fathers enioyed. For the lands assigned to maintaine the army, are euer certain, annexed to this office without impairing, or detracting one foot. But that of the Emperor haue sufficient in wages, the roomes being full so farre as the land doeth extend at ready, they are many times deferred, and haue nothing allowed them, except some one portion of the land be deuided into two. The whole number of his souldiers in continuall pay, is this. First he hath his Dworaney, that is, Pensioners, or Gard of his person, to the number of 15000 horsemen, with their captaines and other officers, that are alwaies in a readines.

Degrees of horsemen. 1. Prætoriani or such as attend the Emperors person 15000.

Of these 15000 horsemen, there are three sorts or degrees, which differ as well in estimation as in wages, one degree from another. The first sort of them is called Dworaney Bulshey, or the company of head Pensioners, that haue some an hundred, some foure score rubbles a yeare, and none vnder 70. The second sort are called Seredney Dworaney, or the middle ranke of Pensioners. These haue sixty or fifty rubbles by the yeare, none vnder fortie. The third and lowest sort, are the Dyra Boiarskey, that is, the low Pensioners. Their salary is thirty rubbles a yere for him that hath most, some haue but 25, some 20, none vnder 12. Whereof the halfe part is paid them at the Mosco, the other halfe in the field by the general, when they haue any wars, & are employed in seruice. When they receiue their whole pay, it amounteth to 55000 rubbles by the yere.

And this is their wages, besides lands allotted to euery one of them, both to the greater and the lesse, according to their degrees. Whereof he that hath least, hath to yeelde him twenie rubbles or marks by the yeare. Besides these 15000 horsemen, that are of better choyce (as being the Emperors owne gard when himselfe goeth to the wars, not vnlike the Romane souldiers called Prætoriani) are a hundred and ten men of speciall account for their Nobilitie, and trust, which are chosen by the Emperor, and haue their names registred, that find among them for the Emperors wars, to the number of 65000. horsemen, with all necessaries meeting the wars after the Russe maner.

Two other troupes to the number of 65000.

To this end they haue yerely allowance made by the Emperor for themselues, and their companies, to the sum of 40000 rubbles. And these 65000 are to repayre to the field euery yeare on the borders towards the Crim Tartar, (except they be appointed for some other seruice) whether there be wars with the Tartars, or not. This might seeme peraduenture somewhat dangerous for some state, to haue so great forces vnder the command of Noblemen to assemble euery yere to one certain place. But the matter is so vsed, as that no danger can growe to the Emperor, or his state by this means. First, because these noblemen are many, to wit, an 100. all, & changed by the Emperor so oft as he thinketh good. Secondly, because they haue their liuing of the Emperor, being otherwise but of very small reuenue, and receiue this yerely pay of 4000 rubbles, when it is presently to be paid forth againe to the souldiers that are vnder them. Thirdly, because for the most part they are about the Emperors person being of his Counsel, either speciall, or at large. Fourthly, they are rather as paimasters, then Captaines to their companies, themselues not going forth ordinarily to the wars, saue when some of them are appointed by speciall order from the Emperor himselfe. So the whole number of horsemen that are continuall readinesse, and in continuall pay, are 80000, a few more or lesse.

Horsemen in continuall pay 80000.

If he haue neede of a greater number (which seldome falleth out) then he entertaineth those Sinaboiarskey, that are out of pay, so many as he needeth: and if yet he want of his number, he giueth charge to his Noblemen, that hold lands of him to bring into the field euery one a proportionable number of his seruants (called Kolophey, such as till his lands) with their furniture, according to the inst number that he intendeth to make. Which the seruice being presently lay in their weapons, and returne to their seruile occupations againe.

Footmen in continuall pay 12000.

Of footemen that are in continuall pay, he hath to the number of 12000 all gunners, called Strelsey: Whereof 5000 are to attend about the citie of Mosco, or any other place where the Emperor shall abide, and 2000 (which are called Stremanay Strelsey, or gunners at the first) are about his owne person at the very Court or house where himselfe lodgeth. The rest are in his garison townes, till there be occasion to haue them in the field, and receiue for their Iarie or stipend euery man seuen rubbles a yeare, besides twelue measures a piece of Rie and Otes. Of mercenary Souldiers, that are strangers (whom they call Nimschoy) they haue at this time 4300 of Polonians: of Chirchasses (that are vnder the Polonians) about 300, whereof 3500 are abroad in his garisons: of Douches & Scots about 150: of Greekes, Danes and Swedens, all in one band, an 1000 or thereabouts. But these they vse onely v

Strangers mercenaries pay 4300.

Tartar live, and against the Siberians: as they doe the Tartar souldiers (whom they hire some-times, but only for the present) on the other live against the Polonian and Sweden: thinking it best policie to vse their seruice vpon the contrary border.

The chiefe Captaines or leaders of these forces, according to their names and degrees, are these which follow. First, the Voyauoda Bulshaia, that is, the Great Captaine, or Lieutenant generall vnder the Emperor. This commonly is one of the foure houses of the chiefe Nobility of the land. Their great Voiauod or general at this present in their warrs, is commonly one of these foure: Knez Feodor Iuanowich Methisloskey, Knez Iuan Michalowich Glinskoy, Cherechaskoy, and Trowbetskoy, all of great nobilitie. Next vnto the Voiauod or general there is some other placed as Lieutenant general, being a man of great valour and experience in the warrs, who ouerseeth all things that the other countenanceth. At this time their principal man, & most vsed in that hath done great seruice (as they say) against the Tartar and Polonian. Next vnder the Voiauod and his Lieutenant general are foure other that haue the marshalling of the whole armie among them, and may be called the marshals of the field.

The chief captaines or leaders. 1. The Voiauod or Generall. 2. Lieutenant generall. 3. Marshals of the field foure.

Euery man hath his quarter, or fourth part vnder him. Whereof the first is called the Praua Polskoy, or righe wing. The second is the Leuoy Polskoy, or left wing. The third is Rusnoy Polskoy, or the broken band, because out of this there are chosen to send abroad vpon any sodaine exploit, or to make a relcue or supplie, as occasion doth require. The fourth Storoshouoy Polskoy, or the warding band. Euery one of these foure Marshals haue two other vnder them (eight in all) that muste euery weeke at the least muster and traine their seueral wings or bands, and hold and giue iustice for all faults, and disorders committed in the campe.

Foure marshals: deputies eight.

And these eight are commonly chosen out of the 110. (which I spake of before) that receiue & deliuer the pay to the souldiers. Vnder these eight are diuers other Captaines, as the Gulauoy, Captaines of thoulands fiue hundreds and 100. The Peryde Setskoy or Captains of fifties, and the Decretkies or Captains of tennes.

Fiue Coronels vnder Captaines.

Besides the Voiauoda or generall of the armie (spoke of before) they haue two other that beare the name of Voiauoda, whereof one is the master of the great Ordinance (called Naradna voiauoda) who hath diuers vnder officers, necessary for that seruice. The other is called the Voiauodagoi auoy, or the walking Captaine, that hath allowed him 1000 good horsemen of principall choyce, to range & spie abroad, & hath the charge of the running Castle, which we are to speake of in the Chapter following. All these Captains, & men of charge must once euery day resort to the Bulshe voiauoda, or General of the armie, to know his pleasure, & to informe him, if there be any requisite matter pertaining to their office.

Sixe Masters of the Artillery.

The walking Captaine.

Of their mustering, and leuying of forces, maner of armour, and prouision of victuall for the warres.

When warrs are to warde (which they call not alwayes euery yere with the Tartar, & many times with the Polonian & Sweden) the foure Lords of the Chetfirds send forth their commaundements in the Emperors name, to all the Dukes and Dyacks of the Prouinces, to be proclaimed in the head townes of euery Shire: that all the Sinaboiarskey, or sonnes of gentlemen make their repaire to such a border where the seruice is to be done, at such a place, & by such a day, and there present themselues to such, & such Captaines. When the souldiers come to the place assigned them by the summons or proclamation, their names are taken by certaine officers that haue commission for that purpose from the Roserade, or high Constable, as Clarkes of the bands. If any make default & faile at the day, he is mulcted, & punished very seuerely. As for the Generall & other chief Captaines, they are sent thither from the Emperors owne hand, with such Commission & charge as the matter behoofeth for the present seruice. When the souldiers are assembled, they are reduced into their bands, & companies, vnder their seueral Captaines of tennes, fifties, hundreds, thoulands, &c. and these Bands into 4 Polskeis, or Legions (but of farre greater numbers then the Romane Legions were) vnder their foure great Leaders, which also haue the authoritie of Marshals of the field (as was said before.)

Their order of mustering.

Concerning their armour they are but slightly appointed. The common horseman hath nothing but his bow in his case vnder his right arme, & his quiuer & sword hanging on the left side: ex-some seeme that beare a case of dagges, or a Iauelin, or those staffe slong their horse side. The cept captaines will haue commonly some piece of armour besides, as a shirt of male, or such like. The General with the other chiefe captaines & men of Nobilitie will haue their horse very richly furnished, their saddles of cloth of gold, their bridles fair bolled & tasselled with gold, & silk fringe, adorned with pearle & precious stones, themselues in very faire armor, which they call Bullatnoy,

The horsemans furniture.

made of faire shining steele, yet couered commonly with cloth of golde, and edged rounde about with fine furre, his steele helmet on his head of a very great price, his sword bow and arrowes at his side, his speare in his hand, with another faire helmet, and Sheild a pera, or horsemans scryer caried before him. Their swords, bowes, and arrowes are of the Turkish fashion. They practise like the Tartar to shoote forwards and backwards, as they flie and retire.

The footmans furniture.

The Strelley or footeman hath nothing but his piece in his hand, his striking hatchet at his back, & his sword by his side. The stock of his piece is not made caliuer wise, but with a plaine straite stocke (some what like a fouling piece) the barrel is rudely & vnartificially made, very grosse, yet shooteth but a very small bullet. As for their prouision of victual, the Emperor alloweth none, either for Captaine or souldiour, neither prouideth any for them except peraduenture some corne for their money. Euery man is to bring sufficient for himselfe, to serue his turne for some moneths, & if neede require to giue order for more to be brought vnto him to the Campe from his tenant that tilleth his land, or some other place. One great helpe they haue, that for lodging and diet euery Russe is prepared to be a souldier beforehand. Though the chiefe Captaines & orders of account carry tents with them after the fashion of ours, with some better prouision of victual then the rest. They bring with them commonly into the Campe for victuall a kind of dried bread, (which they call Suchary) with some store of meale, which they temper with water, and so make it into a ball, or small lumpe of dowe, called Tollockno. And this they eate rawe in stead of bread. Their meat is bacon, or some other flesh or fish dryed, after the Dutch maner. If the Russe souldier were as hardy to execute an enterprise, as he is hard to beare out toyle and trauell, or were therwise as apt and well trained for the warres, as he is indifferent for his lodging and diet, he would farre exceede the souldiers of our parts.

Prouision of victual.

Of their marching, charging, and other Martial discipline.

The Russe trusteth rather to his number, then to the valure of his souldiers, or good ordering of his forces. Their marching or leading is without all order, saue that the foure Polkey or Legions, (wherinto their armie is deuided) keepe themselues seuerall vnder their enfignes, & so thrust all on together in a hurrey, as they are directed by their Generall. Their Enfigne is the image of S. George. The Bulsha Dworaney or chiefe horsemen, haue euery man a small drum of braſſe at his saddle bowe, which he striketh when he giueth the charge, or onset.

Horsemens drummes.

They haue drummes besides of a huge bignes, which they cary with them vpon a hoorse layed on foure horses, that are sparred together with chaines, euery drumme hauing eight strikers, & drummers, besides trumpets and shawmes, which they sound after a wilde maner, much different from ours. When they giue any charge, or make any invasion, they make a great hallowing & shoute altogether, as lowd as they can, which with the sound of their trumpets, shawmes, and drummes, maketh a confused and horrible noyse. So they set on first discharging their arrowes, then dealing with their swordes, which they vse in a braueric to shake, and brandish ouer their heads, before they come to strokes.

The horsmans maner of charging.

Their footmen (because otherwise they want order in leading) are commonly placed in some ambush or place of aduantage, where they may most annoy the enemie, with least hurt to themselues. If it be a set battell, or if any great invasion be made vpon the Russe borders by the Tartar, they are set within þ running or mouing Castle (called Rosza, or Gulay gorod) which is caried about with them by the Voiauoda gulauoy (or the walking Generall) whom I spake of before. This walking or mouing Castle is so framed, that it may be set vp in length (as occasion shall require) the space of one, two, three, foure, fiue, sixe, or seuen miles: for so long it will reach. It is nothing els but a double wall of wood to defend them on both sides behinde and before, with a space of three yards or thereabouts, betwixt the two sides: so that they may stand within it, and haue roome enough to charge and discharge their pieces, and to vse their other weapons. It is closed at both ends, and made with loope holes on either syde, to lay out the nose of their pieces or to push foorth any other weapon. It is caried with the armie whereſoeuer it goeth, being taken into pieces, and so layde on cartes sparred together, and drawen by horse that are not seene by reason that they are couered with their cariage as with a shelfe or penthouse. When it is brought to the place where it is to be vsed (which is deuised and chosen out before by the walking Voiauod) it is planted so much as the present vse requireth, sometime a mile long, sometime two, sometimes three or more: Which is soone done without the helpe of any Carpenter, or instrument: because the timber is so framed to clasp together one piece within another: and easily vnderstoode by those that know the maner of the Russe building.

The footmans charge.

The walking Castle.

In this Castle standeth their shot well fenced for aduantage, specially against the Tartar. (if

bring

bringeth no ordinance, nor other weapon into the field with him, ſaue his ſword, and bow, and arrowes. They haue alſo within it diuers field pieces, which they vſe as occaſion doth require. Of peeces for the field they carie no great ſtore, when they warre againſt the Tartar: but when they deale with the Polonian (of whoſe forces they make more account) they go better furniſhed with all kind of munition, and other neceſſarie prouiſions. It is thought that no Prince of Chriſtendome hath better ſtore of munition, then the Ruſſe Emperour. And it may partly appeare by the Artillery found at Moſco, where are of all ſorts and of great Ordinance, all braſſe pieces, very faire, and in exceeding great number.

This Ruſſe ſouldier is thought to be better at his defence within ſome caſtle or towne, then he is abroad at a ſet pitched field. Which is euer noted in the practiſe of his warres, and namely at the ſiege of Vobſco, about eight yeres ſince: where he repulſed the Polonian king Stepan Ba- 1580.
thorie with a whole armie of 100000 men, and forced him in the end to giue ouer his ſiege, with the loſſe of many of his beſt Captaines and ſouldiers. But in a ſet field the Ruſſe is noted to haue ouer the worſe of the Polonian and Sweden.

If any ſeruice himſelfe more valiantly then the reſt, or do any ſpecial piece of ſeruice, the Emperour reuardeth him a piece of golde, ſtamped with the Image of Saint George on horſebacke, Reward for valure.
which they hang on their ſleeues, & ſet in their caps. And this is accounted the greateſt honour they can receiue, for any ſeruice they doe.

Of their Colonies, and maintaining of their conqueſts, or purchaſes by force.

The Ruſſe Emperors of late yeres haue very much enlarged their dominions, & territories. Their firſt conqueſt after the Dukedome of Moſco (for before that time they were but Duke of Volodomer, as before was ſaid) was the citie, & Dukedome of Nouogrod on the Weſt, as ſhalbe ſhewed hereafter: which was no ſmal enlargement of their dominion, & ſtrengthening to them in the winning of the reſt. This was done by Iuan great grandfather to Theodor now Emperour, about the yere 1480. The ſame began likewiſe to encroach vpon the countries of Liuuania and Liuonia, but the conqueſt only ſucceeded, & attempted by him, vpon ſome part of thoſe countries, was purſued & perfourmed by his ſonne Baſileus, who firſt wan the citie & dukedom of Pleſco, afterwards the citie & dukedome of Smolenſco, & many other faire townes, with a large territory belonging vnto them, about the yere 1514. Theſe victories againſt the Lettues or Liuanians, in the time of Alexander their duke, he atchieued rather by aduantage of ciuil diſſentions, & mutinies among theſe liues, then by any great policie, or force of his own. But al this was loſt a- 1580.
gaine by his ſon Iuan Vaſiliwich, about 8 or 9 yeres paſt, vpon oppoſition with the Polonian king Stephan Batore: whereunto he was forced by the aduantages which the Pole had then of him, by reaſon of the foile he had giuen him before, and the diſquietnes of his own ſtate at home. Onely the Ruſſe Emperor, at this time hath left him on that ſide his country, the cities of Smolenſco, Vobſco, Chernigo, & Bealagorod in Liuuania. In Liuonia, not a towne nor one foot of ground. Liuonia.

When Baſilius firſt conquered thoſe countries, he ſuffered then the natiues to keepe their poſſeſſions, and to inhabite all their townes, onely paying him a tribute, vnder the gouernement of the Ruſſe Captaines. But by their conſpiracies & attempts not long after, he was taught to deale more ſtraitly with them. And ſo comming vpon them the ſecond time, he killed and caried away with him, diuers paires of foure, which he gaue or ſold to the Tartars that ſerued him in thoſe wars, and in ſtead of them placed there his Ruſſes, ſo many as might ouermatch the reſt, with certaine garriſons of ſtrength beſides. Wherein notwithſtanding this ouerſight was committed, for that (eaſily) might haue beene kept in vnder without any danger, by other good policies) he was driuen afterwards to many peeres together, to diſtalle the countrey (ſpecially the great townes) out of his owne countrey of Ruſſia, the ſame lying there in the meane while waſt, and vntilled.

The like fell out at the ports of Narue in Liefland, where his ſonne Iuan Vaſiliwich deuiſed to Narue.
build a towne, and a caſtle on the other ſide the riuer, (called Iuangorod) to keepe the towne and country in ſubiection. The caſtle he cauſed to be ſo built and fortified, that it was thought to be impregnable. And when it was furniſhed, for reward to the Architect (that was a Polonian) he put out both his eyes, to make him vnable to build the like againe. But hauing left the natiues all in their owne country, without abating their number or ſtrength, the towne and caſtle not long after was betrayed, and ſurrendred againe to the king of Sweden.

In the Southeaſt ſide, they haue got the kingdomes of Cazan, and Aſtracan. Theſe were wonne from the Tartar, by the late Emperour Iuan Vaſiliwich, the one about thirtie fiue, the other about thirtie and three yeares agoe. Eaſtward out of the countrey of Siberia, he hath Siberia and Ob.

Conquest of a 1000 miles.

laped vnto his realme a great breadth and length of ground, from Wichida to the riuer of Obba, about a 1000 miles space: so that he is bolde to write himselfe now, The great Commander of Siberia. The countries likewise of Permia and Pechora are a diuers people and language from the Russe, ouercome not long since, and that rather by threatning, and shaking of the sworde, then by any actuall force: as being a weake and naked people, without meanes to resist.

Permia and Pechora.

Meanes of holding these townes.

That which the Russe hath in his present possession, he keepeth on this sort. In his some chief border townes of Vobsko, Smolensko, Astracan, and Cazan, he hath certaine of his counsel not of greatest nobility, but of greatest trust, which haue more authoritie within their precincts, (for the countenancing and strengthening of their gouernment there) then the other Dukes that are sent to gouerne in other places, as was noted before, in the maner of ordering their Prouinces. These changeth sometime euery yere, sometime euery second or third yere, but exceedeth not that time, except vpon very speciall trust, and good liking of the party, and his seruice: least by enlarging of their time, they might grow into some familiaritie with the enemie (as some haue done) being so farre out of sight.

The townes besides are very strongly fenced with trenches, castles, & store of munition, and haue garisons within them, to the number of two or three thousand a piece. They are stored with victuall if any siege should come vpon them, for the space of two or three yeres before hand. The foure castles of Smolensko, Vobsko, Cazan and Astracan, he hath made very strong to beare out any siege: so that it is thought that those townes are impregnable.

Meanes of holding the countries of Pechora, Permia, and Siberia.

As for the countries of Pechora and Permia, and that part of Siberia, which he hath won ouer him, they are kept by as easie meanes, as they were first got. vz. rather by shewing, then by vsing of armes. First, he hath stored the countrie with as many Russes as there are townes, & in there some few souldiers in garison, inough to keepe them vnder. Secondly, his officers & magistrates there are of his own Russe people, and he changeth them very often, vz. euery yere twise or thrise: notwithstanding there be no great feare of any innouation. Thirdly, he deuideth them into many smal gouernments, like a staffe broke in many small pieces: so that they haue no strength being seuered, which was but litle neither when they were al in one. Fourthly, he pilleth the people of the countrie haue neither armor, nor money, being taxed & pilled so often as he thinketh good: without any meanes to shake off that yoke, or to reuenge themselues.

Siberia.

In Siberia (where he goeth on in pursuing his conquest) he hath diuers castles & garisons in the number of 6000 souldiers of Russes & Polonians, & sendeth many new supplies thither, to plant and to inhabite, as he winneth ground. At this time besides he hath gotten the kings brother of Siberia, allured by certaine of his captaines, to leaue his owne country by offers of great entertainment, and pleasanter life with the Russe Emperor, then he had in Siberia. He was brought in this last yere, and is now with the Emperor at Mosco well entertained.

The kings brother of Siberia. 1588.

Of the Tartars, and other borderers to the country of *Russia*, with whom they haue most to doe in warre, and peace.

The Polonians called Laches by the Russe.

THeir neighbors with whom they haue greatest dealings & intercourse, both in peace & warre are first the Tartar. Secondly the Polonian whom the Russe calleth Laches, naming the first author or founder of the nation, who was called Laches or Leches, whereunto is added Po, which signifieth People, and so is name Polaches, that is, the People or posterity of Laches: which the Latins after their maner of writing cal Polonos. The third are the Swedens. The Polonians & Swedens are better knowen to these parts of Europe then are the Tartars, that are further off from vs (as being of Asia) and diuided into many tribes, different in name, and gouernment one from another. The greatest and mightiest of them is the Chzim Tartar, (whom some call the Great Can) that lieth South, & Southeastward from Russia, and doth most annoy the country by often inuasions, commonly once euery yere, sometimes entring very farre within the inner parts. In the yere 1571 he came as farre as the citie of Mosco, with an armie of 200000 men without any battel, or resistance at al, for that the Russe Emperor (then Iuan Vasilivich) hauing forth his armie to encounter with him, marched a wrong way. The citie he tooke not, but the suburbs, which by reason of the buildings (which are all of wood without any stone, brick, or lime, saue certeine out roomes) kindled so quickly, and went on with such rage, as that it consumed the greatest part of the citie almost within the space of foure houres, being of 30 miles more of compasse. Then might you haue seene a lamentable spectacle: besides the huge & monstrous flame of the citie all on light fire, the people burning in their houses and streetes, but most of such as laboured to passe out of the gates farthest from the enemie, where meeting together in a mighty throng, & so pressing euery man to preuent another, manged themselues so sil-

The Chzim Tartar.

The firing of Mosco by the Chzim Tartar, in the yeare 1571.

the gate, and streetes neere vnto it, as that three ranks walked one vpon the others head, the vppermost treading downe those that were lower: so that there perished at that time (as was said) by the fire & the presse, the number of 800000 people or more.

The principall cause of this continuall quarell betwixt the Russe & the Chrim is for the right of certaine border partes claimed by the Tartar, but possessed by the Russe. The Tartar alleageth that besides Astracan and Cazan (that are the ancient possession of the Gall Tartar) the whole country from his bounds Mozeh and Westward so farre as the citie of Mosko, and Mosko it selfe, that tell of a certaine homage that was done by the Russe Emperour flanding on foot and feeding the Chrims horse, (him sitting on his backe) with oates out of his owne cappe, in stead of a bowle or manger, and that within the castle of Mosko. And this homage (they say) was done till the time of Basileus grandfather to this man. Who surprising the Chrim Emperour by a stratageme done by one of his nobilitie (called Iuan Demetrowich Belschey) was content with this raunsome, viz. with the chanting of this homage into a tribute of furres: which afterwards also was denied to be paide by this Emperors father.

Homage done by the Russe to the Chrim Tartar.

Hereupon they continue y quarrel, the Russe defending his countrey, & that which he hath won, in hurrie. What time if the great Can or Chrim come in his owne person, he bringeth with him a great armie of 100000. or 200000. men. Otherwise they make short & sudden rodes into the country with lesser numbers, running about the list of the border as wild geese flie, inuading and ruining where they see aduantage.

Their common practise (being very populous) is to make diuers armies, and so drawing the Russe to one or two places of the frontiers, to inuade at some other place, that is left without defence. Their maner of fight, or ordering of their forces is much after the Russe maner (spoken of before) saue that they are all horsemen, and carie nothing els but a bowe, a sheafe of arrowes, and a falcon sworn after the Turkish fashion. They are very expert horsemen, and vse to shoote as readily backward, as forward. Some will haue a horsmans staffe like to a horse speare, besides their other weapons. The comon souldier hath no other armour then his ordinary apparell, viz. a blacke sheepes skin with the wool side outward in the day time, and inwarde in the night time, with a cap of the same. But their Morsey or noblemen imitate the Turk both in apparel and armour. When they are to passe ouer a riuer with their armie, they tie three or foure horses together, and taking long poles or pieces of wood, bind them fast to the tailes of their horse: so sitting on the poles they driue their horse ouer. At hande strokes (when they ioyne battell) they are accounted farre better men then the Russe people, fierce by nature, but more hardy and bloody by continuall practise of warre: as men knowing no artes of peace, nor any ciuil practise.

The maner of the Tartars fight, and armour.

Yet their subtelty is more then may seeme to agree with their barbarous condition. By reason they are practised to inuade continually, and to robbe their neighbours that border about them, they are very pregnant, and ready witted to deuise stratagems vpon the sudden for their better aduantage, as in their warre against Bealabe the fourth, king of Hungarie, whome they inuaded with 60000. men, and obtained against him a great victorie. Where, among other, hauing slaine the Chancelor called Nicholas Schinick, they found about him the kings priuy seale. Whereupon they counterfeit presently to counterfeit letters in the kings name, to the cities and townes next about the place, where the field was fought: with charge that in no case they should conuey their wiues, and their goods out of their dwellings, where they might abide safely without all feare of danger, and not leaue the countrey beldiate to the possession of so vile and barbarous an enemie, as was the Tartar nation, terming themselues in all reprochful maner. For notwithstanding he had left his carriages, with some few straglers that had marched disorderly, yet he doubted not but to recouer that losse, with the accesse of a notable victorie, if the sauage Tartar durst abide him in the field. To this purpose hauing written their letters in the Polish character, by certaine yong men whom they tooke in the field, and signed them with the Kings seale, they dispatched them speedily to all the quarters of Hungaria, that lay neere about the place. Whereupon the people that were now flying away with their goods, wines, and children, vpon the rumour of the kings ouerthrow, taking comfort of these counterfeit letters, staied at home. And so were they taken, being surprised on the sudden by this huge number of these Tartars, that had comen vpon them before they were aware.

The subtilties of the Tartar.

When they besiege a towne or fort, they offer much parle, and send many flattering messages to induce a surrendry: promising all things that the inhabitants will require: but being once maisters of the place, they vse all maner of hostilitie, and cruelitie. This they doe vpon a rule they haue,

haue, vz. that iustice is to bee practised but towards their owne. They encounter not lightly, but they haue some ambush, whereunto (hauing once shewed themselues, and made some short conflict) they retire as repulsed for feare, and so draw the enemie into it if they can. But the Russe beeing well acquainted with their practise is more warie of them. When they come a roving with some small number, they set on horseback counterfaite shapes of men, that their number may seeme greater.

When they make any onset, their maner is to make a great shoute, crying all out together Ollà Billa, Olla Billa, God helpe vs, God help vs. They esteeme death so much, as that they chuse rather to die, then to yeeld to their enemie, and are seene when they are slaine to bite the very weapon, when they are past striking or biting of themselues. Wherein appeareth how different the Tartar is in his desperate courage from the Russe and Turke. For the Russe souldier, if he begin once to retire, putteth all his safetie in his speedy flight. And if once he be taken by his enemy, he neither defendeth himselfe, nor intreateth for his life, as reckoning straight to die. The Turke commonly, when he is past hope of escaping, falleth to intreate, and casteth away his weapon, offereth both his hands, and holdeth them, as it were to be tied, hoping to saue his life, by offering himselfe bondslaue.

The chiefe bootie the Tartars seeke for in all their warres is to get store of captiues, specially young boyes, and girles, whome they sell to the Turkes, or other their neighbours. To this purpose they take with them great baskets made like bakers panniers to carry them readily, and if any of them happen to tire, or to be sicke by the way, they dash him against the ground, or some tree, and so leaue him dead. The Souldiers are not troubled with keeping the captiues and the other bootie, for hindering the execution of their warres, but they haue certaine bandes that intend nothing else, appointed of purpose to receiue and keepe the captiues and the other praye.

The Tartar religion.

The Russe borderers (beeing vsed to their inuasions lightly euery yeere in the Sommer) keepe fewe other cattell on the borderpartes, saue Swine onely which the Tartar will not touch, nor driue away with him: for that he is of the Turkish religion, and will eate no Swines flesh. Of Christ our Sauiour they confesse as much as doeth the Turke in his Alkaron, viz. that he came of the Angel Gabriel and the Virgin Marie, that he was a great Prophet, and shall be the Iudge of the worlde at the last day. In other matter likewise, they are much ouerred after the manner and direction of the Turke: hauing felt the Turkish forces when hee wonne from them Azou and Caffa, with some other townes about the Euxine or blacke Sea, that were before tributaries to the Crim Tartar. So that now the Emperor of the Crimes for the most part is chosen out of the Nobilitie whom the Turke doeth commend: whereby it is brought now to passe, that the Crim Tartar giueth to the Turke the tenth part of the spoyle which hee getteth in his warres against the Christians.

Herein they differ from the Turkish religion, for that they haue certaine idole puppets made of silke, or like stuffe, of the fashion of a man, which they fasten to the doore of their walking houses, to be as Ianusses or keepers of their house. And these idoles are made not by all, but by certaine religious women which they haue among them for that and like vses. They haue likewise the image of their King or great Can, of an huge bignesse, which they erect at euery time when the army marcheth: and this euery one must bend and bowe vnto as he passeth by it, be he Tartar or stranger. They are much giuen to witchcraft, and ominous coniectures vpon euery accident which they heare or see.

In making of mariages they haue no regard of alliance or consanguinitie. Onely with his mother, sister, and daughter a man may not marrie, and though he take the woman into his house, and accompany with her, yet he accounteth her not for his wife till he haue a childe by her. Then he beginneth to take a dowry of her friends of horse, sheepe, kine, &c. If she be barren after a time, he turneth her home againe.

The Tartar nobilitie.

Vnder the Emperour they haue certaine Dukes, whome they call Morsein or Diuymorsin that rule ouer a certaine number of 10000. 20000. or 40000. a piece, which they call Hoords. When the Emperour hath any vse of them to serue in his warres, they are bound to come, or to bring with them their Souldiers to a certain number, euery man with his two horses at the least, the one to ride on, the other to kill, when it commeth to his turne to haue his horse eate. For

The Tartar diet.

their chiefe victaile is horse flesh, which they eate without bread, or any other thing with it. So that if a Tartar be taken by a Russe, he shall be sure lightly to finde a horse-legge, or some other part of him at his saddle bowe.

1588. This last yeere when I was at the Mosco, came in one Kiriach Morley, nephew to the Emperour of the Crimes that nowe is (whose father was Emperour before) accompanied with 50

Tartars

Tartars, and his two wiues, whereof one was his brothers widow. Where being intertained in very good sort after the Russe manner, hee had sent vnto his lodging for his welcome, to bee made ready for his supper and his companies, two very large and fat horses, ready flayed in a field. They prefer it before other flesh, because the meate is stronger (as they say) then Beefe, Mutton, and such like. And yet (which is maruelle) though they serue all as horsemen in the warres, and care all of horse flesh, there are brought yeerely to the Mosco to bee exchanged for other commodities 30. or 40. thousand Tartar horse, which they call Cones. They keepe also great heards of kine, & flocks of blacke sheepe, rather for the skins and milke (which they carie with them in great bottels) then for the vse of the flesh, though sometimes they eate of it. Some vse they haue of ryse, figs, and other fruits. They drinke milke or warme blood, and for the most part card them both together. They vse sometime as they trauel by the way, to let their horse blood in a vaine, and to drinke it warme, as it commeth from his bodie.

The Tartars dwelling.

Townes they plant none, nor other standing buildings, but haue walking houses, which the Latines call Veij, built vpon wheeles like a shepheards cottage. These they drawe with them whithersoeuer they goe, driuing their cattell with them. And when they come to their stage, or planting place, they plant their carte houses verie orderly in a ranke: and so make the forme of streetes, and of a large towne. And this is the manner of the Emperor himselfe, who hath no other seat of Empire but an Agora, or towne of wood, that moueth with him whithersoeuer hee goeth. As for the fixed and standing building vsed in other countreyes, they say they are vnwholesome and vnpleasant.

They begin to moone their houses and cattell in the Spring time from the South part of their Countrey towards the North partes. And so driuing on till they haue grased all vp to the farthest part Northward, they returne backe againe towards their South countrey (where they continue all the Winter) by 10. or 12. miles a stage: in the meane while the grasse being sprung vp againe, to serue for their cattell as they returne. From the border of the Shalcan towards the Caspian sea, to the Russe frontiers, they haue a goodly Countrey, specially on the South and Southeast parts, but lost for lacke of tillage.

Of money they haue no vse at all, and therefore prefer brasse and steele before other mettals, specially bullate, which they vse for swordes, kniues, and other necessaries. As for golde and siluer they neglect it of verie purpose, (as they doe all tillage of their ground) to bee more free for their wandring kinde of life, and to keepe their Countrey lesse subiect to inuasions. Which giueth them great aduantage against all their neighbors, euer inuading, and neuer being inuaded. Such as haue taken vpon them to inuade their Countrey (as of oldetime Cyrus and Darius Hydaspis, on the East and Southeast side) haue done it with very ill successe: as wee finde in the stories written of those times. For their manner is when any will inuade them, to allure and drawe them on by flying and reculing (as if they were afraide) till they haue drawen them some good way within their countrey. Then when they begin to want victuall and other necessaries (as neere they must where nothing is to be had) to stoppe vp the passages, and inclose them with multitudes. By which stratagem (as wee reade in Laonicus Chalcacondylas in his Turkish storie) they had welnigh surprised the great and huge armie of Tamerlan, but that hee recouered with all speede hee could towardes the riuer Tanais or Don, not without great losse of his men, and carriages.

Pachymerius.

In the storie of Pachymerius the Greeke (which hee wrote of the Emperors of Constantinople from the beginning of the reigne of Michael Palæologus to the time of Andronicus the elder) I remember he telleth to the same purpose of one Nogas a Tartarian captaine vnder Caidan the Emperor of the East Tartars (of whom the citie and kingdome of Cazan may seeme to haue taken the denomination) who refused a present of Pearle and other iewels sent vnto him from Michael Palæologus: asking withall, for what vse they serued, and whether they were able to keepe away sickenesse, death, or other misfortunes of this life, or no. So that it seemeth they haue euer, or long time bene of that minde to value things no further, then by the vse and need for which they serue.

For person and complexion they haue broade and flatte visages, of a tanned colour into yelow and blacke, fierce and cruell lookes, thinne haired vpon the vpper lippe, and pitte of chinne, light and nimble bodies, with short legges, as if they were made naturally for horsemen: whereto they practise themselues from their childhood, seldome going afoot about any businesse. Their speech is verie sodden and loude, speaking as it were out of a deepe throate. When they sing you would thinke a kowe lowed, or some great bandogge howled. Their greatest exercise is shooting, wherein they traine vp their children from their infancie, not suffering them to eate, till they haue shot neere the marke within a certaine

scantling.

scantling. They are the very same that sometimes were called Scythae Nomades, or the Scythian shepheards, by the Greekes and Latines. Some thinke that the Turkes took their beginning from the nation of the Crim Tartars. Of which opinion is Laonicus Calcocondylas the Greeke Historiographer, in his first booke of his Turkish storie. Wherein hee followeth diuers verie probable coniectures. The first taken from the verie name it selfe, for that the worde Turk signifieth a Shepheard or one that followeth a vagarant and wilde kinde of life. By which name these Scythian Tartars haue euer beene noted, being called by the Greekes euen vnder the name of the Scythian shepheards. His second reason, because the Turkes (in his time) that dwelt in Asia the lesse, to wit, in Lydia, Caria, Phrygia and Cappadocia, spake the very same language that these Tartars did, that dwelt betwixt the riuer Tanais or Don, and the countrey of Sarmatia, which (as is well knowen) are these Tartars called Crims. At this time also the whole nation of the Turkes differ not much in their common speech from the Tartar language. Thirdly because the Turke and the Crim Tartar agree so well together, as well in religion, as in matter of traffique neuer inuading, or inurying one another: saue that the Turke (since Laonicus his time) hath encroched vpon some Townes vpon the Euxin Sea, that before pertained to the Crim Tartar. Fourthly, because Ortogules sonne to Oguzalpes, and father to Otoman the first of name of the Turkish nation made his first roads out of those parts of Asia, vpon the next borderers, till hee came towardes the countreys about the hill Taurus, where hee ouercame the Greekes that inhabited there: and so enlarged the name and territorie of the Turkish nation, till hee came to Eubœa and Attica, and other partes of Greece. This is the opinion of Laonicus, who liued among the Turkes in the time of Amurat the first Turkish Emperour, about the yeere 1400. when the memorie of their originall was more fresh: and therefore the likelier hee was to hit the trueth.

Laonicus Calcocondylas.

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There are diuers other Tartars that border vpon Russia, as the Nagayes, the Cheremisses, the Mordwites, the Chircasses, and the Shalcans, which all differ in name more then in regiment, or other condition, from the Crim Tartar, except the Chircasses that border Southwestwardes Lituania, and are farre more ciuill then the rest of the Tartars, of a comely person, and of a stately behauiour, as applying themselues to the fashion of the Polonian. Some of them haue subiected themselues to the Kings of Poland, and professe Christianitie. The Nagay lieth Eastwarde, and is reckoned for the best man of warre among all the Tartars, but verie sauage, and cruell aboue all the rest. The Cheremessen Tartar, that lieth betwixt the Russe and the Nagay, are of two sorts, the Lugauo, (that is of the valley) and the Nagornay, or of the hilly countrey. These haue much troubled the Emperours of Russia. And therefore they are content now to buy peace of them, vnder pretence of giuing a yeerely pension of Russe commodities to their Morseys, or Diuoymorseis, that are chiefe of their tribes. For which also they are bound to serue them in their warres, vnder certaine conditions. They are said to be iust and true in their dealings: and for that cause they hate the Russe people, whom they account to be double, and false in all their dealing. And therefore the common sort are very vnwilling to keepe agreement with them, in that they are kept in by their Morseis, or Dukes for their pensions sake.

The Nagay Tartar the cruellest. The Chircasse the ciuillest Tartar.

The Cheremissen Tartar of two sorts: the Lugauoy and the Nagornay.

The Mordwit Tartar the most barbarous of the rest.

The most rude & barbarous is counted the Mordwit Tartar, that hath many selfe-fashions and strange kinds of behauiour, differing from the rest. For his religion, though he acknowledge one God, yet his maner is to worship for God, that liuing thing the first meeteth in the morning, and sweare by it all that whole day, whether it be horse, dog, cat, or whatsoeuer els it bee. When a friend dieth, he killeth his best horse, and hauing slayed off the skinne hee carieth it on high vpon a long pole before the corpes to the place of buriall. This hee doeth (as the Russe saieth) that his friend may haue a good horse to carie him to heauen: but it is likelier to declare his loue towards his dead friend, in that he will haue to vse with him the best thing that he hath.

Next to the kingdome of Astracan, that is the farthest part Southeastward of the Russe dominion, lyeth the Shalcan, and the countrey of Media: whither the Russe marchants trade for rawe silkes, lynnen, saphion, skinnes, and other commodities. The chiefe Townes of Media where the Russe traueth, are Derbent (built by Alexander the great, as the inhabitants say) and Zamachi where the staple is kept for rawe silkes. Their maner is in the Spring time to reuiue the silke-wormes (that lie dead all the Winter) by laying them in the warme sunne, and (as hatch their quickening that they may sooner goe to worke) to put them into bags, and to hang them vnder their childrens armes. As for the wormes called Chrinisin (as we call them Chrymson) that maketh coloured silke, it is bred not in Media, but in Assyria. This trade of Derbent and Samachi for rawe silkes, and other commodities of that Countrey, as also to Persia, and Bougharia downe the riuer of Volga, and through the Caspian sea, is permitted aswell to the English as to the Russe merchants, by the Emperours last grant at my being there

The Shalcan.

The countrey of Media.

The chiefe Townes of Media where the Russe traueth.

The reuiuing of silkwormes.

Chrinisin a kind of silkwormes.

Liberty to trade downe the Caspian sea.

which he accounteth for a very speciall fauour, and might proue indeede very beneficiall to our English merchants, if the trade were wel and orderly vsed.

The whole nation of the Tartars are vtterly voide of all learning, and without written Lawe: yet certaine rules they haue which they hold by tradition, common to all the Hoords for the practise of their life. Which are of this sort. First, To obey their Emperour and other Magistrates, whatsoeuer they commaund about the publike seruice. 2 Except for the publike behoofe, every man to be free and out of controlment. 3 No priuate man to possesse any lands, but the whole countrey to be as common. 4 To neglect all daintinesse and varietie of meates, and to content themselues with that which commeth next to hand, for more hardnesse, and readinesse in the exercising of their affaires. 5 To weare any base attire, and to patch their clothes whether there be any neede or not: that when there is neede, it be no shame to weare a patcht coate. 6 To take or steale from any stranger whatsoeuer they can get, as beeing enemies to all men, saue to such as will subiect themselues to them. 7 Towards their owne hoorde and nation to be true in worde and deede. 8 To suffer no stranger to come within the Realme. If any doe, the same to be bondslaue to him that first taketh him, except such merchants and others as haue the Tartar Bull, or passport about them.

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No stranger without passport admitted.

Of the *Permians*, *Samoites*, and *Lappes*.

THe Permians and Samoites that lye from Russia, Northe and Northeast, are thought likewise to haue taken their beginning from the Tartar kinde. And it may partly bee gessed by the fashion of their countenance, as hauing all broade and flat faces as the Tartars haue, except the Circasses. The Permians are accounted for a very ancient people. They are nowe subiect to the Russe. They liue by hunting, and trading with their furres, as also doeth the Samoit, that dwelleth more towardes the North Sea. The Samoit hath his name (as the Russe themselues make more probable, because at this time they eate all kind of raw flesh, whatsoeuer it be, euen the very carion that lieth in the ditch. But as the Samoits themselues will say, they were so called Samoie, that is, of themselues, as though they were Indigenæ, or people bred vpon that ground. They are subiect at this time to the Emperour of Russia.

The Permians.

The Samoits.

I talked with certaine of them, and finde that they acknowledge one God: but representem him by such things as they haue most vse and good by. And therefore they worship the Sunne, the Moone, the Loth, and such like. As for the Image of Slata Baba, or the Golden hagge, (which I haue seene in some mappes, and descriptions of these countries, to be an idole after the forme of an olde woman) that being demanded by the Priest, giueth them certaine Oracles, concerning the successe, and euent of things, I found it to be a very fable. Onely in the Province of Obdoria on the sea side, neare to the mouth of the great riuer Obba, there is a rocke, which naturally (being somewhat helped by imagination) may seeme to beare the shape of a ragged woman, with a child in her armes (as the rocke by the North Cape the shape of a Frier) where the Samoites vse much to resort, by reason of the commoditie of the place for fishing: there sometime (as their manner is) conceiue, and practise their sorceries, and other superstitions about the good or bad speede of their iourneies, fishings, huntings, and the like.

The Samoits religion.

Slata Baba or the golde Hag.

A fable.

The Sea.

Fishing or sea.

They are clad in Seale skins, with the hairie side outwards downe as low as the knees, with breeches and netherstockes of the same, both men and women. They are all blacke haired, and vtterly beardlesse. And therefore the men are hardly discerned from the women by their habite: saue that the women weare a locke of haire downe along both their eares. They liue in manner a wilde and sauage life, rouing still from one place of the countrey to another, without propertie of house or land more to one then to another. Their leader or directer in euery iourney, is their Papa or Priest.

The Samoits habit and behauiour.

The people of Mera Incognita such.

On the North side of Russia next to Corelia, lieth the countrey of Lappia, which reacheth in fashion the farthest point Northward, (towards the Northcape) to the farthest part Southward which the Russe calleth Sweetnesse or Holy nose, the English men Capegrace) about 345. miles. From Sweetnesse to Candelox by the way of Versega (which measureth the breadth of that countrey) is 90. miles or thereabouts. The whole countrey in a manner is either high hilles, or mountaines, which towardes the Sea side are called Tondro, because they are all full of rude and craggy rocke, but the inland partes are well furnished with woods that growe on the lower hilles sides, the lakes lying betweene. Their diet is very bare and simple. Bread they haue

The Lappis.

none,

none, but keepe onely vpon fish and foule. They are subiects to the Emperor of Russia, and the two kings of Sweden and Denmarke: which all exact tribute and custome of them (as was saide before) but the Emperor of Russia beareth the greatest hand ouer them, and exacteth of them farre more then the rest. The opinion is that they were first termed Lappes of their bylefe and broken speech. The Russe diuideth the whole nation of the Lappes into two sorres. The one they call Nowremanskoy Lapary, that is, the Norwegian Lappes because they be of the Danish religion. For the Danes and Norwegians they account for one people. The other that haue no religion at all but liue as brute and heathenish people, without God in the worlde, they cal Dikoy Lapary, or the wilde Lappes.

The whole nation is vtterly vnlearned, hauing not so much as the vse of any Alphabet, or letter among them. For practise of witchcrafts and sorcerie they passe all nations in the world. Though for enchanting of ships that saile along their coast, (as I haue heard it reported) and their giuing of winds good to their friends, and contrary to other, whom they meane to hurt by tying of certaine knots vpon a rope (somewhat like to the tale of Æolus his windbag) is a very fable, deuised (as may seeme) by themselues, to terrifie sailers for comming neere their coast. Their weapons are the long bow, and handgunne, wherein they excell, aswell for quicknesse to charge and discharge, as for neerenesse at the marke by reason of their continual practise (whereto they are forced) of shooting at wilde fowle. Their maner is in Sommer time to come downe in great companies to the sea side, to Wardhuyse, Cola, Kegor, and the bay of Vedagoba, and there to fish for Codde, Salmon, & But-fish, which they sell to the Russes, Danes, & Norwegians, and now of late to the English men that trade thither with cloth, which they exchange with the Lapps or Lapplians for their fish, oyle, and furres, whereof also they haue some store. They holde their mart at Cola on S. Peters day: what time the captaine of Wardhuyse (that is reckned there for the king of Denmark) must be present, or at least send his deputie to set prices vpon their stockfish, train oile, furres, and other commodities: as also the Russe Emperors customer, or tribute taker, to receiue his custome, which is euer paide before any thing can bee bought or solde. When their fishing is done, their manner is to drawe their carbasses or boates on shore, and there to leaue them with the keele turned vpwardes, till the next spring tide. Their trauaile to and fro is vpon sleedes drawen by the Olen Deere: which they vse to turne a grasing all the Sommer time in an Iland called Kildyn, (of a verie good soyle compared with other parres of that Countrey) and towards the Winter time, when the snowe beginneth to fall, they fetch them home againe for vse of their sledde.

The mart at Cola.

Sleds drawen with Deere.

The description of the regions, people, and riuers, lying North and East from *Moscouia*: as the way from *Moscouia* to the riuer *Petzora*, and the Prouince *Iugaria* or *Iubra*, and from thence to the riuer *Obi*. Likewise the description of other countreys and regions, euen vnto the Empire of the great *Can* of *Cathay*, taken out of *Sigismundus ab Herberstein*.

The dominion of the Duke of Moscouia.

THE dominion of the Prince of Moscouia, reacheth farre toward the East and North, vnto the places which we will now describe. As concerning which I translated a booke was presented vnto me in the Moscouites tongue, and here haue a briefe rehearsall of the same. I will first therefore describe the iourney from Moscouia to Petzora, and so to Iugaria and Obi. From Moscouia

Vologda. Verst. Vstiug.

the citie of Vologda, are numbred fiue hundred verstes, one verst conteynting almost the space of an Italian myle. From Vologda to Vstiug toward the right hand, descending with the streame of the riuer of Vologda and Suchana with whom it ioyneth, are counted fiue hundred verstes, where within two verstes of the towne called Strelze, and hard by the citie of Vstiug, Suchana ioyneth vnto Iug, which runneth from the South: from whose mouth vnto the springs of the same are numbred fiue hundred verstes.

Suchana, Iug called of his swift and pleasant streame.

But Suchana and Iug, after they ioyne together, lose their first names, and make but one named Dwina, by the which the passage to the citie of Colmogro conteineth fiue hundred verstes from whence, in the space of fiue dayes iourney, Dwina entreth into the North Ocean by mouthes. And the greatest part of this iourney consisteth by Nauigation. For by lande from Vologda vnto Colmogro, passing ouer the riuer Vuaga, are a thousand verstes. Not farre from Colmogro, the riuer Pienega running from the East on the right hand for the space of seuen hundred verstes, falleth into Dwina. From Dwina by the riuer Pienega, by the space of two hundred verstes, they come to a place called Nicholai, from whence within haile a verst ships haue passage into the riuer Kuluio, which hath his originall from a lake of the same name towarde the North

Pienega.

Nicholai.

Kuluio.

from whole springs is eight dates viage to the mouth of the same, where it entreth into the Ocean.

Saylng by the coasts of the right hand of the sea, they passe by the regions of Stanuwische, Cameczicho, and Apnu: And sayling about the promontorie or cape of Chorogoski Noss, Stanuwische, Cameneckh, and Tolstickh, they come at length into the riuer Mezen, and from thence in the space of fiue dayes, to a village of the same name, standing in the mouth of the riuer Pieza, by the which againe ascending toward the left hand & sommer East, they come to the riuer Piescoia: from whence sayling for the space of fiue verstes, they come into two lakes, in the which are seene two wayes: whereof one on the right side, goeth to the riuer Rubicho, by the which they passe to the riuer Czircho. Other, by an other and shorter way, lying their ships from the lake directly into Czircho: from whence, except they be hindered by tempest, they come in the lake directly weekes to the riuer and mouth of Czilma, flowing into the great riuer Petzora, which in that place is two verstes in breadth. Sayling from thence, they come in the space of three Towne and castle of Pustosero, neare vnto the which, Petzora entreth into the North Ocean at fiue mouthes. The inhabitants of this place, are men of simple wit: they receiued the faith of Christ, and were baptised in the yeare M.D.xviii.

The regions by the North sea.

Pieza. Piescoia.

Rubicho.

Czircho.

Czilma.

Petzora.

Pustosero.

From the mouth of Czilma vnto the mouth of the riuer Vssa, going by Petzora, is one moneths viage. Vssa hath his springs in the mountaine *Poyas Semnoi, being on the left hand toward the sommer East, and springeth out of a great stone of the same mountaine, called Camen Bolschoi. From the springs of Vssa to the mouthes of the same, are numbered more then a thousand verstes. Furthermore, Petzora runneth from this south winter part, from whence ascending from the mouthes of Vssa, vnto the mouthes of the riuer Strzuchogora, is three weekes viage. They that described this vyage sayd that they rested betweene the mouthes of the riuers of Strzuchogora and Porzscheriema, and left their victuals there which they brought with them from Russia. Beyond the riuers of Petzora and Strzuchogora toward the mountaine Camenipoias, and the sea with the Ilands thereabout, and the Castle of Pustosero, are diuers and innumerable nations, which by one common name are called Samoged (that is) such as eate themselues. They haue great increase of foules, birdes, and diuers kindes of beastes: as Sables, Martrones, Beuers, Otters, Hermelines, Squirrels: and in the Ocean the beast called a Morz: Also Uelle, white Beares, Wolues, Hares, Equiwoduani, great Whales, and a fish called Semik, with diuers other. The people of these nations come not to Moscouia: For they are wilde, and flee the company and society of other men.

*Cingulus mundi

Vssa.

Strzuchogora.

Porzscheriema.

Camenipoias.

Samoged.

Foules and beast.

Wilde people.

From the mouthes of Strzuchogora, sayling vp the riuer vnto Poiassa, Artawische, Cameni, and Poiassa the greater, is three weekes vyage. Furthermore, the ascending to the mount Camen, is three dayes iourney: from the which descending they come to the riuer Artawisha, and from thence to the riuer Sibur, from whence they passe to the Castle of Lepin, and from Lepin to the riuer Sossa. The people that inhabite the region by this riuer, are called Vuogouici. Leauing Sossa on the right hande, they come to the great riuer Obi, that springeth out of the lake Kitaisko, the which, with all the haste they could make, they could scarcely passe ouer in one day, the riuer being of such breadth that it reacheth fourescore verstes. The people also that dwell about the riuer, are called Vuogolici and Vgritzschi. From the Castle of Obea, ascending by the riuer of Oby, vnto the riuer Irtische, into the which Sossa entereth, is three moneths iourney. In these places are two Castles named Ierom and Tumen, kept by certaine Lords called Knesi Iuborski, being tributaries to the great Duke of Moscouia, as they say. Here are diuers kindes of beasts and furres.

Poiassa.

Camen.

Artawische.

Sibur.

Lepin.

Sossa.

Obi.

Kitaisko.

Vuogolici.

Irtische.

Ierom.

Tumen.

From the mouth of the riuer Irtische to the Castle of Grustina, is two moneths iourney: from thence to the lake Kitai, by the riuer Oby (which I said to haue his springs in this lake) is more then three moneths iourney. From this lake come many blacke men, lacking the vse of common speech. They bring with them diuers wares, and especially pearles and precious stones, which they sell to the people called Grustintzi and Serponowtzi. These haue their name of the Castle Serponow, situate in the mountaines of Lucomoria, beyond the riuer Obi. They say that to the people of Lucomoria chanceth a maruelious thing and incredible: For they affirme, that they dye euerie yeare at the xviii. day of Nouember, being the feast of S. George among the Moscouites: but that at the next spring about the xviii. day of Aprill, they reuiue againe as doe Frogges. With these also, the people of Grustintzi and Serponowtzi exercise a new and strange kinde of marchandize: For when the accustomed time of their dying, or rather of sleeping, approcheth, they lay their wares in certaine places appointed, which the Grustintzi and Serponowtzi carry away, leauing other wares of equall value in their places: which if the dead men at the time of their reuiuing perceiue to be of vnequall price, they require their owne againe: by reason whereof, discord and fighting is betweene them.

Grustina. Kitai.

Blacke men without speech

Serponow. Lucomoria.

When they dye and reuiue.

A strange trade of marchandize.

Obi. Calami. Riuers.

From the riuer of Obi descending toward the left hand, are the people called Calami, which came thither from Obiowa and Pogosi. Beneath Obi, about Aurea Anus (that is, the golden old wife) are the riuers Sossa, Berezuus, and Danadim, all which spring out of the mountaines Camen, Boischega, Poiassa, and the rockes ioyning to the same. All the nations that inhabite from these riuers to Aurea Anus, are subiect to the prince of Moscouia.

Aurea Anus, Obdora.

Aurea Anus, called in the Moscouites tongue, Slata Baba, is an idol, at the mouthe of Obi in the prouince of Obdora, standing on the furthest banke toward the sea. Along by the bankes of Obi, & the riuers neare there about, are here and there many castles and fortresses: all the townes whereof, are subiect to the prince of Moscouia, as they say. They say also, or rather fable, that the idol called Aurea Anus, is an image like vnto an old wife, hauing a child in her lap, and that there is now seene another infant, which they say to be her nephew: Also, that there are certaine instruments that make a continuall sound like the noyse of Trumpets, the which, if it so be, I thinke it to be by reason of the winde, blowing continually into the holow places of those instruments.

Cossin, Cassima, Tachnin a great riuer. People of monstrous shape. A fish like a man. Plinie writeth of the like fish.

The riuer Cossin falleth out of the mountaines of Lucomoria: In the mouth of this is a castle, whither from the springs of the great riuer Cossin, is two monethes viage. Furthermore, from the springs of the same riuer, the riuer Cassima hath his originall, which running through Lucomoria, falleth into the great riuer Tachnin, beyond the which (as is said) dwell men of prodigious shape, of whom, some are ouergrowen with haire like wilde beastes, other haue heads like dogges, and their faces in their breasts, without neckes, and with long hands also, and without feete. There is likewise in the riuer Tachnin a certaine fish, with head, eyes, nose, mouth, hands, feete, and other members vtterly of humane shape, and yet without any voyce, and pleasant to be eaten, as are other fishes.

The end of the iournall.

All that I haue hitherto rehearsed, I haue translated out of the saide iourney which was deliuered me in the Moscouites tongue: In the which, perhaps some things may seeme fabulous, and in maner incredible, as of the dombe men, and the dead reuiuing, the Aurea Anus also, and the monstrous shapes of men, with the fish of humane fourme: whereof, although I haue made diligent inquisition, yet could I know nothing certaine of any that had seene the same with their eyes: neuertheless, to giue further occasion to other to search the trueth of these things, I haue thought good to make mention hereof.

Noss in the Moscouites tongue signifieth a nose, and therefore they call all capes or points, that reach into the sea, by the same name.

Mountaines.

The mountaines about the riuer of Petzora are called Semnoi Poyas, or Cingulus mundi, that is, the girdle of the world, or of the earth.

The great Can of Cathay.

Kithai is a lake, of which the great Can of Cathay, whom the Moscouians cal Czar Kithaiski, hath his name: For Can in the Tartars language signifieth, A King.

Moria is the sea. Lucomoria.

The places of Lucomoria, neare vnto the sea, are saluage, full of woods, and inhabited without any houses. And albeit, that the author of this iourney, said, that many nations of Lucomoria are subiect to the prince of Moscouia, yet for as much as the kingdome of Tumen is neare thereunto, whose prince is a Tartar, and named in their tongue, Tumenski Czar, that is, a king in Tumen, and hath of late done great damage to the prince of Moscouia: it is most like that these nations should rather be subiect vnto him.

Petzora, Papin.

Neare vnto the riuer Petzora (whereof mention is made in this iourney) is the citie and isle of Papin, or Papinowgorod, whose inhabitants are named Papini, and haue a priuate language, differing from the Moscouites. Beyond this riuer are exceeding high mountaines, reaching euen vnto the bankes, whose ridges or tops, by reason of continuall windes, are in maner wholly barren without grasse or fruits. And although in diuers places they haue diuers names, yet are they commonly called Cingulus mundi, that is, the girdle of the world. In these mountaines are Ierfalcons breede, whereof I haue spoken before. There growe also Cedar trees, among which are found the best and blackest kinde of Sables: and onely these mountaines are seene of all the dominions of the prince of Moscouia, which perhaps are the same that the old writers call Rhipheos, or Hyperboreos, so named of the Greeke word, Hyper, that is, Aboue, and Boreas, that is, the North: for by reason they are couered with continuall snow and frost, they cannot without great difficultie be trauailed, and reach so farre into the North, that they make the vnknowen land of Engronland. The Duke of Moscouia, Basilius the sonne of Iohn, sent on a time two of his Captaines, named Simeon Pheodorowich Kurbski, & Knes Peter Vschatoi, to search the places beyond these mountaines, and to subdue the nations thereabout. Kurbski was present at my being in Moscouia, & declared vnto me that he spent xvii. daies in ascending the mountaines, & yet could not come to the top therof, which in their tongue is called Stolp, that is, a piller. The mountaine is extended into the Ocean vnto the mouthes of the riuers of Dwina and Petzora.

Higb mountaines, supposed to be Hyperboreii, and Rhipbei.

But now hauing spoken thus much of the said iourney, I will returne to the dominions of Mos-
couia, with other regions lying Eastward & South from the same, toward the mighty Empire
of Cathay. But I will first speake somewhat briefly of the prouince of Rezan, and the famous riuer of Tanais. Cathay.

The prouince of Rezan, situate betweene the riuers of Occa and Tanais, hath a citie builded of wood, not from the banke of Occa: there was in it a Castle named Iaroslaue, whereof there now remaineth nothing but tokens of the old ruine, not farre from that citie, the riuer Occa ma-
keth an Iland named Strub, which was sometime a great Duke dome, whose prince was subiect to none other. This prouince of Rezan is more fruitful then any other of the prouinces of Mos-
couia: insomuch that in this (as they say) euery graine of wheat bringeth forth two, and some-
times more eares: whose stalkes or strawes grow so thicke that horses can scarcely go through them, or Quayles flie out of them. There is great plenty of hony, fishes, foules, birdes, and wilde beasts. The fruits also doe farre exceede the fruits of Moscouia. The people are bolde and war-
like men. The fruitfull prouince of Rezan. Iaroslaue. Hony.

A speciall note gathered by the excellent Venetian Cosmographer M. *Iohn Baptista Ramusius* out of the Arabian Geographie of *Abulfada Ismael*, concerning the trending of the Ocean sea from *China* Northward, along the coast of *Tartarie* and other vnknowen lands, and then running Westwards vpon the Northerne coasts of *Russia*, and so farther to the Northwest.

Descriuendo poi il predetto Abilfada Ismael *i luoghi della terra habitabile, che circuendo il mar Oceano tocca, dice cosi.* La regione delle Cine.

*Riuoltasi l'Oceano da leuante verso la regione delle Cine, & và alla volta di Tramontana, et passata finalmente la detta regione, se ne giunge a Gogi & Magogi, cio è alli confini de gli Vltimi Tartari, et di quiui ad Alcune Terre che sono Incognite: Et correndo sempre per Ponente, passa so-
pra i confini Settentrionali della Rossia, et và alla volta di Maestro.* Confini delli vltimi Tartari. Alcune Terre Incognite. Confini Settentrionali della Rossia.

The same in English.

THe aforesaid Abilfada Ismael describing afterward the habitable places of the earth, which the Ocean sea in his circuit toucheth, sayth in this manner following.

The Ocean sea turneth from the East toward the Countrey of the Chinaes, and stretcheth toward the North, and at length hauing passed the sayd Countrey, it reacheth vnto the Gogi and Magogi, that is, to the confines of The vttermost Tartars, and from thence, vnto certaine vn-
knowen Countreys: and running still Westward it passeth vpon the Northerne coasts of Russia, and from thence it runneth toward the Northwest. (which it doth indeede vpon the coast of Lap-
pia.) By this most notable testimony it appeareth, that the Ocean sea compasseth and enuironeth all the East, Northeast, and North parts of Asia and Europe. The Countrey of China. The coasts of the vttermost Tartars. Certaine vnknowne Countreys. The Northern coasts of Russia. The Northwest.

The Emperors priuate or houshold Officers.

THe chiefe Officers of the Emperors houshold are these which follow. The first is the office of the Boiaren Conesheua, or Master of the Horse. Which conteineth no more then is ex-
pressed by the name, that is, to be Oueriser of the Horse, and not Magister equitum, or Master of the Horsemen. For he appointeth other for that seruice, as occasion doth require, as before was expressed. Of Horse for seruice in his warres (besides other for his ordinary vses) he hath to the number of ten thousand which are kept about Mosco. Master of the Horse.

The next is the Lord Steward of his houshold at this time, one Gregory Vasilowich Godo-
noe. The third is his Treasurer, that keepeth all his moneis, iewels, plate, &c. now called Ste-
phan Vasilowich Godonoe. The fourth his Controller, now Andreas Petrowich Clesinine. The fift his Chamberlaine. He that attendeth that office at this time, is called Estoma Bisabro-
witz Paslelnischay. The first his Tasters, now Theodor Alexandrowich, and Iuan Vasilowich Godonoe. The seuenth his Harbengers, which are three Noble men, and diuers other Gentle-
men that do the office vnder them. These are his ordinary officers, and offices of the chiefest ac-
count. The L. Steward. The L. Treasurer. Controller. Chamberlaine. Tasters. Harbengers.

Of Gentlemen, beside them that waite about his chamber, and person (called Shilsey Strap-
pers) there are two hundred, all Noblemens sonnes. His ordinary Garde is two thousand Hage-
ters readie with their pieces charged, and their match lighted, with other necessarie furniture continually Gentlemen of the chamber. The Garde.

continually day and night: which come not within the houſe, but watte without in the court or yard, where the Emperour is abiding. In the night time there lodgeth next to his bedchamber the chiefe Chamberlaine, with one or two more of beſt truſt about him. A ſecond chamber off, there lodge fiue other of like account for their truſt and faithfulneſſe. In the thirde chamber lie certaine young Gentlemen, of theſe two hundred, called Shilſey Strapley, that take their turnes by forties euery night. There are Groomes beſides that watch in their courſe, and lie at euery gate and doore of the Court, called Eſtopnick. Groomes.

The Pagbutters or Gunners, whereof there are two thouſand (as was ſaid before) watch about the Emperours lodging, or bed chamber by courſe 250. euery night, and 250. more in the Court yarde, and about the Treaſure houſe. His Court or houſe at the Moſco is made Caſtle wiſe, walled about, with great ſtore of faire ordinance planted vpon the wall, and contayneth a great breadth of ground within it, with many dwelling houſes: Which are appointed for ſuch as are knowen to be ſure, and truſtie to the Emperor.

Of the priuate behauiour, or qualitie of the Ruſſe people.

THE priuate behauiour and qualitie of the Ruſſe people, may partly be vnderſtood by that which hath beene ſayd concerning the publique ſtate and vſage of the Countrey. As touching the naturall habite of their bodies, they are for the moſt part of a large ſize, and of very fleſhly bodies: accounting it a grace to be ſome what groſſe and burley, and therefore they nourish and ſpread their beards, to haue them long and broad. But for the moſt part they are very wieloy and vnactiue withall. Which may be thought to come partly of the climate, and the nouriſhment which they get by the cold in winter, and partly of their diet that ſtandeth moſt of rootes, onions, garlike, cabbage, and ſuch like things that breede groſſe humors, which they vſe to eate alone, and with their other meates. Conſtitution of their bodies.

Their diet is rather much then curious. At their meales they beginne commonly with a Charke or ſmall cuppe of Aqua vitæ, (which they call Ruſſe wine) and then drinke not till towardes the end of their meales, taking it in largely, and all together, with killing one another at euery pledge. And therefore after dinner there is no talking with them, but euery man goeth to his bench to take his afternoones ſleepe, which is as ordinary with them as their nights reſt. When they exceede, and haue varietie of diſhes, the firſt are their baked meates (for roſte meates they vſe little) and then their broathes or portage. Their common drinke is Mead, the poorer ſort vſe water, and a third drinke called Quaſſe, which is nothing elſe (as we ſay) but water turned out of his wits, with a little braune meathed with it. Their diet.

This diet would breede in them many diſeaſes, but that they vſe bathſtoues, or hote houſes in ſtead of all Phiſicke, commonly twiſe or thriſe euery weeke. All the winter time, and almoſt the whole Sommer, they heat their Peaches, which are made like the Germane bathſtoues, and their Poclads like ouens, that ſo warme the houſe that a ſtranger at the firſt ſhall hardly like of it. Theſe two extremities, ſpecially in the winter of heat within their houſes, and of extreame cold without, together with their diet, make them of a darke, and ſallow complexion, their ſkinnes being tanned and parched both with cold and with heate: ſpecially the women, that for the greater part are of farre worſe complexions, then the men. Whereof the cauſe I take to be their keeping within the hote houſes, and buſying themſelues about the heating, and oyling of their bathſtoues, and peaches.

The Ruſſe becauſe that he is vſed to both theſe extremities of heat and of cold, can beare them both a great deale more patiently, then ſtrangers can doe. You ſhall ſee them ſometimes (to ſeaſon their bodies) come out of their bathſtoues all on a froth, and fuming as hoat almoſt as a pigge at a ſpit, and preſently to leape into the riuer ſtarke naked, or to powre cold water all ouer their bodies, and that in the coldeſt of all the winter time. The women to mende the bad hue of their ſkinnes, vſe to paint their faces with white and red colours, ſo viſibly, that euery man may perceiue it. Which is made no matter, becauſe it is common, and liked well by their huſbands, who make their wiues and daughters an ordinarie allowance to buy them colours to paint their faces withall, and delight themſelues much to ſee them of fowle women to become ſuch faire images. This parcheth the ſkinne, and helpeth to deforme them when their painting is of. An admirable indurring of extreme heat, and colde at one and the ſame time.

The Noble mans attire. They apparell themſelues after the Greeke manner. The Noblemans attire is on this fashion. Firſt a Taffia, or little night cappe on his head, that couereth little more then his crowne, commonly verie rich wrought of ſilke and golde threede, and ſet with pearle and precious ſtone. His head he keepeth ſhauen cloſe to the very ſkinne, except he be in ſome diſpleaſure with the Emperour. Then hee ſuffereth his haire to growe and hang downe vpon his ſhoulders, co-

ring his face as vgly and defo-
blacke Fore (which they acc-
ſtanding vp like a Perſian or
a coller ſet with pearle and p-
ſhirt, (which is curiouſly w-
time, while he is within the h-
knees, buttoned before: and
Perſian girdle, whereat he h-
and hangeth downe as low as
ſilke, furred and faced about w-
let, or like ſtuffe called an Alk-
ched, and ſet all with pearle.
ſleight, though they ſeeme to
Alkaben, ſaue that it is made
cloth, or Camels haire. His bu-
der them in ſtead of boot hoſe)
pearle. His vpper ſtockes comm-
teth on horſe backe, thoughit be
of Gentlemen.
The Boiarskey or Gentleman
will haue his Caftan or vndercoat
The Noble woman (called C-
ſelf ſilke (which is commonly r-
Ouer that her cappe (made after t-
with ſome rich furre, and ſet wit-
haue embrodering with pearle ab-
times haue taken vp the faſhion.
of two inches or more compaſſe,
like precious ſtone. In Sommer
bricke, faſtned vnder the chinne,
ſo thicke with rich pearle. When
haires with coloured bandes, call-
of three or foure fingers broad, ſet
is a looſe gowne called Oposhen c-
to the ground buttoned before with
as a valmut. Which hath hanging
rich furre, that hangeth downe alm-
ken or vpper garment, they wear
great wide ſleeues, the cuffe or halfe
vnder that a Ferris Zemskoy, whic-
the hande wells they weare very fai-
ious ſtone. They goe all in buſkins
embrodered with pearle. This is the
all the wee of her ſelfe. The Gentlew-
e making or faſhion.
As for the poore Mouſick and his
key, or looſe gowne to the ſmall o-
ſize of blew cloth, with ſome Shube
his furred cappe, and buſkins. T-
ment, made of Rowes haire. This
y weare nothing but their ſhirtes an-
with a red or blew gowne, when ſh-
re vnder it in the winter time. Bu-
them) one ouer the other, whether
ver caps of ſome coloured ſtuffe, man-
is, without earings of ſiluer or ſom-
no Ruſſe woman, be ſhe wife, or mai-

ring his face as vgly and deformedly as he can. Ouer the Taffia hee weareth a wide cappe of blacke Fore (which they account for the best furre) with a Tiara or long bonnet put within it, standing vp like a Persian or Babilonian hatte. About his necke (which is seene all bare) is a coller set with pearle and precious stone, about three or foure fingers broad. Next ouer his shirt, (which is curiously wrought, because hee strippeth himselfe into it in the Sommer time, while he is within the house) is a Shepon, or light garment of silke, made downe to the knees, buttoned before: and then a Caftan or a close coat buttoned, and girt to him with a Persian girdle, whereat he hangs his knives and spoone. This commonly is of cloth of gold, silke, furred and faced about with some golde lace, called a Ferris. Another ouer that of chamlet, or like stuffe called an Alkaben, sleeued and hanging lowe, and the cape commonly broidered, and set all with pearle. When hee goeth abroad, he casteth ouer all these (which are but Alkaben, saue that it is made without a coller for the necke. And this is commonly of fine cloth, or Camels haire. His buskins (which he weareth in stead of hose, with linnen folles vnder them in stead of boot hose) are made of a Persian leather called Saphian, embrodered with pearle. His vpper stockes commonly are of cloth of golde. When he goeth abroad, hee mounteth on horsebacke, thought it be but to the next doore: which is the maner also of the Boiarskey, or Gentlemen.

The Boiarskey or Gentlemans attire is of the same fashion, but differeth in stuffe: and yet he will haue his Caftan or vndercoat sometimes of cloth of golde, the rest of cloth, or silke. The Gentlemans apparell.

The Noble woman (called Chyna Boiarshena) weareth on her head, first a caull of some soft silke (which is commonly redde) and ouer it a fruntlet called Obrosa, of white colour. Ouer that her cappe (made after the coife fashion of cloth of gold) called Shapka Zempska, edged with some rich furre, and set with pearle and stone. Though they haue of late begunne to dismisse embrodering with pearle aboue their cappes, because the Diacks, and some Marchants of two inches or more compasse, the matter of gold set with Rubies, or Saphires, or some like precious stone. In Sommer they goe often with kerchieffes of fine white lawne, or cambricke, fastned vnder the chinne, with two long tassels pendent. The kerchiefe spotted and set thicke with rich pearle. When they ride or goe abroad in raynie weather, they weare white hattes with coloured bandes, called Stapa Zemskoy. About their neckes they weare collers of three or foure fingers broad, set with rich pearle and precious stone. Their vpper garment is a loose gowne called Oposhen commonly of scarlet, with wide loose sleeues, hanging downe to the ground buttened before with great golde buttons, or at least siluer and guilt nigh as bigge as a walnut. Which hath hanging ouer it fastned vnder the cappe, a large broad cape of some rich furre, that hangeth downe almost to the middes of their backes. Next vnder the Oposhen or vpper garment, they weare another called a Letnick that is made close before with great wide sleeues, the cuffe or halfe sleeue vp to the elbowes, commonly of cloth of golde: and vnder that a Ferris Zemskoy, which hangeth loose buttoned throughout to the very foote. On the hande wrests they weare very faire Bralelets, about two fingers broad of pearle and precious stone. They goe all in buskins of white, yellow, blew, or some other coloured leather, embrodered with pearle. This is the attire of the Noble woman of Russia, when she maketh the best shewe of her selfe. The Gentlewomans apparell may differ in the stuffe, but is all one for making or fashion. The Noble womans attire.

As for the poore Mouſick and his wife they goe poorely cladde. The man with his Honokey, or loose gowne of the small of the legge, tyed together with a lace before, of course frize or blew cloth, with some Shube or long wastcoate of furre, or of sheepeskinne vnder it, and his furred cappe, and buskins. The poorer sort of them haue their Honorarkey, or vpper garment, made of Rowes haire. This is their winter habite. In the sommer time, commonly they weare nothing but their shirts on their backes, and buskins on their legges. The woman hath in a red or blew gowne, when she maketh the best shewe, and with some warme Shube or vnder it in the winter time. But in the sommer, nothing but her two shirts (for so they call them) one ouer the other, whether they be within doores, or without. On their heads, they weare caps of some coloured stuffe, many of velure, or of cloth of gold: but for the most part without earings of siluer or some other mettall, and her crosse about her necke, you shall see no Russe woman, be she wife, or maide. The Mouſicks or common mans attire.

The Lord *Boris Pheodorowich* his letter to the Right Honorable *William Burghley* Lord high Treaſurer of England, &c.

BY the grace of God the great Lord Emperor, and great Duke Theodore Iuanowich, great Lord, King, and great Duke of all Ruſſia, of Volodemer, Moſco, and Nouogorod, king of Cazan, and Aſtracan, Lord of Vobsko, and great Duke of Smolenſco, Tuer, Vghori, Permi, Viatsko, Bolgorie, and other places, Lord and great Duke of Nouogrod in the Lowe Countrey, of Chernigo, Rezan, Polotsky, Roſtoue, Yeroſlaue, Bealozera, and Liefland, of Oudorski, Obdorski, Condinski, and commander of all Sibierland, and the North coaſts, great Lord ouer the Countrey of Iuerski, Griſinski, Emperor of Kabardinski, and of the Countrey Charchaski, and the Countrey of Gorsky, and Lord of many other regions.

The Emperors ſtile increaſed.

From Boris Pheodorowich his Maieſties brother in law, maſter of his horſes, gouernour of the territories of Cazan and Aſtracan, to William Lord Burghley, Lord high Treaſurer to the moſt vertuous Ladie Elizabeth, Queene of England, France, and Ireland, and other dominions: I receiued your Lordſhips letters, wherein you write that you haue receiued very ioyfully my letters ſent vnto you, and aduiſedly read them, and imparted the ſame vnto her Maieſtie: and that your Merchants ſinde themſelues agreeued, that when they approch theſe parts, and are arriued here, they are not permitted to enter into a free and liberall courſe of barter, traffike, and exchange of their commodities, as heretofore they haue done, but are compelled before they can enter into any traffike to accept the Emperours ware, and other goods, at high rates farre aboue their value, to their great loſſe: and that they are by reaſon of this reſtraint long holden vpon their coaſts to the danger of wintering by the way. Hereafter there ſhalbe no cauſe of offence giuen to the Marchants of the Queenes Maieſtie Queene Elizabeth: they ſhall not be forced to any thing, neither are there or ſhall be any demands made of cuſtome or debts. Such things as haue beene heretofore demaunded, all ſuch things haue beene already vpon their petition and ſupplication commaunded to be diſcharged. I haue ſollicited his Maieſtie for them, that they be not troubled hereafter for thoſe matters, and that a fauourable hand be caried ouer them. And according to your requeſt I will be a meane to the Emperour for them in all their occaſions, and will my ſelfe ſhew them my fauorable countenance. And I pray you (William Burghley) to ſignifie to her Maieſties Merchants that I promiſe to haue a care of them, and for the Queenes Maieſtie of Englands ſake. I will take her Merchants into my protection, and will defend them as the Emperours ſelected people vnder the Emperors commiſſion: and by mine appointment all his Maieſties officers and authorized people ſhall be carefull ouer them. The Emperors gracious fauor towards them was neuer ſuch as it is now. And where you write that at the port the Emperors Officers ſell their ware by commiſſion at a ſet rate giuen them, farre aboue the value, and that they enforce your Marchants to accept it, they deny that they take any ſuch courſe, but ſay they barter their ware for other wares, and alſo put their ware to ſale for readie money to your Marchants, according to the worth thereof, and as the price goeth in the cuſtome houſe here. It hath beene heretofore deare, and now is ſold as good cheape as in any other place, and as they can agree: they enforce no man to buy it, but rather hope it: therefore your Marchants haue no cauſe to make any ſuch report. I haue expreſſely giuen order, that there ſhall be no ſuch order obſerued to enforce them, but to buy according to their owne willes, and to carrie at the port or any part at their pleaſure. And as touching the cuſtomes already paſt, and debts demanded at your Merchants hands, whereof you write: Our Lord great Emperour and great Duke Theodore Iuanowich of all Ruſſia of famous memory hath ſhewed his Maieſties eſpecial fauour and loue for the great loue of his welbeloued ſiſter Queene of England, and by my petition and motion, whereas there was commandement giuen to take Marſhes whole debt of your Merchants and factors, it is moderated to the halfe, and for the other halfe, commandement giuen it ſhall not be taken, and the Merchants billes to be deliuered them. And to the end hereafter that her Maieſties Marchants moue no contention betwixt our Lord the Emperor and great Duke of Ruſſia, and his welbeloued ſiſter Queene Elizabeth, his Maieſtie deſireth order to be giuen that your Marchants doe deale iuſtly in their traffike, and plainely without fraud or guile. And I will be a fauourer of them aboue all others, vnder his Maieſties authoritie: themſelues ſhall ſee it. Written in our great Lord the Emperours citie of Moſco in the moneth of

English Marchants complaints.

English Marchants in great fauour with the Emperor.

Halfe the debt of Aucony Marſh remitted.

Ann. Dom. 1590. 7099.

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The Queenes Maieſties letter to *Theodore Iuanouich* Emperour of *Ruſſia*, 1591.

ELizabeth by the grace of God Queene of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. to the right high, mighty, and right noble prince Theodore Iuanouich great Lord, King, and great Duke of all Ruſſia, Volodemer, Moſco, Nouogrod, King of Cazan, and Aſtracan, Lord of Vobsko, and great Duke of Smolensko, Otuer, Vghory, Perme, Viatski, Bolgory, and other places: Lord and great Duke of Nouogrod in the low countrey, of Chernigo, Rezan, Polotsky, Rostoue, Yeraſlaue, Bealozero, and Liffland, of Oudorsky, Obdorsky, Condinsky, and commander of all Sibierland and the North coaſts, great Lord ouer the countrey of Iuersky, Griſinsky, Emperor of Kabardinsky, and of the countrey of Charkasky, and of the countrey of Gorsky, and Lord of many other countreys, our moſt deare and louing brother, greeting. Right noble and excellent prince, we haue receiued your Maieſties letters brought ouer by our merchants in their returne of their laſt voyage from your port of S. Nicholas; which letters we haue aduiſedly read and conſidered, and thereby perceiue that your Maieſty doth greatly miſlike of our late imployment of Ierome Horſey into your dominions as our meſſenger with our Highneſſe letters, and alſo that your Maieſty doth thinke that we in our letters ſent by the ſayd meſſenger haue not obſerued that due order or reſpect which appertained to your princely maieſty, in the forme of the ſame letter, aſwell touching the ingrement of your Maieſties title and titles of honor which your Maieſty expected to haue bene therein more particularly expreſſed, as alſo in the adding of our greateſt ſeale or ſignet of armes to the letters which we ſend to ſo great a Prince as your Maieſty is: in any of which points we would haue bene very loth willingly to haue giuen iuſt cauſe of offence thereby to our moſt deare and louing brother. And as touching the ſayd meſſenger Ierome Horſey we are ſory that contrary to our expectation he is fallen into your Maieſties diſpleaſure, whom we minde not to maintaine in any his actions by which he hath ſo incurred your Maieſties miſlike: yet that we had reaſon at ſuch time as we ſent him to your Maieſty to vſe his ſeruice as our meſſenger, we referre our ſelues to your princely iudgement, praying your Maieſty to reduce into your minde the eſpeciall commendation, which in your letters written vnto vs in the yeere 1585. you made of the ſayd Ierome Horſey his behauiour in your dominions: at which time your Maieſty was pleaſed to vſe his ſeruice as your meſſenger to vs, requiring our anſwere of your letters to be returned by him and by none other. That imployment, with other occaſions taken by your Maieſty to vſe the ſeruice of the ſayd Ierome Horſey (as namely in the yeere 1587) when your Maieſty ſent him to vs with your letters, and your liberall and princely priuiledge at our requeſt granted to our [illegible] (for which we haue heretofore giuen thanks to your Maieſty, ſo doe we hereby reiterate our thankefulneſſe for the ſame) mooued vs to be of minde, that we could not make choiſe of any of our ſubiects ſo fit a meſſenger to your Maieſty as he, whom your Maieſty vſed at ſeuerall times vſed vpon your owne occaſions into this our Realme. But leaſt your highneſſe ſhould continue of the minde that the letters which you ſent by our ambaſſador Giles Fletcher (wherein ſome mention was made of your conceiued diſpleaſure againſt the ſayd Horſey) came not to our hands, and that wee were kept ignorant of the complaint which your Maieſty made therein againſt the ſayd Horſey, we do not deny but that we were acquainted aſwell by our ambaſſadour as by thoſe letters of ſome diſpleaſure conceiued againſt him by your Maieſty: but our ſayd letters giuing onely a ſhort generall mention of ſome miſdemeanour committed by him, expreſſing no particulars, we were of opinion that this offence was not ſo hainous, as that it might vtterly extinguiſh all your former princely fauour towards him, but that vpon his humble ſubmiſſion to your Maieſty, or vpon better examination of the matter of the diſpleaſure conceiued againſt him, the offence might haue beene either remitted, or be thereof might haue cleared. And to that end we were not onely by his great importunity long ſolicited, but by the interceſſion of ſome of our Nobility giuing credit to his owne defence, we were increated on his behalfe to vſe his ſeruice once againe into Ruſſia as our meſſenger to your Maieſty, whereby he might haue opportunity to cleare himſelfe, and either by his anſwere or by his ſubmiſſion recouer your Maieſties former fauour: whereunto our princely nature was mooued to yeeld, with the good of our ſubiect ſo farre forth as his vtterſt might carry him, or his innocencie cleare him.

1590

1585

This noble Prince, our moſt louing and deareſt brother, it may appeare vnto your Maieſty how we were induced to vſe the ſeruice of the ſayd meſſenger, aſwell for the recouery of your

Maieſties

Maiesties fauor towards him (if he had bene found woorthy of it) as for experience of the maners and fashions of your countrey, where he hath bene much conuersant. But sith by your Maiesties letters it appeareth that he hath not cleared himselfe in your Maiesties sight, we meane not to vse him in any such price hereafter.

And as touching your Maiesties conceit of the breuitie which we vsed in the setting downe of your Maiesties stile and titles of honour: as nothing is further from vs, then to abridge so great and mighty a Prince of the honour due vnto him (whom we holde for his greatnesse to deserue more honour then we are able to giue him) so shall we need no further nor surer argument to cleare vs of the suspition of the detracting from your Maiesty any part of your iust and princely honor and greatnesse, then the consideration of our owne stile, which is thus contracted, videlicet, Elizabeth by the grace of God Queene of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith &c. which kingdomes and dominions of ours are expressed by these generall words, videlicet, England, France, and Ireland: in euery of which there are seuerall principalities, dukedomes, earledomes, prouinces and countreys: which being seuerally expressed would enlarge much our stile, and make it of great length; which by our progenitours hath not bene vsed: notwithstanding, we thinke it no dishonour to vs, compendiously to abridge the same in all our writings and letters written to what Prince, King, or Potentate soeuer. Whereupon we inferre, that holding your Maiesties generall stile, we offer your Highnesse no dishonour in not expressing all the particular prouinces: albeit we can willingly content our selfe, vpon the knowledge of your vsages and customes, to obserue that course, which your selfe shall thinke most honourable. And for the sealing vp of our letters which we write to all our allies, kinsemen, and friends, Kings and Princes, we haue in vse two seuerall seales; both which we esteeme alike honourable, being our princely seales. And as the volume of our letters falleth out to be great or small, so accordingly is our greater or lesser seale annexed to the sayd letters, without esteeming either of them more or lesse honourable then the other. So as, our most louing and dearest brother, in the said letters there was nothing done of purpose to detract from your Maiesty any thing of the vsuall regard, which our Highnesse was woont to yeeld vnto your most noble father of famous memory Ivan Basiliwich Emperor of all Russia, or to your selfe, our dearest brother. For the residue of the points of your Maiesties letters concerning the entertainement of our ambassadour, and proceeding in the cause of Anthonie Marsh we holde our stile satisfied with your princely answere, and doe therein note an honourable and princely care in your Maiestie to preuent the like troubles, controuersies and suites, that Marshes cause stirred vp betweene our merchants and your subiects, which is, that your Maiestie doeth purpose from time to time to purge your Countrey of such straglers of our subiects, as doe or shall hereafter abide there, and are not of the Company of our merchants, but contemptuously depart out of our land without our Highnesse licence: of which sort there are presented vnto vs from our merchants the names of these seuerall persons, videlicet, Richard Cocks, Bennet Iackman, Rainold Kitchin, Simon Rogers, Michael Lane, Thomas Worsenham: whom it may please your Maiesty by your princely order to dismisse out of your land, that they may be sent home in the next shippes, to auoid the mischiefe which their residence in those parts might breed to the disturbance of our brotherly league, and the impeaching of the entercourse.

And whereas, most louing and dearest brother, one William Turnebull a subiect of ours lately deceased in your kingdome, one with whom our merchants haue had much controuersie in great summes of money due vnto them by him while he was their Agent in their affayres of merchandises: which differences by arbitrable order were reduced to the summe of 3000 rubbles and so much should haue beene payed by him as may appeare by your Maiesties councell or magistrates of iustice by very credible information and testimony: and whereas also the sayd Turnbull was further indebted by billes of his own hand to diuers of our subiects, amounting in the whole to the summe of 1326 pounds, which billes are exemplified vnder our great seale of England, and to be sent ouer with this bearer: of which summes he hath often promised payment: it may please your most excellent Maiestie in your approoued loue to iustice, to giue order to your saoresaid councell and magistrates, that those seuerall debts may be satisfied to our merchants and subiects out of the goods, merchandise, and debts which are due to the state of the sayd Turnbull: which your Maiesties councell shalbe informed by the Agent of our merchants.

The Emperor seised one merchants goods.

We trust we shall not need to make any new request by motion to your Maiesty that some order might be taken for the finding out of the rest of our merchants goods seised to your mayestie vse in the hands and possession of Iohn Chappel their seruant, being a thing granted, and no doubt already performed by your Maiesties order. We therefore intreat your Maiesty, that as conuenitly as may be, satisfaction or recompense be giuen to our said merchants towards the repair

of their sundry great losses, aswell therein as otherwise by them of late sundry wayes sustained. And lastly, our most deare and loving brother, as nothing in all these our occasions is to be preferred before our entire league and amitie, descending vpon vs as an inheritance, in succession from both our ancestours and noble progenitours: so let vs be carefull on both sides by all good meanes to holde and continue the same to our posterity for euer. And if any mistaking or errour of either side do rise, in not accomplishing of circumstances agreeable to the fashion of either of our countreys and kingdomes, let the same vpon our enterchangeable letters be reconciled, that our league and amitie be no way impeached for any particular occasion whatsoeuer. And thus we recommend your Maiesty to the tuition of the most High. From our royall Palace of Whitehall the 14 of January, anno Domini 1591.

The Queenes Maiesties letters to the Lord *Boris Pheodorowich*. 1591

ELizabeth by the grace of God Queene of England, France, and Ireland, defendour of the faith, &c. to the right honourable and noble Prince Lord Boris Pheodorowich Godonoua, Maller of the horses to the great and mightie Emperour of Russia, his Highnesse lieutenant of Cazan and Astracan, our most deare and louing coulin, greeting. Right honourable, it hath appeared vnto vs vpon the reading and perusing of the Letters lately sent vnto our Highnesse from our deare and louing brother the Emperour, in what part his Maiestie tooke the late imployment of our messenger Ierome Horsey in our affaires into Russia: wherein we doe also finde the honourable endeuour vsed by your Lordship to remoue his Highnesse mislike and exception taken aswell to the person of our Messenger, as to our princely letters sent by him: both of which points we haue answered in our letters sent by this bearer directed to our said louing brother the Emperour: vpon perusing whereof we doubt not but his Maiestie will be well satisfied touching our said Messenger and former letters. And for the honourable course holden by your Lordship in the interposing of your opinion and fauourable construction in a thing which might grow to the offence of the league and amitie standing betweene your Soueraigne Lord and vs (wherein your Lordship performed the office of an honourable and graue Counsellour) we take our selfe beholding to your Lordship for your readie zeale in that behalfe, and doe assure our selfe that the same did proceed of the especiall loue and singular affection that your Lordship hath euer borne and continued towards vs, whereof our princely nature will neuer be vnmindfull. We haue bene also from time to time made acquainted by our chiefe and principall Counsellour William Lord Burghley, Lord high Treasurour of our Highnesse Realme of England, of your letters which haue passed betweene your Lordship and him, concerning the entercourse of our Merchants trafficke in your Countreys, and of the honourable offices done by your Lordship with the Emperour in fauour of our said Marchants. And lastly (which wee take a most assured argument of your vndoubted loue and affection towards vs) that your Lordship hath vouchsafed, and of purpose taken into your hands the protection of our said Merchants, and the hearing and determining of all their causes and occasions whatsoeuer, which shall concerne them or their trade. All which wee conceiue to be done for our sake, and therefore do acknowledge our selues to be, and still will continue beholding vnto you for the same.

And whereas we haue made mention in our said letters written to our louing brother the Emperour of certeine debts due aswell to our merchants, as to other of our subiects by one William Turnebull a subiect of ours late deceased in Russia, wee pray you to be referred to the said letter. And forasmuch as the said cause will fall vnder your Lordships iurisdiction by reason of your acceptation of all their causes into your patronage and protection: we are so well assured of your honourable inclination to iustice, and your good affection towards our merchants for our sake, that we shall not need to intreat your honourable furtherance either of iustice or fauourable motion in the said cause. And lastly considering that your noble linage together with your great wisedome and desert hath made you a principall Counsellour and directour of the state of so great a Monarchie, whereby your aduice and direction is followed in all things that doe concerne the same, we haue giuen order to our said principall Counsellour William Lord Burgh Treasurour of our Realme of England, that as any occasion shall arise to the hinderance of the entercourse betweene these Countreyes, or of the priuiledges graunted by his Maiestie to our merchants, that he may by aduertisement treat with your Lordshippe thereupon: which by reason of our great princely affayres can not so conueniently at all times doe with such

expedition

reparation as the cause may require. And thus with our princely commendations we bidde you farewell. From our royall Pallace of Whitehall the foureteenth day of Januarie, Anno Domini 1591.

To the right honourable my very good Lord, the Lord *Boris Pheodorowich*, Master of the horses to the great and mighty Emperour of *Russia*, his Highnesse Lieutenant of *Cazan* and *Astracan*, *William Cecill* Lord *Burghley*, Knight of the noble Order of the Garter, and Lord high Treasurer of *England*, sendeth greeting.

RIght honourable my very good Lord, vpon the last returne of our merchants shippes out of Russia, there was brought vnto my handes, by one Francis Cherrie an English merchant, a letter directed to the Queenes Maiestie, from the great and mightie Emperour of Russia, and another letter from your Lordship directed to me: which sayd letter written from the Emperor to her Maiesty hath beene considerately and aduisedly by her Highnesse read and perused, and the matter of complaint against Ierome Horsey therein comprised throughly examined: which hath turned the same Horsey to some great displeasure. I did also acquaint our Maiesty with the contents of your Lordships letters written to mee, and enformed her of your Lordships honourable fauour shewed to her Highnesse merchants from time to time: who tooke the same in most gracious part, and confessed her selfe infinitely beholding vnto your Lordship for many honourable offices done for her sake, the which she meant to acknowledge by her letters to be written to your Lordship vnder her princely hand and seale. And forasmuch as it hath pleased your good Lordshippe to take into your handes the protection of her Maisties merchants, and the redresse of such iniuries as are, or shall be offered vnto them contrary to the meaning of the priuiledges and the free liberty of the entercourse, wherein in some points your Lordship hath already vsed a reformation, as appeareth by your sayd letters: yet the continuance of traffique mooueth new occasions and other accidents tending to the losse of the sayd merchants, whereof some particulars haue beene offered vnto me to treat with your Lordship vpon: I thought it good to referre them to your honourable consideration, that order might be taken in the same, for that they are apparantly repugnant to the Emperours letters written to her Maiestie, and doe much restraine the liberty of the trade: one is, that at the last comming of our merchants to the port of Saint Michael the Archangel, where the mart is holden, their goods were taken by the Emperours officers for his Highnesse seruice at such rates, as the sayd officers were disposed to set vpon them, so farre vnder their value, that the merchants could not assent to accept of those prices: which being denied, the sayd officers restrained them of all further traffique for the space of three weekes, by which meanes they were compelled to yeeld vnto their demaund how vnwillingly soeuer. Another is, that our sayd merchants are driuen to pay the Emperours officers custome for all such Russe money as they bring downe from the Mosco to the Sea side to employ there at the Mart within the Emperours owne land; which seemeth strange vnto me, considering the same money is brought from one place of the Countrey to another, and there imployed without any transport out of the sayd money. These corruptions and impositions seeme not to stand with the liberties of the Emperours priuiledges and freedome of the entercourse, which should be restrained neither to times or conditions, but to be free and absolute: wherevnto it may please your Lordship to be aduised, and to continue your honourable course holden betweene the Emperour and her Maiesty, to reconcile such differences as any occasion doth offer to their league or traffique. Thus not doubting of your Lordships tolerance herein, I humbly take my leaue of your good Lordship. From her Maisties royall palace of Whitehall this 15 of January, 1591.

This is a new port.

The Englisch merch nts 3 weeks restrained from their Mart.

1591

A Letter from the Emperour of *Russia*, *Theodore Iuanouich* to the Queenes Maiestie.

1592

THrough the tender mercie of our God, whereby the day-spring from on high hath visited vs, thereby to guide our feet into the way of peace. Euen the God by mercy we glorifie in Trinitie.

We the great Lord, King and great Duke Theodore Iuanowich, Gouernour of all Russia, of Volodimer, Mosco, and Nouogrod, King of Cazan and Astracan, Lord of Vobsco, and great Duke of Smolensco, Otc.

Vghc

Vghori, Permie, Viatsky, Bulgary, and other regions, Lord and great Duke also of Nouogrod in the low countrey, of Chernigo, of Rezan, Polotsko, Rostoue, Yeroslaue, Bealozera, and of Lisland, of Vdorsky, Obdorsky, Condinsky, and all the countrey of Siberia, and commander of all the North parts, and Lord ouer the countrey of Iuersky, and King of Grusinsky, and of the countrey of Kabardinsky, Cherchasky, and Duke of Igorsky, Lord and ruler of many countreys more &c. To our louing sister Elizabeth Queene of England, France, and Ireland, &c. Louing sister, your letters sent by your seruant Thomas Lind, we haue receiued, and read what you haue written in the same touching our title, and touching your order holden in your letters hereto vs sent by your seruant Ierome Horsey: wherein you haue answered vs sufficiently and most graciously.

The Emperors stile lately enlarged.

And whereas your Maiestie hath written in your letter concerning the goods of William Turnebull late deceased in our kingdome, that your subiects, for whom he was factour, should haue debes growing vnto them from him by account; we at your Maesties request haue caused not onely order to be taken, but for your Highnesse sake, louing sister, we haue caused the goods to be sought out and deliuered to your merchants Agent and his company, together with his stuffe, bookes, billes and writings, as also money to the value of fiue hundred rubbles, which Christopher Holmes and Francis Cherry are to pay for Pearle: and we haue set at libertie the said Turnebulles kinseman Raynold Kitchin and his fellowes, and deliuered them to your merchants Agent.

This is a daintie meat made of the roots of Stangeon.

And further, where you write vnto vs for such your subiects as haue departed out of your maiesties Realme secretly without licence, that we should giue order to send them home: concerning such your subiects for which you haue written vnto our Maestie by letters, we will cause search to be made, and such as are willing to goe home into your kingdome, we will command forthwith to be deliuered vnto your merchants Agent, and so to passe. And such of your Maiesties people as haue giuen themselues vnder our gouernment as subiects, we thinke it not requisite to grant to let them passe.

And further, where you haue written vnto vs concerning the goods of Iohn Chappell, we haue written heretofore the whole discourse therof not once, but sundry times, and therefore it is not needfull to write any more thereof. And such goods as were found out of the goods of the said Chappell, the money thereof was restored to your Maiesties people William Turnbull and his fellowes. Your Maesties seruant Thomas Lind we haue sent with our letters the same way whereby he came into our kingdome. The long abiding here of your Maesties seruant in our kingdome, was for the comming of your people from the Sea port. Written in our princely court and royall seat in the city of Mosco in the yeere from the beginning of the world 7101, in the month of January.

M. Thomas Lind.

1592

To the Queenes most excellent Maiestie from the Lord *Boris Pheodorouich Godonoua.*

By the grace of God great Lord and great Duke Theodore Iuanouich gouernour of Russia, Volodimer, Mosco, and Nouogrod, King of Cazan and Astracan, Lord of Vobsko, and great Duke of Smolensco, Otuer, Vghori, Perme, Viatsky, Bulgary, and other regions, Lord and great Duke of Nouogrod in the low countrey, of Chernigo, of Rezan, Polotsko, Rostoue, Ieroslaue, Bealozera, and of Lisland, of Vdorsky, Obdorsky, Condinsky, and all the countrey of Sibery, and commander of all the North parts, and Lord ouer the countrey of Iuersky, and King of Grusinsky, and of the countrey of Kabardinsky, Cherchasky, and Duke of Igorsky, Lord and ruler of many countreys more, &c.

Most resplendent Queene Elizabeth of England, France, and Ireland, &c. his princely Maiesties seruant, Lord and Master of his horses, and high Steward of his house, and President of the territories of Cazan and Astracan, Boris Pheodorouich Godonoua, vnto your most excellent Maiestie, great Ladie Queene Elizabeth, send my humble commendations. It hath pleased your Maiestie to write vnto me your gracious and princely letter by your seruant Thomas Lind; which letter I receiued withall humblenesse. During the time of the above of your Messenger Thomas Lind here in the Mosco, it pleased God of his mercifulnesse, and our Lady the mother of God, and holy Saints, by the prayers of our lord and king his Maiestie Theodore Iuanouich ouer all Russia gouernour, the right beleeuer and louer of Christ, to send our Queene and graue Lady Irene a young Princesse, to the great ioy and comfort of our kingdome, named Feodocine. Wherefore we giue all honour and glory to the almightie God vnspeakeable,

The Empresse Irene deliuered of a daughter.

whose

whose giftes hath beene manifolde with mercie vnto vs; for which all wee Christians laud and praise God.

After all this your seruant was occasioned to stay vntill the comming of your merchants from the sea port.

Touching the letters which you haue receiued from your louing brother our Lord and Master by your ambassadour, therein you perceiue sufficiently my good meaning, in trauailing for the continuance of amitie and friendship betwixt you mighty great princes, in the which I will continue mine endeuour. Also your merchants I haue taken into my protection for to defend them for the loue I beare to your Maiestie. As heeretofore I haue done it willingly, and with great care of their good, so I meane to continue so farre as God will giue me leaue; to the end that brotherly loue be holden betweene you Princes without disturbance.

As I haue beene to your merchants in times past, so now by the permission and commandement of our Lord and Master, I will be their defendour in all causes: and will cause all our authorized people to fauour them and to defend them, and to giue them free liberty to buy and sell at their pleasure. The merchants doe not certifie your princely Maiestie of all our friendship and fauour shewed vnto them from time to time. And whereas your Maiestie hath now written to our Lord and Master for the debts which your merchants ought to haue of William Turnebull lately deceased, I hauing perused your Maiesties letter, whereby I am required to be a meane for the recouerie and obtaining of their said debts, I haue moued it to our Lord and King his Maiestie, that order may be giuen therein: and that his kinseman Rainold Kirchin with three persons more may be sent ouer together with the said Turnebulles stuffe and other things, as bulles, books and writings. All which shall be deliuered to your merchants Agent and his fellowes, and in money 600 rubbles of the said Turnebulles.

And touching your merchants, I will haue a great care ouer them, and protect them, whereby they shall suffer no damages in their trade: and all kinde of trafficke in merchandise shall be at their libertie.

Written in our Lord and Kings Maiesties royall citie of Mosco, in the peere from the beginning of the world 7101, in the moneth of Januarie.

A letter from the Lord *Boris Theodorowich* to the right honourable Lord *William Burghley*, Lord high Treasurer of *England*.

BY the grace of God great Lord, King, and great Duke Theodor Iuanouich, gouernour of Russia, Volodimer, Mosco, and Nouogrod, King of Cazan and Astracan, Lord of Vobsco, and great Duke of Smolenko, Otuer, Vghory, Perme, Viatsky, Bulgary, and other regions, Lord and great Duke of all Nouogrod in the low countreys, of Chernigo, of Liffland, of Vdorsky, Obdorsky, Condinsky, and all the countrey of Sibery, and commaunder of all the North parts, and Lord ouer the countrey of Iuersky, and King of Grusinsky, and of the countreys of Kabardinsky, Cherchasky, and Duke of Igorsky, Lord and ruler of many Countreys more &c. His princely Maiesties seruant, Lord and Master of his houses, and high Steward of his house, President the territories of Cazan and Astracan, Boris Pheodorowich Godonous, to the most honourable Counseller of the most resplendent mightie great Lady Elizabeth Queene of England, France, and Ireland, William Burghley, Lord, and Knight of the Garter, high Treasurer of England, sendeth greeting.

I perceiue by your letter that your merchants last shippes came home in safetie, and that you haue receiued the letters sent by them, by the hands of Francis Cherie, one from our Lord and great King of all Russia his Maiesty, vnto your Queenes most excellent Maiesty, and one from me to her Highnesse, and one from my selfe to you; and the contents thereof you haue caused to be read and well vnderstood at large. And whatsoeuer is therein written concerning Ieroome Horsey, you haue sought out the ground thereof, and that he is in great displeasure. And her Highnesse hath written in her letter concerning her Maiesties merchants, that whereas I haue taken them into protection, she taketh it very louingly and kindely, that for her sake they haue receiued so great kindnesse.

Fr. Francis Cherie.

And touching the damages and hinderances which your merchants haue sustained by meanes of the Emperours authorized people and officers, and that they were not permitted to trafficke at libertie as the Sea port in the yeere 1589, for the space of three weekes, hath beene against the Emperours Maiesties will and pleasure, as also against mine. Wh

you desire and wish that betweene our Emperours Maiestie, and your Queenes Maiestie, their loue and amitie may not bee seperated at any time, but to continue: and you request mee that I should be good vnto the English merchants, and to defend them from all such domages hereafter: to I will still continue to be a meane betwixt our Lord and kings Maiestie, and your great Lady the Queene her highnesse, for the maintenyning of brotherly loue and amitie, most joyfully and willingly, as God knoweth, aswel hereafter as I haue bene heretofore: praying you to doe the like also. Mine onely desire is for your most excellent Princelie sake, to do all that lyeth in mee for the vpring, helping and protecting of her Maiesties merchants, by the order and commaundement of our Lord and king his Maiestie.

And to that ende, I haue giuen order to all our authorised people to bee carefull ouer them, and to defende them in all causes, and to giue them free libertie to trafficke at their owne willes and pleasures. It may bee that your merchants doe not certifie you the trueth of all things, nor make knowen vnto your honour my readinesse to protect them: And howe my Letters and Commissions are sent to all authorised people for them, that they should ayde and assist them according to the tenour of my Letters, to all others that bee in authoritie vnder the said Officers or otherwise.

Also your honour writeth of the debarring of your merchants at the Sea port from their accustomed libertie of enterchangeable trafficke and bartar. Touching which complaint search and inquisition hath bene made, and commaundement giuen, that your Queenes Maiesties merchants at the Sealdoe, and in all places where the trade is, doe not sustaine any domage or hinderance hereafter, but that they shalbe at libertie without any hindering or letting, either in the Mosco, the Treasure house, or else where by any of our authorised people, but absolutely to bee at her libertie at their owne will and pleasure. And also I will continue to be their protector and defendour in all causes, by our Lorde and kings Maiesties order and commaundement: as shalbe knowen and certified you by your people resident here in the Mosco.

Written in our Kings Maiesties royall citie of Mosco from the beginning of the world 7101, Anno Domini 1592. perre, in the moneth of January.

A most gracious Letter giuen to the English Merchants Sir *Iohn Hart* and his company, by *Theodore Iuanowich*, the King, Lord, and great duke of all *Russia*, the onely vpholder thereof.

THe onely God omnipotent before all eternitie, his will be done without ende: the Father, Sonne, and holy Ghost we glorifie in Trinitie. Our onely God the maker of all things and worker of all in all euery where with plentifull increase: for which cause he hath giuen life to man to loue him, and to trust in him: Our onely God, which inspireth euery one of vs his holy children with his holy spirit of life now in these perilous times establish vs to keepe the right scepter, and suffer vs to raigne of our selues to the good profit of the land, and to the subduing of the people together with the enemies, and to the maintenance of vertue.

We the great Lord, king, and great duke Theodore Iuanouich, of all Russia the onely vpholder, of Volodimer, Mosco, and Nouogrod, King of Casan, and king of Astracan, Lord of Vobsko, and great duke of Smolensko, of Ouer, Vghorie, Permia, Viatski, Bulgari, and other regions, great duke also of Nouogrod in the lowe Countrey, of Chernigo, of Rezan, Polorski, Rostoue, Yarusiaue, Bealozero, and of Liefland, of Vdorski, Obdorski, Condenski, and commaunder of all the Countrey of Siberi and of the North parts, and Lord ouer the Countrey of Iuerski, Cartalinski, and King ouer the Countrey of Igorski, and ruler ouer many other kingdomes and lordships more.

Our princely Maiestie at the request of our brother in lawe Boris Feodorowich Godenow our seruant, and Master of our horses, generall Comptroller of our house, and gouernour of the Lordships and kingdomes of Casan and Astracan; vnto the English merchants Sir Iohn Hart knight, sir William Webbe knight, Richard Salkenstow Alderman, Nicholas Moseley alderman, Robert Doue, Wil. Garrowe, Iohn Harbey, Robert Chamberlaine, Henry Anderson, Iohn Woodworth, Frācis Cherry, Iohn Merrick, & Christopher Holmes; hath graciously giuen licence & power to come & go with their ships into our kingdome & territories of Duina with all kind of commodities at their pleasures to trafficke frō the sealdoe to our royal city of Mosco, & in al other cities, townes, countries and territories of our whole kingdom of Mosco: vpon the humble petition and

ſuite of the ſaide Engliſh merchants ſir Iohn Hart and his company, wee haue giuen them leaue to paſſe and trafficke into all parts of our dominions and territories of Moſco, and to our inheritance of Nouogrod and Pleſco with their wares and commodities without paying any cuſtome or duetie.

We the great Lord king, and great duke Theodore Iuanowich of all Ruſſia haue firmely giuen and graunted vnto the aforeſaide Engliſh merchants ſir Iohn Hart and his company, for the loue we beare to our deare ſiſter Queene Elizabeth, we I ſay of our gracious goodnes haue giuen leaue to trauel and paſſe to our royal ſeat of Moſco, and to all the parts of our kingdome with all kinde of commodities, and to trafficke with all kinde of wares at their owne pleaſure, without paying any cuſtome of their ſaid wares.

To you our Cuſtomers we will and command not to take any maner of cuſtome of the ſaid merchants and their company, neither for entering, weying nor paſſing by or through any place of our territories, nor for cuſtome, of iudgement by Lawe, or for their perſon or perſons; nor any duties ouer bridges, or for certificats or proceſſes, or for conducting ouer any ſtreames or waters, or for any other cuſtomes or dueties that may be named; we will and ſtraitly commaund you not to take any of them in any wiſe.

Prouided alwayes, that the ſaide merchants ſhall not colour any ſtrangers wares, nor bring them into our countrey, nor fauour them colourably, nor ſel for any ſtranger. To you our ſubiects alſo we cõmand, not to meddle or deale with any wares of ſtrangers colourably, nor to haue them by you in keeping, nor to offer to ſel their cõmodities; but themſelues to ſel their owne cõmodities in change or otherwiſe as they may or can. And in al townes, cities, countreys, or any parte of our dominions and territories it ſhalbe lawful for the foreſaid merchants and their company to ſell or barter away their owne commodities in change or otherwiſe, for or at their pleaſure as they will. And whenſoeuer the ſaid merchants or any of them come into our territories of great Nouogrod or Pleſco, or to any other parts of our kingdome with their wares, by vertue of theſe our priuities letters we ſtraitly charge and command you our Captaines, generals, and all other that be authoriſed or in office, to ſuffer the aforeſaid merchants to paſſe and repaſſe, and to take no kinde of cuſtome or dutie of them, or any of their goods, howſoeuer it may haue name: nor in no place elſe where they ſhal come in all our kingdome. Likewiſe if they ſell not nor buy no wares, you ſhall take no cuſtome, but ſuffer them quietly to paſſe where they will with their goods. Of our gracious goodnes and meere goodwill we haue giuen the ſaid merchants leaue to trafficke throughout all our kingdomes, and in all townes and cities with all maner of wares and commodities without paying any cuſtome or dutie. Whereſoeuer they ſhal happen to ſel or barter away any of their commodities to our ſubiects, they are to barter or ſell by whole ſale, and not by retaile, as by the yard or by the ounce in their houſes or elſewhere: but by the packe or whole clothes, veluets, damaſks, taffaties by the piece, and not by the yard; and al other wares that are to be ſold by weight, they are to be ſold not by the ounce, but by great ſale, Your wines ſhalbe ſold by hogs heads, pipes or buttes, but not by quartes nor pintes.

The ſaid Engliſh merchants are to ſel or barter away their owne cõmodities themſelues, and not to ſuffer any Ruſſes to buy or ſell for them: nor to carry or tranſport any wares of ſtrangers in ſtead of their owne in no wiſe. And if the ſaide Engliſh merchants ſhall be deſirous to ſel any of their commodities at Colmogro, or vpon the Riuer of Duina, or at Vologhda or at Yeraſlaue, when as the ſaide merchants haue ſolde in any of the ſaide Townes, Cities or territories, then you our officers and authoriſed people by vertue of this our gracious letter wee will and ſtraitly commaund not to take any cuſtome of the aforeſaid merchants, howſoeuer it may be named.

Alſo whenſoeuer the ſaide Engliſh merchants or any of their factours ſhalbe deſirous to haue carriers to carry their wares to any place of our dominions or Cities, it ſhalbe at their choiſe and pleaſure to hier them the beſt they can, and where they will, either water men to row or veſſels.

Alſo when any of the ſaid merchants themſelues, or any of theirs are deſirous to trauel into any part of our dominions, or into any other kingdomes, or into their owne kingdome, if any of our treaſure be deliuered to them, they to take it with them, and to ſel it in barter or otherwiſe for ſuch wares as are moſt requiſit and neceſſary to be brought into our kingdome and to be deliuered to our treaſury. You, our nobilitie, generals & al others in authority ſuffer them to paſſe through our cities, townes & countries without taking any cuſtome of them. And when the ſaid merchants haue done their traffick in any place & come to the Moſco, they ſhal make it knowen at their arriual at the houſe of Chancery and ſecretarſhip to Vaſili Shalkan. And further wil en there come any Engliſh merchants with their ſhips or veſſels by ſea, that by miſhap ſhalbe caſt away vpon any of our ſhoars or coſtes, we wil and command you to ayde & helpe them, and to ſeeke for their goods that ſhall perish

perished by any casualtie, and to be restored againe to the saide English merchants or their assignes without any prolonging or detayning. As also if any of the aforesaide merchants goods be found in any part of our coastes or streames and they not present themselues, let the said goods be taken and layd up in safetie in some place or other, and be deliuered to the aforesaid merchants or their factors vnder penaltie of our displeasure.

Furthermore we King Lord, and great duke of all Russia, of our gracious goodwille giue vnto the English merchants and their company, their house in the Citie of Mosco lying hard by the Church of S. Marke behinde the market place: which they shall keepe and remaine therein after their old accustomed vse. Prouided alwayes that they shall keepe one Russe porter or one of their owne people, & may keepe any other Russe seruant as their discretion. Also their houses in Iuma yp places, as at Iereslaue, Vologhda, Colmogro, and at S. Michael Archangel, all these houses they shall keepe and vse at their owne pleasure, according to our former letters patents without paying any dutie, rent, or custome. Not you the communaltie of the said townes shal take any thing of them or theirs for any duetie that should belong to you, especially of the houses aforesaid: but the said English merchants shal enioy them peaceably for themselues and their families. but shall not suffer any other strangers Russes or others to vse the aforesaid houses: Also you shall suffer them to lay their wares and commodities in their warehouses, and to sell their commodities to whom they please without let or hinderance, by vertue of this our gracious letter.

Their housekeeper being a Russe shall not vndertake to meddle, or sell any of their wares without they themselues be present, nor to buy any thing for them.

Also it shalbe lawfull for the said merchants when they shal arriue at their port, to lade and vnlade their merchandises as in times past they haue done at their pleasure. And when they lade their ships with Russe commodities or vnlade them, it shalbe lawfull for them to hire any of our subiects to helpe them for the present time, and for them to carry their goods to and fro with their owne vessels to S. Michael Archangel, or elsewhere.

Also we command you our authorized people at the seaside as wel Customers as others to take of the foresaid merchants a note, or remembrance, what goods they bring in and ship out: whereby it may be knowen what goods come in and go out. But in no wise shall you open or vnpacke any of their wares or merchandises.

In like maner when as they ship or sende away any of their countrey commodities from S. Michael Archangel to any other place, or to our royall Citie of Mosco yee shall not hinder nor let them any maner of wise for the shipping of their merchandise in or out, by vertue of these our gracious letters of priuiledge giuen them.

And whensoeuer any of the said English merchants haue any occasion to send ouer land out of our dominions into their own countrey any of their seruants or factors, by vertue of this our gracious letter we command you to giue them their passeport out of the office of our Secretarishp.

And whensoeuer any of our subiects hath any thing to do with any of the foresaid merchants by way of contentions: or that they be damnified or hindered by any of our subiects: then we appoint and ordeine our Chancellor and Secretary Vasili Shalcan to heare their causes, and finally to determine on both sides according to equitie and iustice: and that he shall search the trueth betweene both parties.

And when the trueth cannot be proued or found out, then to cast lots by order of the foresaide Iudge, and he to whom the lot shall fall to take his othe.

Furthermore whensoeuer any of the English merchants or their factors shall come into any parts of our dominions or Cities, and shalbe wronged any kinde of wayes in trading, or otherwise by any abused, or haue any occasion of contention with any by way of trade in merchandise or otherwayes: we straitly charge and commaund you our gouernours, and authorized subiects within all our Realme and territories of the same, to minister iustice vnto the aforesaide merchants, or to their deputies, and to search the trueth of the contention: And for want of sufficient proofe to call lots who shall take his oath for the more ready triall of the cause: And in no wise to take any fee or duetie of the aforesaid English merchants for the said iudgement in Lawe.

We will and commaund all this to be obserued and kept in all parts of our dominions by all our subiects and authorized people, by vertue of these our royal letters patents: And the said letters not to be diminished in any part or parsell thereof, by any persons howsoeuer they be named. And whosoeuer shall withstand & not regard these our gracious letters shalbe in our high displea-sure, and shal incurre the losse of his life. This our gracious letter was giuen in our kingdom and great Citie of Mosco, in the yere from the beginning of the world 7104. in the moneth of May. After our account 1596.

Subscribed by the Emperours Chancellour and Secretarie *Vasili Shalcan*.

The contents of *M. Garlands* Commission vnto *Thomas Simkinson* for the bringing of *M. John Dee* to the Emperour of *Russia* his Court.

FRiend Thomas Simkinson I pray you goe to Brounswik or Cassil and inquire if Master Iohn Dee be there or where he is, and when you finde him, certifie him howe that I haue sent you purposely to knowe where hee doeth remaine, and at your returne I will come and speake with him my selfe. Also you may certifie him that the Emperour of Russeland hauing certaine knowledge of his great learning and wisdome is maruellous desirous of him to come into his Countrey. And hath giuen me his letter with his hand and golden seale at it for to bring him into the Countrey with mee if it be possible, and for his liuing shewe him that he shall be sure of 2000. pound yeerely, and also all prouision for his table out of the Emperours kitchin free: and if he thinke this too little, I will assure him that if he aske asmuch more, hee shall haue it, and for his charges into the Countrey, I haue sufficient of the Emperours allowance to bring him and all his royally into the Countrey. And because hee may doubt of these proffers, hee shall remaine at the borders vntill the Emperour be certified of him, and of his requests, which he would haue. And I am sure he shall be conueyed through the land with fiue hundred horses, and hee shall be accompted as one of the chiefest in the land next the Emperour. Also shew him howe that my Lord Protectour at my comming away did take me in his armes, and desired me as hee thought he my friend to bring him with me, and he would giue him of his owne purse yeerely 1000. rubbles besides the Emperours allowance. All these foresaide graunts and demaunds doe I Thomas Simkinson acknowledge to be spoken by Edward Garland to mee, and to be sent to declare the same vnto Master Iohn Dee. And in witnesse that this is of a trueth I haue written the same with my owne hand, and thereunto set my name, in Wittingaw, otherwise called Trebona, the 18. of September, Anno 1586.

By me *Thomas Simkinson* of Hull.

A letter to the right worshipfull M. *Iohn Dee* Esquire, conteyning the summe and effect of M. *Edward Garland* his message, deliuered to Master *Dee* himselfe, (Letterwise) for a more perfect memoriall thereof. Anno 1586.

RIght worshipfull, it may please you to vnderstand, that I was sent vnto you from the most mightie Prince Feodor Iuanowich, Lord, Emperour and great duke of Russia, &c. As also from the most excellent prince Boris Feodorowich, Lord Protector of Russia: to giue your worship to vnderstand the great good will and heartie desire they beare vnto you; for that of long time they haue had great good report of your learning & wisedom, as also of your good counsell vnto Princes: whereupon his Maiesties most earnest desire and request is vnto you; that you would take the paines to come vnto his citie of Mosco, to visite his Maiesties Court: for that hee is desirous of your company, and also of your good counsell in diuers matters that his Maiestie shall thinke needfull. And for the great goodwill that his Maiestie beareth vnto you, he will giue you yeerely toward your maintenance 2000. pound starling; and the Lord Protectour will giue you a thousand rubbles, as also your prouision for your table you shall haue free out of his Maiesties kitchin: And further what soeuer you shall thinke needfull or conuenient for you, in any parte or parts of his dominion, it shall be at your worships commaundement. And this is the summe and effect of my message and commandement giuen me by his Maiestie and the Lord Protector.

In witnesse whereof I haue written this with my owne hand, the 17. of December 1586.

By me *Edward Garland*.

In *Trebona* Castel otherwise called *Wittingaw* in *Boemia*: to which place this *M. Edward Garland* came to *M. Dee* with two Moscouites to serue him, &c. He had fiue more, which by *M. Dees* counsell were sent backe.

Witnesse *M. Edward Kelley*, and *M. Francis Garland* brother to the foresaid *Edward*, and diuers others.

IT seemeth that this princely offer of the Emperour Feodor Iuanowich, and of the L. Boris Feodorowich Protector to his Maiestie, was made vnto the learned and famous Mathematician M. Iohn Dee, partly to vse his counsell & direction about certaine discoueries to the North east; and partly for some other weighty occasions: but because their conquest to Siberia was not then fully settled, & for diuers other secret reasons, it was for y time with all thankfulnes refused.

A brief

A branch of a letter from *M. John Merick*, Agent vnto the *Moscouie* company in *Russia*, closed vp in the *Mosco* the 14. of March, Anno 1597. touching the death of *Theodor Iuanowich* late Emperour of all *Russia*, &c.

HAuing thus farre proceeded with this my answere vnto the chiefest points of your worships letters receiued, my desire was to haue sent one vnto you long since, as you may perceiue by the first date: but by reason I could not get leaue, I haue deferred it of till this instant, for that there was none suffered to passe out of the land. The causes may be iudged, for that it pleased God to call out of this world, the Emperour his Maiestie, who departed about the 7. of January: and euer since hath bene a mourning time, & no suites for any matter could be heard. But it hath bene a very dead season. Yet (thankes be to God) though the wise gouernment of Lord Boris Pheodorowich the Lord Protector vnto the saide late Emperour, since his death all things haue bene very quiet without any diuision; as the like in such agree kingdome I haue not heard of. And now though the prouidence of Almightie God, and by surrender of the late Empresse Irenia Feodorowna, and the common consent of the Patriarch, Nobles, Bishops, and the whole Cleargie, with the whole Commons besides, choise is made of none other but of the said Lord Protector, L. Boris Pheodorowich to be Emperour, and great duke of all Russia, who was most vnwilling to receiue the kingdome, but the people would make no other choise, nor haue any other. So that with much adoe and entreatie, it hath pleased his Maiestie to take vpon him the kingdome, and he is absolute Emperor to him and his heires. And certainly God hath done much for this Countrey, and hath made the people greatly happy, in that he hath prouided and appointed so famous and worthy a Prince: whose excellent gouernment and experience these foureteene yeeres hath bene manifest to all Russia. God graunt his highnesse a most prosperous and long raigne, with his Lady the Empresse, the Prince his sonne, and the Princesse his daughter. All men do reioyce both Russes and strangers for this most famous Emperour. The Coronation is thought shalbe on the Assension day next, till which time I cannot depart from Mosco: which is a litle before the time appointed. I doe take my iourney from hence. And touching his Maiesties fauour towards your selues, especially for her Maiesties sake, as in your time it was extraordinary, and so I hope shortly there shalbe to mee, as to none the like: so hath his highnesse promised the continuance thereof, with further fauour as shalbe desired. Wherein I haue no doubt: for vnto this day I do finde the same.

Prince Boris Pheodorowich by generall consent chosen Emperour of Russia.

10. Feb. 1597.

A learned Epistle written 1581. vnto the famous Cosmographer *M. Gerardus Mercator* concerning the riuer *Pechora*, *Naramsay*, *Cara reca*, the mighty riuer of *Ob*, the place of *Taks Olgush* in *Siberia*, the great riuer *Ardob*, the lake of *Kitay*, called of the borderers *Paraba*, the Countrey of *Corrab Calmak*, giuing good light to the discouery of the Northeast passage to *Cathay*, *China* and the *Molucas*.

¶ *Inclyto & celebri Gerardo Mercatori, domino & amico singulari in manus proprias Duisburgi in Clivia.*

VIm meminissem, amice optime, quanta, cum vnà ageremus, delectatione afficerere in legendis Geographicis scriptis Homeri, Strabonis, Aristotelis, Plinij, Dionis & reliquorum, lætatus sum eo quod incidissem in hunc nunquique dudum Arusburgi hic ad Ossellam fluuium appulit. Hominis experientia, vt mihi quidem videtur, multum te adiuuerit in re vna, eaque summis à te votis expetita, & magnopere elaborata, de qua tam varie inter se dissentiunt Cosmographi recentiores; patefactione nimirum ingentis illius Promontorij Tabin, celebrisque illius & opulentæ regionis sub Cathayorum rege per Oceanum ad Orientem, apud viros illic celeberrimos Yacouium & Vnekium; à quibus Antuerpiam missus est cium, qui tibi has literas tradit, quem tibi commendatum esse valde cupio, ...um homines rei nauticæ peritos, qui satis amplo proposito præmio ad illos viros se recipiendas, aditus ad Cathayam per Orientem proculdubio breuissimus est & admodũ expe- proponit, quamquam sine arte, appositè tamen, & vt satis intelligas, quod quæso diligenter ...rechoræ fluminis ad Orientem. Hac experientia confirmatus certò apud se statuit nauim ...ibus onustã, cuius carinã non nimiũ profundè demissam esse vult, in Sinũ S. Nicolai conduin regione Moscouitarũ, instructam illã quidem rebus omnibus ad eam patefactionem necessarijs,

Duæ naues missæ in Duina fluuio ad patefactionem Orientalem.

ceſſarijs, atque illic redintegrato commeatu, Moſcouiticæ nationis notiſsimos iuſta mercede aſcilcere: qui & Samoedicam linguam pulchre teneant, & fluuium Ob exploratum habeant, vt qui quotannis ea loca ventitant. Vnde Maio exeunte conſtituit pergere ad Orientem per continentem Vgoriæ ad Orientales partes Pechoræ, Inſulamque cui nomen eſt Dolgoia. Hîc latitudines obſeruare, terram deſcribere, bolidem demittere, locorumque ac punctorum diſtantias annotare, vbi & quoties licebit. Et quoniam Pechoræ Sinus vel euntibus vel redeuntibus commodiſſimus eſt tum ſubſidij tum diuerſorij locus propter glaciem & tempeſtates, diem impendere decreuit cognoſcendis vadis, facillimoque nauium aditu inueniendo: quo loco antehac aquarum altitudinem duntaxat ad quinque pedes inuenit, ſed profundiores canales eſſe non dubitat: deinde per eos fines pergere ad tria quatuorve milliaria nautica, ita vt à Dolgoia Inſula quàm Vaigats vocant, media ferè via inter Vgoriam & Nouam Zemblam: tum Sinum quendam præterire inter Vaigats atque Obam, qui per Meridiem vergens pertingit ad terram Vgoriæ, in quem confluunt exigui duo amnes ‖ Marmeſia atque Carah, ad quos amnes gens alia Samoedorum accolit immanis & efferata. Multa in eo tractu loca vadoſa, multas cataractas inuenit; ſed tamen per quas poſſit Nauigari. Vbi ad fluuium Obam peruentum fuerit, qui quidem fluuius (vt referunt Samoedi) ſeptuaginta habet oſtia, quæ peropter ingentem latitudinem multas magnaſque concludentem Inſulas, quas varij iucolunt populi, vix quiſquam animaduertat, ne temporis nimium impendat, conſtituit ad ſummum tria quatuorve tentare ora, ea præſerim quæ ex conſilio Incolarum, quos in itinere aliquot habiturus eſt, commodiſſima videbuntur, triaque quatuorve eius regionis nauigiola tentandis Oſtijs adhibere, quàm fieri poteſt ad littus proxime, (quod quidem ſub itinere trium dierum incolitur) vt quo loco tutiſſime nauigari poſſit, intelligat.

Quod ſi nauim per fluuium Obam aduerſo amne poſſit impellere, prima ſi poterit cataracta, eaque, vt veriſimile eſt, commodiſſima, ad eumque locum appellere, quem aliquando ipſe cum ſuis aliquot per Sibericorum regionem terra adijt, qui duodecim iuxta dierum itinere diſtat à Mari, quà influit in mare flumen Ob, qui locus eſt in continente, propè fluuium Ob cui nomen eſt Yaks Olguſh, nomine mutuato ab illo magno Profluente flumini Ob illabente, tum certè ſperaret maximas ſe difficultates ſuperaſſe. Referunt enim illic populares, qui trium duntaxat dierum nauigatione ab eo loco abſuerunt (quòd illic rarum eſt, eo quòd multi ad vnum duntaxat diem cymbas pelliceas à littore propellentes oborta tempeſtate perierunt, cùm neque à ſole neque à ſyderibus rectionem ſcirent petere) per tranſuerſum fluminis Ob, vnde ſpacioſum eſſe illius latitudinem conſtat, grandes ſe carinas præcioſis onuſtas mercibus magno fluuio delatas vidiſſe ex Nigros, puta Æthiopes. Eum fluuium Ardoh illi vocant, qui influit in lacum Kittayum, quem Paraha illi nominant, cui conterminus eſt gens illa latiſſimè fuſa, quàm Carrah Colmak appellant, non alia certè quàm Cathaya. Illic, ſi neceſſitas poſtulabit, opportunum erit hybernare, ſe ſuoſque reficere, reſque omnes neceſſarias conquirere. Quòd ſi acciderit, non dubitat interim plurimùm ſe adiutum iri, plura illic quærentem atque diſcentem. Veruntamen ſperat æſtate eadem ad Cathayorum fines ſe peruenturum, niſi ingenti glaciei mole ad os fluuij Obæ impediatur, quæ maior interdum, interdum minor eſt. Tum per Pechoram redire ſtatuit, atque illic hybernare: vel ſi id non poterit, in flumen Duinæ, quo mature ſatis pertinget, atque ita primo vere proximo in itinere progredi. Vnum eſt quòd ſuo loco oblitus ſum. Qui locum illum Yaks Olguſh incolunt, à maioribus ſuis olim prædicatum aſſerunt, ſe in lacu Kitthayo dulciſſimam campanarum harmoniam audiuiſſe, atque ampla ædificia conſpexiſſe: Et cùm gentis Carrah Colmak mentionem faciunt (Cathaya illa eſt) ab imò pectore ſuſpiria repetunt, manibuſque proiectis ſublatis ſuſpiciunt in cœlum, velut inſignem illius ſplendorem innuentes atque admirantes. Vtinam Alferius hic Coſmographiam melius ſaperet, multum ad illius vſum adiungeret, qui ſanè plurimus eſt. Multa prætereo, vir amiciſſime, ipſumque hominem te audire cupio, qui mihi ſpoſpondit ſe in itinere Duisburgi te viſurum. Auet enim tecum conferre ſermones, & procul dubio hominem multum adiuueris. Satis inſtructus videtur pecunia & gratia, in quibus alijſque officijs amicitiæ feci illi, ſi veller, mei copiam. Deus Optimus maximus hominis votis atque abſcritati faueat, initia ſecundet, ſucceſſus fortunet, exitum fœliciſsimum concedat. Vale mihi ac Domine ſingularis.

Dolgois Inſula.

Inſula Vaigats.

Sinus inter Vaigates & Obam vergens per meridiem.

‖ Vel Naramſey & Cara rea.

Litus Obæ incolitur ab Oſtijs trium dierum itinere.

Yaks Olguſh locus ſuper Obam fluuiũ duodecim dierum itinere à mari.

Ardoh flumen influens in lacum Kitthayum: de quo in itinere ad Boghariam ſcribit Antonius Jenkinſonus.

Carrah Colmak eſt Cathaya.

Arusburgi ad Oſſellam fluuium 20. Februarij 1581.

Tuus quantus quantus ſum

Ioannes Balakus.

To the famous an
and ſingular friend

Calling to remembrance (
cing together, in reading t
Dion, and the reſt, I reioyced m
of theſe preſents, (whom I do
burg vpon the riuer of Oſella.
you to the knowledge of a certa
curiouſly laboured for, and conc
opinions: namely, of the diſcou
rich countreys ſubiect vnto the
man is called * Alferius being by
the dominions of Ruſſia vnder th
Antwerp to procure Chriſtofell Pile
to the two famous perſonages af
build two ſhips for the ſame diſco
the Northeaſt (as he declareth th
perceiue, which I requeſt you dil
very man himſelfe hath trauelled
Samoeds, and of Sibier, and alſo
ing encouraged by this his experi
nen with merchandize (the keele
Bale of Saint Nicholas in Ruſſia
arie, and with a new ſupply of vi
nie certaine Ruſſes beſt knowen v
guage, and are acquainted with th
pere.

Whereupon about the ende of
Eaſtward, by the maine of Iough
which is called Dolgoia. And here
deſcribe the countrey, to ſound the d
and ſo oft as occaſion ſhall be offere
next place both for harbour and vict
in regard of yce and tempeſt, he is
ching out the beſt enterance for ſhips
foote depe, howbeit he doubteth not
to proceed on along thoſe coaſts for th
Vaigats almoſt in the middle way bet
certaine Baie betweene Vaigats and
into fall two ſmall riuers called * M
cher barbarous and ſauage nation of
mong many cataracts or ouerfals of wat
come to the riuer of Ob, which riuer
by reaſon of the huge breadth thereof
with ſundry ſortes of people, no man
much time, he purpoſeth to ſearch th
which ſhall be thought moſt common
eth to haue certaine with him in his b
the Countrey in ſearch of theſe mouthe
per hopes iourney of the Sea is inhab
it. If it fall out that he may ſayle by
yce which heretofore accompanied wi
the countrey of Siberia which is about th
Arch into the Sea, which place is in th
min, ignorant his name from that nig
he hee would conceiue full hope that
telling there about report, which were

To the famous and renowmed *Gerardus Mercator*, his Reuerend and singular friend at *Duisburgh* in *Cliueland*, these be deliuered.

CAlling to remembrance (most deare Friend) what exceeding delight you tooke at our being together, in reauing the Geographicall writings of Homer, Strabo, Aristotle, Plinie, Dion, and the rest, I reioyced not a little that I happened upon such a messenger as the bearer of these presents, (whom I do especially recommend unto you) who arriued lately here at Arusburg upon the riuer of Osella. This mans experience (as I am of opinion) will greatly auaile you to the knowledge of a certaine matter which hath bene by you so vehemently desired, and so curiously laboured for, and concerning the which the late Cosmographers do hold such varietie of opinions: namely, of the discouerie of the huge promontorie of Tubin, and of the famous and rich countreys subiect unto the Emperor of Cathay, and that by the Northeast Ocean sea. The man is called * Alferius being by birth a Netherlander, who for certaine yeeres liued captiue in the dominions of Russia under two famous men Yacouius and Vnekius, by whom he was sent to Antwerp to procure skilfull Pilots and Mariners, (by propounding liberall rewards) to go unto the two famous personages aforesayd, which two had set a Sweden Shipwright on worke to build two ships for the same discouerie upon the riuer of Dwina. The passage unto Cathay by the Northeast (as he declareth the matter, albeit without arte, yet very aptly, as you may well perceiue, which I request you diligently to consider) is without doubt very short and easie. This very man himselfe hath trauelled to the riuer of Ob, both by land, through the countreys of the Samoeds, and of Sibier, and also by Sea, along the coast of the riuer Pechora Eastward. Being encouraged by this his experience he is fully resolued with himselfe to conduct a Barke laden with merchandize (the keele whereof hee will not haue to draw ouer much water) to the Baie of Saint Nicholas in Russia, being furnished with all things conuenient for such a discouerie, and with a new supply of victuals at his arriuall there, and also to hire into his company certaine Russes best knowen unto himselfe, who can perfectly speake the Samoeds language, and are acquainted with the riuer of Ob, as hauing frequented those places yeere by yeere.

* Of Oliuer.

Two ships built upon the riuer of Dwina for the Northeast discouerie.

Whereupon about the end of May hee is determined to saile from the Baie of S. Nicholas Eastward, by the maine of Ioughoria, and so to the Easterly part of Pechora, to the Island which is called Dolgoia. And here also hee is purposed to obserue the latitudes, to suruey and describe the countrey, to sound the depth of the Sea, and to note the distances of places, where, and so oft as occasion shall be offered. And forasmuch as the Baie of Pechora is a most conuenient place both for harbour and victuall, as well in their going foorth as in their returne home in regard of Ice and tempest, he is determined to bestow a day in sounding the Flats, and in searching out the best enterance for ships: in which place heretofore he found the water to be but fiue foote deepe, howbeit he doubteth not but that there are deeper chanels: and then hee intendeth to proceed on along those coasts for the space of three or foure leagues, leauing the Island called Vaigats almost in the middle way betweene Vgoria and Noua Zembla: then also to passe by a certaine Baie betweene Vaigats and Ob, trending Southerly into the land of Vgoria, where into fall two small riuers called * Marmesia and Carah, upon the which riuers doe inhabite an other barbarous and sauage nation of the Samoeds. He found many Flats in that tract of land, and many cataracts or ouerfals of water, yet such as hee was able to saile by. When hee shall come to the riuer of Ob, which riuer (as the Samoeds report) hath seuentie mouthes, which by reason of the huge breadth thereof containing many and great Islands, which are inhabited with sundry sorts of people, no man scarcely can well discouer, because he will not spend too much time, he purposeth to search three or foure at the most of the mouthes thereof, those chiefe which shall be thought most commodious by the aduise of the inhabitants, of whom hee meaneth to haue certaine with him in his voyage, and meaneth to employ three or foure boates of the Countrey in search of these mouthes, as neere as possibly he can to the shore, which within short space tourney of the Sea is inhabited, that he may learne where the riuer is best nauigable. If it fall out that he may sayle up the riuer Ob against the streame, and mount up to that place which heretofore accompanied with certaine of his friends, he passed vnto by land through the countrey of Siberia which is about twelue dayes iourney from the Sea, where the riuer Ob falleth into the Sea, which place is in the Continent neere the riuer Ob, and is called Yaks Obwin, imposing his name from that mightie riuer which falleth into the riuer Ob, then doubtles he would conceiue full hope that hee had passed the greatest difficulties: for the people dwelling there about report, which were three dayes sayling onely from that place beyond the riuer

The Island of Dolgoia.

The Island of Vaigats.

A Baie betweene Vaigats and Ob trending Southerly.

* Or, Naramsey and Cara Rees.

The place vpon the riuer Ob, where he was but 12. dayes iourney from 9 mouthes thereof, and is called Yaks Obgalij.

riuer Ob, whereby they hoped they might be gathered (which is a rare matter there, because that many rowing with their boates of leather one daies iourney onely from the shore, haue been cast away in tempest, hauing no skill to guide themselues neither by Sunne nor Starre) the which they haue seene great vessels laden with rich and precious merchandize brought downe the great riuer by blacke or swart people. They call that riuer * Ardoh, which falleth into the lake of Kitay, which they call Paraha, whereupon he hopeth that mightie and large nation which they call Carrah Colmak, which is none other then the nation of Cathay. There, if need require, he may safely winter and refresh himselfe and his, and seeke all things which he shall stand in need of: which if it so fall out, he doubteth not but in the meane while he shall be much furthered in searching and learning out many things in that place. Howbeit, he hopeth that he shall reach to Cathaya that very Summer, vnlesse he be hindered by great abundance of Ice at the mouth of the riuer of Ob, which is sometimes more, and sometimes lesse. If it so fall out, he then purposeth to returne to Pechora, and there to Winter: or if he cannot doe so neither, then hee meaneth to returne to the riuer of Dwina, whither he will reach in good time enough, and so the next Spring following to proceed on his voyage. One thing in due place I forgat before.

M. Ienkinson in his voyage to Boghar speaketh of the riuer Ardoh.

The people which dwell at that place called Yaks Olgush, affirme that they haue heard their forefathers say, that they haue heard most sweete harmonie of bels in the lake of Kitchay, and that they haue seene therein stately and large buildings: and when they make mention of the people named Carrah Colmak (this countrey is Cathay) they fetch deepe sighes, and holding vp their hands, they looke vp to heauen, signifying as it were, and declaring the notable glory and magnificence of that nation. I would this Oliuer were better seene in Cosmographie, it would greatly further his experience, which doubtelesse is very great. Most deare friend, I haue many things, and I wish you should heare the man himselfe which promised me faithfully that he would visite you in his way at Duisburg, for he desireth to conferre with you, and doubtlesse you shall very much further the man. He seemeth sufficiently furnished with money and frends, wherein and in other offices of curtesie I offered him my furtherance if it had pleased him to haue vsed me. The Lord prosper the mans desires and forwardnesse, blesse his good beginnings, further his proceedings, and grant vnto him most happy issue. Fare you well good sir and my singular friend. From Arnsburg vpon the 1. of Ossella, the 20. of February, 1581.

Yours wholy at commandement,

Iohn Balak.

MAster Anthonie Ienkinson in a disputation before her Maiestie with sir Humfrey Gilbert for proofe of a passage by the Northeast to Cathaya, among other things alleageth this: videlicet, that there came a continuall streame or current through Mare glaciale, of such swiftnesse as a Colmak told him, that if you cast any thing therein, it would presently be caried out of sight towards the West, &c.

A testimonie of the Northeasterne Discouerie made by the English, and of the profite that may arise by pursuing the same: taken out of the second volume of Nauigations and Voyages, fol. 117. of the notable Cosmographer, M. *Iohn Baptista Ramusius*, Secretarie to the State of Venice: Written in Italian to the yeere, 1557.

Alla parte poi di sotto la nostra Tramontana, che chiaramente scriuono & Cosmographi di questi & de passati tempi ne hanno messo & mostro mare compreso, & che la terra corra continuamente verso Oriente gradi verso il Polo: sopra questo mappa-mondo all' incontro si vede che la terra và solamente in parte sopra la Noruega & Suetia, & volendo correr poi Greco & Leuante nel paese di Moscouia & Rossia, & và diritto al Cataio. Et che cio sia la verita, le nauigationi che hanno fatto gl' Inglesi con le loro naui, volendo andare à scoprire il Cataio al tempo del Re Odoardo Sesto d' Inghilterra, questi anni passati, ne possono far vera testimonianza: perche nel mezzo del loro viaggio, capitate per fortuna a i liti di Moscouia, [illegible] all' hora regnaua Giouanni Vasiliuich Imperatore della Rossia & gran Duca di Moscouia, il qualeogni molto piacere & marauiglia vedutogli, fece grandissime carezze, [illegible] mare essere nauigabile, & non agghiacciato. La qual nauigatione (ancor che con l'esito sia stata non sia stata bene intesa) si col spesso frequentarla & col lungo vso & cognition de quei

si continuerà, è per fare gra
se del mondo.

MOreouer (hauing befo
Venetus) on that part
ofthese and of former times hi
theth continually to 90. degree
that the land extendeth onely a
tendeth afterwards towards
Russia, and stretcheth directly
English men haue of late made,
of England, are very sufficient
vpon the coast of Moscouie (wh
sia, and great duke of Moscouia,
English men, entertained them
and not frozen.

Which nauigation to Cathay,
frequenting the same, and by long
make a wonderfull change and re

The testimonie of *Gera*
rope, touching the no
by the Northeast.

MAgnam occasio
lit celeberrima
tentrionalia Finl
gesta habet. Ex
teriorum Region
scripsie: Quibus
hanc castigationem non reddere.

Th

THe most famous nauigation of t
a great occasion, and certaine di
discouerie hath the Northerne parts o
be vnder elenation and the quarters of t
of the city of Mosco, made by the forem
ming of the situation of the inland
thought it my duetie to exhibite to th
it hath bene published.

nother testimonie of *Io*
same Nauigation and Disc
rolmo gestis Emanuelis Regis Por

ATne omnis, vnis
Britanni Septentri
viginti plus minu
Naruæque Liuoni
giæ, Finmarchiæ,
littora præterueeti,
sibi patefaciunt. Q
idem Britannis velitatione, sunt sec
propè dimitas, omnisque generis

ſi continuerà, è per fare grandiſſime mutatione & riuolgimento nelle coſe di queſta noſtra parte del mondo.

The ſame in Engliſh.

MOreouer (hauing before ſpoken of diuers particularities, in an excellent Map of Paulus Venetus) on that part ſubiect to our North pole, where euery writer and Coſmographer hitherto and of former times hitherto, haue, and doe place the frozen Sea, and that the land ſtretcheth continually to 90. degrees, towards the pole: contrarywiſe, in this mappe is to bee ſeene, that the land extendeth onely a little aboue Norway and Swethland, and then turning it ſelfe trendeth afterwards towards the Southeaſt and by Eaſt, vnto the countrey of Moſcouie and Ruſſia, and ſtretcheth directly vnto Cathay. And that this is true, the nauigations which the Engliſh men haue of late made, intending to diſcouer Cathay, in the time of Edward the firſt, king of England, are very ſufficient witneſſes. For in the mids of their voiage, lighting by chance vpon the coaſt of Moſcouie (where they found then reigning Iohn Vaſiliwich Emperor of Ruſſia, and great duke of Moſcouia, who after he had, to his great delight and admiration, ſeene the Engliſh men, entertained them with exceeding great curteſies) found this ſea to be nauigable, and not frozen.

Which nauigation to Cathay, although it be not as yet throughly knowen, yet if with often frequenting the ſame, and by long vſe and knowledge of thoſe ſeas it bee continued, it is like to make a wonderfull change and reuolution in the ſtate of this our part of the world.

The great hope of the Northeaſterne diſcouerie.

The teſtimonie of *Gerardus Mercator* in his laſt large Mappe of Europe, touching the notable diſcoueries of the Engliſh, made of Moſcouie by the Northeaſt.

MAgnam occaſionem certámque rationem emendandæ Europæ nobis attulit celeberrima Anglorum per Cronium mare nauigatio: quæ littora Septentrionalia Finlappiæ Moſcouiæque iuxta cœli ſitum, mundíque plagas digeſta habet. Exacta etiam vrbis Moſcuæ latitudo ab Anglis obſeruata, interiorum Regionum emendatiùs deſcribendarum infallibilem legem præſcripſit: Quibus oblatis adminiculis pulcherrimis, iniquum putaui tabulam hanc caſtigatiorem non reddere.

The ſame in Engliſh.

THe moſt famous nauigation of the Engliſh men by the Northeaſt ſea hath offered vnto me a great occaſion, and certaine direction for the reformation of the mappe of Europe: which diſcouerie hath the Northerne parts of Finmarke, Lapland, and Moſcouie, laied out according to the iuſt eleuation and the quarters of the world. And further, the true obſeruation of the latitude of the city of Moſco, made by the ſayd Engliſhmen, hath yeelded me an infallible rule, for the correcting of the ſituation of the inland countries: which notable helps being miniſtred vnto me, I thought it my duetie to exhibite to the world this Mappe, more exact and perfect then hitherto hath bene publiſhed.

Another teſtimonie of *Ioannes Metellus Sequanus* concerning the ſame Nauigation and Diſcouerie in his Preface prefixed before *Oſorius de rebus geſtis Emanuelis Regis Portugallia*, written about the yeere, 1574.

ATne omnis, vnis Hiſpanis, Oceani maris gloria totáque concederetur, Britanni Septentriones noua in Moſcouiam nauigatione, ab hinc annis viginti plus minùs illuſtrarunt. Nam bellis Sueticis à Moſcouitarum, Naruæque Liuoniæ excluſi commercio, iter ad illos Oceano, hinc Noruegiæ, Finmarchiæ, Lappiæ, Scricfinniæ, Biarmiæque; illinc Groenlandiæ littora præternecti, vltrà Septuageſimum latitudinis Aquilonaris gradum ſibi patefaciunt. Quam nauigationem Belgæ poſteà, non ſine tamen cum eadem Britannis velitatione, ſunt ſecuti. Eò vehunt argenti veteris fragmenta, lineáſque ſæpe detritas, omníſque generis minutiores merces, ad vſum, cultúmque corporis hominum

minum vtriuſque ſexus, veluti lintea & byſſea cingula, periſcelides, crumenas, cultros, & id genus ſexcenta. A Moſchis autem pelles omnis generis pretioſas adferunt, & ſalmones ſalitos, fumóque duratos.

The ſame in Engliſh.

BUt leaſt all and the whole glory of diſcouering the Ocean ſea ſhould be aſcribed to the Nether-landers, the Engliſhmen about twentie yeeres paſt, by a new nauigation into Moſcouie, diſcouered the Northeaſt partes. For they by reaſon of the warres of Swethland being hindered from the traffique of the Moſcouites and of the Narue in Liefland, opened a paſſage for themſelues by the Ocean ſea, beyond the Northerne latitude of 70. degrees: hauing in their courſe the one ſide the coaſtes of Norway, Finmark, Lapland, Scrickfin and Biarmia: On the other ſide the coaſt of Gronland. Which voyage the Hollanders afterwarde entred into, but not without ſome conflict with the Engliſh. They carry thither old plate and courſe linnen cloth, and all kind of ſmall Mercerie wares, ſeruing for the apparelling of men and women, as linnen, and ſilke girdles, garters, purſes, knifes, and many ſuch like things. And they bring away from the Moſcouites, all kinde of pretious Furres, and Salmons ſalted and dried in the ſmoke.

BRÉVIS COMMENTARIVS DE ISLANDIA: QVO SCRIPTORVM DE HAC Insula errores deteguntur, & extraneorum quorundam conuitijs, ac calumnijs quibus Islandis liberiùs insultare solent, occurritur:

per

ARNGRIMVM IONAM ISLANDVM.

SERENISSIMO PRINCIPI AC DOMINO,

Domino CHRISTIANO IIII. DANIAE, Norvegia, Vandalorum, Gothorumque, Regi electo: Slesuici, Holsatiæ, Stormariæ & Ditmarsiæ Duci & Comiti in Oldenburg & Delmenhorst: Domino suo clementissimo.

PRaclarum sanè apud Historicos meretur laudem, Serenissime Princeps, Anchuri illius Midæ regis filij ausus plusquam humanus, & in patriam pietas, ferè exemplo carens, quòd ad occludendum ingentem circa Celænam Phrygiæ oppidum, terræ hiatum, quotidie homines haud exiguo numero, & quicquid in propinquo erat, absorbentem, sese vltrò obtulerit. Cum enim ab oraculo Midæ pater accepisset, non prius conclusum iri istam voraginem, quam res eò pretiosissima immitterentur: Anchurus existimans, nihil se animâ pretiosius, sese vivum in illud profundissimum chasma præcipitem dedit: idq; tanto animi cum feruore, vt neque parentu desiderio, neque dulcissimæ coniugis amplexu vel lachrymis, ab isto proposito se retrahi passus sit.

Nec inferiorem multò consecuti sunt gloriam Sperthius & Bulis, Lacedæmonij, qui ad pertendam potentissimi Regis Persarum Xerxis, ob occisos à Lacedemonijs Darij patris legatos, vltionem, ad Regem profecti sunt, & vt legatorum necem in se, non in patria vlcisceretur, erecto & constantibus animo se obtulerunt.

Quæ verò res, Serenissime Princeps, illos ac alios complures mouit, vt patriæ flagrantes amore, nullis pro ea periculum, nullas molestias, imò ne mortè ipsam recusarint, ea profectò me neque impulit, non quidem, vt quem admodum illi, mortem sponte oppeterem, aut me maximum vltrò offerrem, sed tamen, vt id quod solum possem, in gratiam patriæ tentarem: ecquis, vt scriptorum de ea errores colligerem & ruminiculos vanos refellerem: Ac ita profectò periculosam, & multorum forsan sinistro obnoxiam indicio, aggrederer. Quæ proposito me etiam Cn. Pompeij exemplum confirmauit: Quem rei frumentariæ ad Romanos procuratorem, cum in summa Vrbis annonæ charitate, in Sicilia, Sardinia Africa frumentum collegisset, maiorem patriæ, quàm sui, tradunt rationem habuisse. Cum enim Romam versus properaret, & ingenti ac periculosa obortæ tempestate, Nauclerum hortaretur, nec se ventorum aut maris sævitia committere velle animaduerteret, ipse primus ingressus, anchoras tolli iussit, in hæc verba exclamans: Vt navigemus vrgente periclitantiùs maiorem habendam rationem, quàm privatæ incolumitatis. Hunc ego sic imitor,

(Si parua licet componere magnis, & muſcam Elephanto conferre) vt collectis ac comportatis iis, quibus ad ſuccurrendum gentis noſtræ nomini ac famæ, apud extraneos, ex malevolorum quorundam inuidia iam diu laboranti vterer; paucula hæc in lucem emittere, méque pelago huic quantumuis turbulento committere ſinte a ventis tradere, cumque illo exclamare non dubitem: Vt ſcribamus, vrget neceſſitas: Vt verò ſcriptum noſtrum, cuiuſuis delicato palato, vbiq; ſatisfaciat, aut omnem Momi proteruiam effugiat, non vrget. Inſtitutum meum complures probaturos ſpero: ſucceſſum forſan non itidem omnes probabunt. Nihilominus tamen maiorem habendam rationem patriæ, multorum hactenus opprobria & contumelias ſuſtinentis, quàm ſiue laudis, ſiue vituperationis, ad me ipſum hinc forſan reditura, exiſtimabã. Quid enim cauſa eſſe poteſt, cur nõnullorũ odium & inuidẽtiam, cum hoc patriæ benefaciendi ſeu gratificandi ſtudio fortè coniunctã recuſem?

Quodſi ſcriptorum errores liberius notare, ſi quorundam calumnias durius perſtringere videbor, eos tamen æquos mihi habiturum cenſores confido, qui paulò diligentius animaduertere volent, quam parùm tolerabiles ſint ſcriptorum de noſtra gente errores: quot etiam & quàm graues quorundam in nos calumniæ, quibus nationem noſtram varijs modis laceſſiuere, & etiamnum laceſſere non deſiſtunt. Dandum etiam aliquid omnibus congenito ſoli natalis amori eſt; Dandum iuſto, ob hanc patriam illaſam iniuriam, dolori. Et ego quidem, quantum fieri potuit, vbiq; mihi temperaui, ac à conuitijs abſtinere volui: quod ſi quid videatur mollius dicendum fuiſſe, id prædicta ratione veniam ſpero, meretur.

Cum igitur hæc mihi ſubeunda ſit alea, quod omnibus ſcriptum aliquod editurus in mare poſitum animaduerto, ad mihi hos tempore ſolicitè curandum eſt: Nempè vt patronum & mecænatem aliquem huic meo commentariolo quarum, ſub cuius nomine & nomine, tutius in vulgi manus exeat.

Eam igitur ad rem nihil poterit contingere optatius, quàm Sereniſſime Princeps, Sereniſſ. Maieſtatis: Etenim nos ei, qui vitam & fortunam noſtram in ſuam poteſtatem & tutelam accepit, ei inquam, nomen quoque gentis noſtræ immerentis contaminatum, cura vt ſit, ſuppliciter rogemus.

Imo verò, Rex clementiſſ. non ſolùm ad hanc rem, S. Maieſtatis V. clementem implorare auxilium neceſſum habemus; Sed ad multa quoq; alia, quæ in noſtra patria deſiderantur, aut quæ aliquo ad huius vtilitatem & ſalutem communem ſpectant: quæ, non per me, ſed per ſummorum noſtræ gentis virorum libellos ſupplices hoc tempore exponuntur, aut certè breui exponentur. Nihil enim dubitamus quin S.V. Maieſtas, Chriſtianiſſimorum maiorum exemplo, etiam noſtram patriam, inter reliqua imperij ſui Inſulas, ſua cura & protectione regia dignari velit. Nam qua noſtra eſt ad S. Maieſtatem V. confugiendi neceſſitas, ea eſt S. Maieſtatis V. in nobis ſublenandi, ſuranda & protegendi, gloria: Et ob ſingularem ſuam in Deum pietatem, & ob ſuam in remotiſſimis Ad. V. imperij ſuibus, quam tranquillitatem & tuta ſingulari Dei beneficio halcyonia habet, præmium, ac repoſita in cœlis immarceſſibilis vita æterna corona.

Cæterum cùm illa huius loci non ſint, id quod mei eſt propoſiti, ſubiũgo: & à S. Maieſtate V. ea, qua par eſt, animi ſubmiſſione peto, vt huic meæ opellæ & ſtudio in patriam collatum fauere, & patroni benigni eſſe loco, clementer dignetur. Quod ſupereſt, Sereniſſ. Princeps Dom. clementiſſime, Maieſtatem V. ſapientia & prudentia, omniumq; adeò virtutum regiarum indies incrementa ſumentem, ad ſummum imperij faſtigium, ſummus ille rerum omnium, omniumq; adeò rerum humanarum diſpenſator, Deus opt. max. euehat: Eccleſiam omni rerum felicitate ſucceſſu continuè beet: Beatámque hoc modo, vt ſummum horum regnorum ornamentum, columen, præſidium, Eccleſia clypeum & munimen, quam diutiſſimè conſeruet: Ac tandem in altera vita, in ſolido regni cœleſtis gaudio, cum prætioſa Eccleſia Dei nutritijs, ſyderis inſtar, illuſtrem fulgere faciat. Faxit etiã idem Pater clementiſſ. vt hæc vota, quantò ſæpius, in ampliſſimorum Maieſtatis V. regnorũ & Inſularum quibuſuis angulo, quotidiè repetuntur ac ingeminantur, tantò rata magis & certiora maneant.

Haffniæ 1593. Menſe Mart.

S. M. V. humiliter ſubiectus:

Arngrimus Ionas Iſlandus.

Beng

Benigno & pio Lectori salutem.



N lucem exijt circa annum Christi 1561. Hamburgi fœtus valdè deformis, patre quodam Germanico propola: Rhythmi videlicet Germanici, omnium qui vnquam leguntur spurcissimi & mendacissimi in gentem Islandicam. Nec sufficiebat sordido Typographo sordidum illum fœtum semel emisisse, nisi tertium etiam aut quartum publicasset, quo videlicet summam & nunquam delendam ignominiam, quantum in ipso fuit, inureret. Tantum Typographi huius odiū fuit, & ex re illicita lucri auiditas. Et hoc in illa ciuitate, quę plurimos annos commercia sua magno suorum cum lucro in Islandia exercuit, impunè fecit. *Ioachimus Leo* nomen illi est, dignus certè qui Leones pascat.

Reperiuntur præterea multi alij scriptores, qui cum miracula naturæ, quæ in hac Insula creduntur esse plurima, & gentis Islandicæ mores ac instituta describere se velle putant, à re ipsa & veritate prorsus aberrarunt, nautarum fabulas plusquam aniles, & vulgi opiniones vanissimas secuti. Hi Scriptores etsi non tam spurca & probrosa reliquerunt, quàm fortasse prorsus liberare, quo minus innocentem gentem suis scriptis deridendam alijs exposuerint. Hæc animaduertens, legens, expendens, subinde nouis, qui Islandorum nomen & æstimationem læderent, scriptoribus ortis, alienorum laborum suffuratoribus impudicis, qui etiam non desinunt gentem nostram nouis conspurcare mendacijs, lectoréque noua monstrorum enumeratione & descriptionibus fictis deludere, sæpe optabam esse aliquem, qui tot errata Historicorum, & aliorum iniquorum censorum responderet, quique aliquo scripto innocentem gentem à tot conuicijs si non liberaret, certè aliquo modo apud pios & candidos Lectores defenderet. Quare hoc tempore Author eram honesto studioso, *Arnoldo suo* F. vt reuolutis scriptorum monumentis, qui de Islandia aliquid scripserunt, errores & mendacia solidis rationibus detegeret. Ille etsi primò reluctabatur, vicit tamen demum admonitio, amórque communis patriæ, ita vt hunc qualemcunque commentariolum conscriberet, non ex vanis vulgi fabulis, sed & ex sua & multorum fide dignorum experientia, comprobationibus sumptis.

Ille verò, qui hanc rem meo estaggressus instinctu, vicissim à me suo quasi iure flagitabat, vt in has pagellas, vel tribus saltem verbis præfarer: existimans aliquid fidei vel autoritatis opusculo inde conciliatum iri. Quare vt mentem breuiter exponam: Ego quidem varias sententias de rebus ignotis perpendere, & inuicem conferre, nec non ad veritatem & experientiæ censuram exigere: Sed etiam patriam à venenatis quorundam sycophantum morsibus vindicare conatus sit. Æquum est igitur, Lector optime, vt quicquid hoc est opusculi, velut sanctissimo veritatis & patriæ amore aduersus Zoilorum proteruiam munitum & communiendum excipias. Vale,

Gudbrandus Thorlacus Episcopus
Holensis in Islandia.
Anno 1592. Iul. 29.

¶ Authoris ad Lectorem.

Quod si diu multúmque cogitaueris,
Nostris eris conatibus paulo æquior,
Tuis & isto vitio facto consules:
Candore nam quo nostra tractamus vtere,
Eúnte legentes rursus vtentur pari:
Sic ipse semper altera quæ feceris,
Æqualitatis lege & hæc sunt tibi.
De gente multis prædicata Islandica
Authoribus quamuis probata maximis,
Nostro periclo hucusq; vulgò credita,
Literæ nobis credimus reuellere,
Non vt notam scriptorum inuram nominis,

Nostrum sed à nota probrosa vindicem:
Hoc institutum iuss, fásq; comprobant:
Hoc nostra consuetudo lexque comprobant:
Hoc digna lectu exempla denique comprobant.
Ergo fave: nostris fave conatibus,

Sis mitis, indulgens & æquus arbiter,
O Lector arte imbute suauis Palladis,
Lector benigne, amice, multum candide,
Qui cuncta scis colis sacros mysteria.

COMMENTARII DE ISLANDIA INITIVM.

QVemadmodum in militia castrensi, alios nulla æqua ratione adductos, sed ambitione, inuidia & auaritia motos, Martis castra sequi animaduertimus: Alios verò iustis de causis arma sumere; vt qui vel doctrinæ cœlestis propagandæ aut seruandæ ergò bella mouent, vel aliquo modo lacessiti paratam vim ac iniuriam repellunt, vel saltem non lacessiti, propter obsidentem hostem metu in armis esse coguntur: Non secus Apollini militantes: alij animo nequaquam bono, Philosophico seu verus Christiano, ad scribendum feruntur: puta qui gloriæ cupiditate, qui liuore ac odio, qui affectata ignorantia alios fugillant, vt ipsi potiores habeantur, nunc in personam, nomen aciemam alicuius, nunc in gentem totam stylum acuentes, atque impudenter quasi mentiendo, insontem nationem & populos commaculantes: Alij verò contrà, animo in genuo multa incubrando inuestigant & in lucem emittunt; vt qui scientiam Theologicam & Philosophicam scriptis mandarunt, quique suis vigilijs veterum monumenta nobis explicuerunt: qui quicquid in illis obscurum, imperfectum, inordinatum animaduerterunt, vsu & experientia ducti illustrarunt, explerunt, ordinarunt: qui mundi historias, bona fide, æternæ memoriæ consecrarunt: qui linguarum cognitionem suis indefessis laboribus iuuerunt: denique qui aliorum in se suamue gentem vel patriam, licentiosam petulantiam reprimere, calumnias refellere, & quandam quasi vim iniustam propulsare annixi sunt.

Et quidem ego, cui literas vix, ac ne vix quidem videre contigit, omnium qui diuinæ Palladi nomen dederunt, longè infimus (vt id ingenuè de me tenuitate confitear) facere certè non possum, quin me in illorum aciem conferam, qui gentis suæ maculam abluere, veritatem ipsam asserere, & conuitiantium iugum detrectare studuerunt: Maiora ingenio sors denegauit: Id quoquo modo tentare compellit ipsius veritatis dignitas, & innatus amor patriæ, quam extraneos nonnullos falsis rumoribus deformare, varijs conuitijs, magna cum voluptate proscindere, aliísq; nationibus deridendam propinare comperimus. Quorum petulantiæ occurrere, & criminationes falsas, detectis simul scriptorum de hac Insula erroribus, apud bonos & cordatos viros, (Nam vulgus sui semper simile, falsi & vanitenacissimum, non est quòd speremus) hac inueterata opinione abducere posse) diluere hoc commentariolo decreui.

Etsi autem Islandia multos habet, vt ætate, ita ingenio & eruditione me longè superiores, ideóq; ad hanc causam patriæ suscipiendam multò magis idoneos: Ego tamen optimi & doctissimi viri, Dom. *Gudbrandi Thorlacij*, Episcopi Holensis, apud Islandos, sollicitationibus permotus communi causæ, pro viribus, nequaquam deesse volui, tum ut æquissimæ postulationi eius parerem, atque amorem & studium debitum erga patriam declararem, tum vt reliquos patriotas meos, in bonarum literarum scientia fœlicius versatos, ad [illegible] in rerum plurimarum cognitione vlterius progressos, ad hoc gentis nostræ patrocinium inuitarem: Tantum abest ijs qui idem conabuntur, obstaculo esse voluerim.

Cæterum vt ad rem redeamus, quoniam illi quicunque sunt nostræ gentis obtrectatores, stimonio scripto se vti ac niti iactitant: videndum omnino est, quidnam de Islandia, & quæ vera scriptores prodiderint, vt si fortè isti, alijs in nos dicendi aliquam occasionem dederint, patefactis ipsorum erroribus (nolo enim quid durius dicere) quàm meritò nos calumnientur liquis planum fiat. Porrò, quamuis vetustiorum quorundum scripta de hac Insula, ad veritatis & experientiæ normam exigere non verear: Tamen nobis eorundem alioqui sacra est memoria, reuerenda dignitas, suspicienda eruditio, laudanda voluntas & in Rempub. literariam studium: Nouitij verò, si qui sunt id genus scriptores, aut verius pasquilli, cum ijs longè vocem quàm scripserant, audire & nosse de Islandia licuerit, sua leuitate & ingenio malè candido hil nisi inuidiæ & calumniæ maculam lucrari esse videbuntur.

Commentarij duæ partes.

Atque vt Commentarius hic noster aliquid ordinis habeat, duo erunt proposita nis capita, vnum de Insula, de incolis alterum: quarum quidem de his duobus cap Scriptores qui in nostris manibus versantur, annotatum reliquerunt: Quoniam vl

metas vagari, vel plura quàm hæc ipsa, & quæ huc pertinere videbuntur attingere nolo. Non enim ex professo Historicum vel Geographum sed disputatorem tantùm agimus. Itaque omissa longiore præfatione partem primam, quæ est de situ, nomine, miraculis, & alijs quibusdam adiunctis Insulæ, aggrediamur. Prima partis tractatio.

SECTIO PRIMA,

Insula Islandia, quæ per immensum à cæteris secreta longè sita est in Oceano, vixdum à nauigantibus agnoscitur, &c.

ETsi hæc tractare, quæ ipsam terram vel illius adiuncta seu proprietates concernunt, ad gentem vel incolas à calumniantium morsu vindicandos parùm faciat: tamen id nequaquam omittendum videtur. Sed de his primùm, & quidem prolixiùs aliquantò agendum est, vt perspecto, quàm vera de hac re tradant illi Islandiæ scriptores, facilè inde candidus Lector, in ijs quæ de Incolis scripsere reliquerunt, quæque ab illis alij, tanquam Dijs prodentibus, acceperunt, vnde sua in gentem nostram ludibria depromi aiunt, quantum fidei mereantur, iudicet. Munst. lib. 4. Cosmograph.

Primum igitur distantiam Islandiæ à reliquis terris non immensam esse, nec tantam, quanta vulgò putatur, si quis insulæ longitudinem & latitudinem aliquo modo cognitam haberet, facilè demonstrari posset. Non enim id alio, quàm isto cognosci exactè posse modo existimârim, cum nulli dubium sit, quàm semper nautarum vel rectissimus, vt illis videtur, cursus aberret. Quare varias authorum de situ Islandiæ sententias subiungam, vt inde quiuis de distantia id colligat, quod maximè verisimile videbitur, donec fortè aliquando propria edoctus experientia, meam quoque sententiam si non interponam, tamen adiungam.

Munsterus *Islandiam collocat Longit.*		*Latitud.*		*Heckelfel promontorium*	25.	67.	
sub gradibus ferè	20	68.		*Madher promontorium*	21.20	65.10	
Gerardus Mercator	352	68.		*Ciuitates in ea mediterraneæ sunt*			
Gemma Frisius:				*Holen Episcopalis*	28.	67. 50	
Meridiem Islandiæ:	7. 0	65. 30		*Schalholten Episcopalis*	22	63. 30	
Horsæ:	7. 40	60. 42		Reinholdus.			
Thurtæ:	5. 50	64. 44		*Per Holen Islandiæ.*		68.	
Nedæ:	6. 40	57. 20		Ioh. Myritius,			
Iacobi Ziegleri:				*Per Med. Islandiæ.*		69.	
Situs Islandiæ Occidentalis.	20.	63.		Neander.			
Eius promontorium:	22. 46	63.		*Islandia tribus gradibus in circulum vsque Arcticum ab æquinoctiali excurrit, adeò ferè, vt medium circulus ille secet, &c.*			
Quod orientale extenditur cũ-							
tra Septentrionem: & finis							
extensionis habet	30.	68.					
Quod septentrionale contra oc-							
cidentem extenditur, & fi-							
nis extensionis habet	28.	69.					
Cæteris Occidentalis descrip-							
tio.							

Et si qui sunt præterea, qui vel in mappis, vel alioqui suis scriptis Insulæ situm notarunt, horum plures sententias referre nihil attinet, cum quò plures habeas, eò magis diffidentes reddarias, Ego quamuis verisimiles coniecturas habeo, cur nullæ citatæ de Islandiæ situ sententiæ discedam, quin potius diuersum quippiam ab ijs omnibus statuam, tamen id ipsum in dubio relinquere malo, quàm quicquam non exploratum satis affirmare, donec, vt dixi, fortè aliquando non coniecturam, sed obseruationem & experientiam propriam afferre liceat.

Distantiam ab ostio Albis ad portum Islandię meridionalis Batzende, quidam scripserat esse circiter 400. milliarium: Vnde si longitudinis differentiam ad meridianum Hamburgensem conuerti, nullam modò positarum longitudinum habebit illo in loco Islandia. Ego certo Hamburgensium nauigationibus docere possum, septimo die Hamburgum ex Islandia perueniri esse. Præterea etiam, Insulæ quæ ab ouium multitudine Fareyjar, seu rectius Faareyiar sunt, bidui nauigatione, vt & littora Norwagiæ deserta distant. Quatridui verò nauigatione in Gronlandiam habitabilem, & pari ferè temporis interuallo, ad prouinciam Norland, inter opida Nidrosiam & Bergas sitam peruenitur, quemadmodum in harum nauium vetustis codicibus reperimus. Bidui nauigatio ab Islandia ad Norwagiam deserta.

SECTIO SECVNDA.

Munsterus, Olaus magnus & reliqui.

In hac, æstivo solstitio, sole signum Cancri transeunte, nox nulla, brumali Solstitio proinde nullus dies. Item, Vadsanus. In ea autem Insula quæ longe supra Arcticum circulum in amplissimo Oceano sita est, Islandia hodie dicta, & terris congelatis maris proxima, quas Eutgruntlant *vocant, menses sunt plures sine noctibus.*

NVllum esse hyemali solstitio diem, id est, tempus quo sol supra horizontem conspicitur in illo tantum Islandiæ angulo, si modò quis est, fatemur, vbi polus ad integros 67. gradus attollitur. Holis autem, quæ est sedes Episcopalis Borealis Islandiæ, sita etiam in angustissima & profundissima conualle, latitudo est circiter grad. 65. 44. min, vt à Domino Gudbrando eiusdem loci Episcopo accepimus, & illic diem breuissimum habemus ad minimum duarum horarum, in meridionali autem Islandia longiorem, vt ex artificum tabulis videre est. Vnde constat nec Islandiam vltra Arcticum circulum positam esse, nec menses plures noctibus in æstiuo, vel diebus in brumali solstitio carere.

SECTIO TERTIA.

Munsterus. Sanu.

Nomen habet à glacie qua illis perpetuo ad Boream adhæret. Item. A latere Occidentali Norvegiæ Insula, qua Glacialis dicitur, magno circumfusa Oceano reperitur, obsoleta admodum habitationis tellus, &c. Item, Hæc est Thyle, nulli veterum non celebrata.

NOmen habet à glacie) Tria nomina consequenter sortita est Islandia. Nam qui omnium primus eius inuentor fuisse creditur *Naddocus* genere Norvagus, cũ versus insulas Farenses nauigaret tẽpestate valida, [illegible] Islandiæ Orientalis fortè appulit: vbi cum fuisset aliquot septimanas cum socijs commoratus, animaduertit immodicam niuium copiam, montium quorundam cacumina obtegentem, atque ideò à niue nomen Insulæ *Snelandia* indidit. Hunc secutus alter, *Gardarus*, fama quam de Islandia *Naddocus* attulerat impulsus, Insulam quæsitum abijt, reperit, & nomen de suo nomine *Gardarsholme* id est, *Gardars* Insula imposuit. Quin & plures nouam terram visendi cupido incessit: nam & post illos duos adhuc tertius quidam *Norvagus* (Floki nomen habuit) contulit se in Islandiam, illiq; à glacie qua viderat ipsam cingi nomen fecit.

Snelandia.

Obsoleta admodum) Ego ex istis verbis Saxonis hanc sententiam nequaquam euo, vt quidam, quòd inde ab initio habitatam esse Islandiam, seu vt verbo dicam, Islandos autochthonas dicat, cum constet vix ante annos 718. incoli cœptam.

Hæc est Thyle) Grammatici certant & adhuc sub iudice lis est. Quam tamen facilè dirimi posse crediderim, si quis animadverterat, circa annum Domini 874 primùm fuisse inhabitatam. Nisi quis dicere velit Thulen illum Aegypti Regem, quem hoc ipsi nomen dedisse putant, Insulam iam tum incultam & inhabitatam penetrasse. Illud verò cursus si quis neget, per me sanè licebit, vt illud sit quoddam quasi spectaculum, dum ita in contrarias scinduntur sententias. Vnus affirmat esse Islandiam. Alter quandam insulam, vbi arbores bis in anno fructificant. Tertius vnam ex Orcadibus, siue vltimam in ditione Scoti, vt *Ioannes Major & alij*, quibus men illius referunt *Thylensey*, quod etiam *Virgilius* per suam vltimam Thylen sensisse videtur. Siquidem ultra Britannos, quo nomine Angli hodie dicti & Scoti veniunt, nullos populos tueret. Quod vel ex illo *Virgilij* Eclog. 1. apparet.

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Et penitus toto diuisos orbe Britannos. Quartus vnam ex Farensibus. Quintus Telemarchiam *Norvagiæ*. Sextus Schrichfinniam.

Perpetuò ad Boream adhærere) Illud verò, *Glaciem Insulæ perpetuò*, vel vt paulò post adiicit *Munsterus*, *Ad eo constanter mensibus adhærere*, neutrum verum est. Nam vt plurimum in mense Aprili aut Maio soluitur, & Occidentem versus propellitur, nec ante Ianuarium aut Februarium sæpissimè etiam tardius redit. Quid? quòd plurimos annos numerare licet, quibus glacies illam latus nationis immite flagellum, ne viderit quidem Islandia: Quod etiam hoc anno 1592. compertum est. Vnde constat quàm verè à *Frisio* scriptum sit, *nauigationem hanc insulam tantum quadrimestrem patere, propter glacies & frigora, quibus inter eundum &* Cùm Anglicæ naues quotannis [illegible] in Martio, nunc in Aprili, quædam in Maio, Germanorum & Danorum in Maio & Iunio, plærumque ad nos redeant, & harum quædam non ante Augustum iterum hinc soluant. Superiore autem anno 1591. quædam nauis Germanica, pro onusta, portum Islandiæ [illegible] ord 14. dies circiter in Nouembri occupauit, quibus sis inde fœliciter soluit. Qu[illegible] cum glacies Islandiæ, nec perpetuò, neque octo mensibus adhæreat, *Munsterus* & *Frisius* manifestè falluntur.

Glacies Aprili aut Maio soluitur

SECTI

SECTIO QVARTA.

Tam grandis Inſula, vt populos multos contineat. Item, Zieglerus. Situs Inſulæ extenditur inter an- Kranzius.
ſirum & boream ducentorum prope Schœnorum longitudine. Munſterus.

Grandis.) Wilſtenius quidam, rector Scholæ OLDENBVRGENSIS Anno 1591. ad auunculum meum in Iſlandia Occidentali miſit breuem commentarium, quem ex ſcriptorum rapſodijs de Iſlandia collegerat. Vbi ſic reperimus: *Iſlandia duplo maior Sicilia,* &c. Sicilia autem ſecundum *Munſterum* 15[illegible] milliaria Germanica in ambitu habet. Noſtræ verò Inſulæ ambitus etſi nobis non eſt exactè cognitus, tamen vetus & conſtans opinio, & apud noſtrates recepta 144. milliaria numerat per duodecim videlicet promontoria Iſlandiæ maiora, quæ ſingula 12. inter ſe milliaribus diſtent, aut circiter, quæ collecta præ- Magnitudo Iſlandiæ.
dictum ſummam oſtendunt.

Populos multos.) *Gyſſerus* quidam, circa annum Domini 1090. Epiſcopus *Schalholtenſis* in Iſlandia, omnes Inſulæ colonos ſeu ruſticos qui tantas facultates poſſiderent, vt regi tributum ſoluere tenerentur (reliquis pauperibus cum fœminis & promiſcuo vulgo omiſſis) luſtrari curauit, reperitque in parte Inſulæ Orientali 700, meridionali 1000, Occidentali 1100, Aquilonari 1200. Summa 4000, colonorum tributa ſoluentium. Iam ſi quis experiatur, inueniet Inſulam plus dimidio fuiſſe inhabitatam. Munſt. Friſius, Zeigler.

SECTIO QVINTA.

Inſula multa ſui parte montoſa eſt & inculta. Qua parte autem plana eſt præſtat plurimùm pabulo, Munſt. Friſius,
tum lato, vt pecus depellatur à paſcuis, ne ab æruina ſuffocetur. Zeigler.

ID ſuffocationis periculum nullo teſtimonio, nec noſtra nec patrum noſtrorum, vel quàm longè retrò numeraris, memoria confirmari poteſt.

SECTIO SEXTA.

Sunt in hac Inſula montes elati in cœlum, quorum vertices perpetuis niuibus candent, radices ſem- Munſt.
piterno igne æſtuant. Primus Occidentem verſus eſt, qui vocatur Hecla, alter Crucis, tertius Friſius.
Helga. Item Zieglerus. *Rupes ſiue promontorium Hecla æſtuans perpetuis ignibus. Item Saxo. In hac itidem Inſula mons eſt, qui rupem ſiderearn perpetuæ flagrationis æſtibus imitatus, incendia ſempiterna ingi flammarum eruſtationes continuat.*

MIracula Iſlandiæ *Munſterus* & *Friſius* narraturi mox in veſtibulo, magno ſuo cum incommodo impingunt. Nam quod hic de monte Hecla aſſerunt, etſi aliquam habet veritatis ſpeciem, tamen quod idem de duobus alijs montibus perpetuo igne æſtuantibus dicunt, manifeſtè erroneum eſt. Illi enim in Iſlandia non extant, nec quicquam, quod huic tanto ſcriptorum errori occaſionem dederit, imaginari poſſumus. Facta tamen eſt, ſed nunc demum 1581. ex monte quodam auſtralis Iſlandiæ, maritimo, perpetuis niuibus & glacie obducto memorabilis fumi ac flammæ eruptio, magna fauorum ac cineris copia eiecta. Cæterum montes longè eſt ab his tribus, quos authores commemorant, diuerſiſſimus. Porrò de montibus ignitis maximè vera narrarent, annon naturaliter iſta contingerent? An [illegible] ſtruendam [illegible], quæ mox in *Munſtero*, *Zieglero* & *Friſio* ſequitur, de orco Iſlandiæ opinionem a[illegible] faciunt? Ego ſanè nefas eſſe duco, his vel ſimilibus naturæ miracula ab abſurda aſſerenda abſ[illegible], vel hæc tanquam impoſſibilia cum quadam impietate mirari. Quaſi verò non concurrant in huiuſmodi incendijs cauſæ ad hanc rem ſatis validæ. Eſt montium montium radicibus materia vri aptiſſima, nempe ſulphurea & bituminoſa. Accedit aër per poros ac cauernas in terræ viſcera ingreſſus, ac illum maximi incendij fomitem inflans vnà cum nitro, qua exſufflatione tanquam follibus quibuſdam, [illegible] exciſa flamma. Habet ſiquidem ignis, his ita conenientibus, quæ tria ad vrendum [illegible]ant neceſſaria, materiam ſcilicet, motum, & tandem penetrandi facultatem: Materiam quidem ſiccam & humidam ideóque flammas diuturnas alentem: Motum præſtat per terræ cauernas admiſſus aër: Penetrandi facultatem facit ignis vis inuicta, ſine reſpiraculo eſſe neſcia, & incredibili conatu violenter erumpentis, atque ita (non ſecus ac in cuniculis ad diſſipandæ ſeu tormentis bellicis, globi è ferro maximi, magno cum fragore ac ſtrepitu, à ſulphure & nitro, è quibus pyrius pulis [illegible]ficitur, excitato, ejiciuntur) lapides & Saxa in voraginem ignitam, ceu quodam camino, colliquefacta cum immodica arenæ & cineris copia, exſpuentis & eiaculantis, idque vt plurimum, non ſine terræmotu: qui ſi ſecundum quantitatem terræ fiat, ſuccuſſio à Poſſidoneo appellatur, vel hiatus erit, vel pulſus.

Lib. 2. cap. 10. Hiatu terra dehiscit: pulsu eleuatur intumescens, & nonunquam, vt inquit *Plinius*, moles magnas egerit: Cuiusmodi terræmotus iam mentionem fecimus, maritima Islandiæ Australis Anno 1581 infestantis, quique à Pontano his verbis scitissimè describitur.

Ergo incerta ferens raptim vestigia, anhelus
Spiritus vncum fas, nunc huc, nunc pessimus illuc,
Explorátque abitum infistens, & singula tentat,
Si quâ forte queat vltis erumpere claustris.
Interea tremit ingentem fallax ruinam
Terra, suis quatiens latas cum mœnibus vrbes:
Dissiliunt anulsa tugis immania saxa, &c.

Hæc addere libuit, non quòd cuiquam hæc ignota esse existimemus; Sed ne nos alij ignorare credant, atque ideo ad suas fabulas, quas hinc exstruunt, confugere velle.

Cæterum video quid etiamnum admirationem non exiguam scriptoribus moueat, in his, quos ignoranter fingunt, tribus Islandiæ montibus, videlicet cum eorum basin semper ardere dicant, summitates tamen nunquã niue careant. Porrò id admirari, est præter authoritatem istorum virorum, quibus Ætnę incendium optimè notum erat, quæ, cùm secundum *Plinium* hybernis temporibus niualis sit, noctibus tamen, eodem teste, semper ardet. Quare etiam secundò illos, ille mons, cum adhuc niuium copia obducitur, & tamen ardeat, sordidarum animarum quoque erit receptaculum: id quod Heclæ propter niues in summo vertice & basin æstuantem, adscribere non dubitarunt. Vix autem mirum esse potest, quòd ignis montis radicibus lasens & nunquã, nisi rarissimè erumpens, excelsa montis cacumina, quæ niuibus obducuntur, non coliquefaciat. Nam & in *Caira*, altissima montis cacumina niuibus semper cãdentia esse perhibetur: & in *Beragna* quidem similiter, sed 5000 passuum in cœlum elata, quæ niuibus nunquam liberentur, cum tamen partibus tantùm decem ab æquatore distent. Vtrámq; hanc proinciam iuxta Pariam esse sitam accepimus. Quid? quod illa Tenerissæ (quæ una est ex insulis Canariis, quæ & Fortunatæ) pyramis, secundum *Munsterum*, 8 aut 9 milliarium Germanicorum altrodine in aëra assurgens, atq; instar Aetnæ iugiter conflagrans, niues, quibus media cingitur, telle *Benzono* Italo, Indiæ occidentalis Historico, non resoluit. Quod ipsum in nostra Hecla quod est, quod magis miremur? Atque hæc ita breuiter de incendiis montanis. Canarius.

Nunc illud quoq; castigandum arbitramur, quod hos montes in cœlum vsq; attolli scribunt. Habent enim nullã præ cæteris Islandiæ montibus notabilem altitudinem: Præcipuè tamen ille Helga à *Munstero* appellatus, nobis Helgafel. 1. Sacer mons, apud monasterium eiusdẽ nominis, nulla sui parte tempore æstiuo niuibus obductus, nec montis excelsi, sed potius collis humilis nomen meretur, nunquã, vt initio huius sectionis dixi, de incendio suspectus. Nec verò perpetuę niues Heclæ, vel paucis alijs adscribi debebant: Permultos enim habet eiusmodi mõtes nauosa Islandia, quos omnes vel toto anno, non facilè collegerit aut connumerarit, horum prædicator & admirator Cosmographus. Quin etiam id non negligendum, quod mons Hecla non occidentem versus, vt à *Munstero* & *Zieglero* annotatum est, sed inter meridiem & orientem positus sit. Nec promontorium est: sed mons ferè mediterraneus.

Incendia perpetua ingt, &c. Quicunq; perpetuam flammarum eructationem Heclæ adscripsunt, toto cœlo errarunt, adeò, vt quoties flammas eructârit, nostrates in annales retulerint, vt, anno Christi 1104. 1157. 1222. 1300. 1341. 1362. & 1389. Neque enim ab illo de montis accendio audire licuit, vsque ad annum 1558. quæ vltima fuit in illo monte eruptio, Interea nego, fieri posse, quin mons infernè latentes intus flammas & incendia alat, quæ videlicet istis interuallis, vt hactenus annotatum est, eruperint, aut etiam forte posthac erumpant. Annales Islandię.

SECTIO SEPTIMA.

Fistus. Mundi. *Montis Heclæ flamma nec stuppam lucernarum luminibus aptissimam adurit, neque aqua tinguitur: Eóque impetu, quo apud nos machinis bellicis, globi ejiciuntur, illinc lapides magni in aera emittuntur, ex frigoris & ignis & sulphuris commixtione. Is locus à quibusdam putatur carcer sordidarum animarum. Item* Zieglerus. *Is locus est carcer sordidarum animarum.*

Nec stuppam adurit.) Vnde habeant Scriptores, non satis conijcitur. Hæc enim nostris hominibus prorsus ignota, nec hîc vnquam, nisi prodidissent illi, audita fuissent. Nemo certè est apud nos tam temerariæ curiositatis, vt huius rei periculum, ardente monte, facere sustineat, quod scire licuit, vnquã ausus fuerit. Quod tamen *Munsterus* asserit. *Qui, inquit, naturam incendij contẽplari cupiunt, & ob id ad montem propius accedunt, eos vna aliqua vorago vim sorbet, &c.* Quæ res, vt dixi, nostræ genti est ignota prorsus. Exstat tamen liber veteri Norvagorum lingua scriptus, in quo terrarum, aquarum, ignis, aëris, &c. miracula aliquot

fida reperias, pauca vera, plurima vana & falsa. Vnde facile apparet, a Sophis quibusdam, si dijs placet, in Papatu olim esse conscriptum: *Speculum Regale* nomen dederunt, propter vanissima mendacia, quibus totus, sed plærumque sub religionis & pietatis prætextu (quo difficilius est fucum agnoscere) scatet speculum minimè regale, sed *Aule & Irregulare*. In hoc speculo figmenta quædam de Hecłæ incendio, his quæ nunc tractamus non multum dissimilia, habentur, nullo experimento magis quàm hæc stabilita, ideóque explodenda. Speculum Regale

Cæterum ne audaculus videar, qui speculum illud Regale mendacij accusem; nullum verò his quę minus credibilia affert, recenseam, Accipe horum pauca Lector, quæ fidem minimè meteri existimarim.

1 De quadam Insula Hyberniæ; quæ templum & Parochiam habet: Cuius incolæ decedentes non inhumantur: sed ad aggerem seu parietem cœmeterij, viuorum instar erecti, consistant perpetuò: Nec vlli corruptioni, nec ruinæ, obnoxij: vt posterùm quiuis suos maiores ibi quærere & conspicere possit.

2 De altera Hyberniæ Insula, vbi homines emori nequeant.

3 De omni terrâ & omnibus arboribus Hyberniæ, quæ omnibus omninò venenis resistant, serpentes & alia venenata, vbiuis terrarum, solâ virtute & præsentiâ, etiam sine contactu, enecent.

4 De tertia Hyberniæ Insula: Quòd hæc dimidia Diabolorum colonia facta sit. In dimidiam verò propter templum ibidem exstructum, iuris habeant nihil, licet & pastore (vt tota Insula incolis) & sacris perpetuò careat: idque per naturam ita esse.

5 De quarta Hyberniæ Insula, quæ in lacu quodam satis vasto fluitet: cuius gramina, [illegible] bubsis morbis prætentissimum remedium existant: Insula verò ripam lacus statis temporibus accedat, idque vt plurimum, diebus Dominicis, vt tum quiuis facilè eam veluti nauim quandam, ingrediatur: id quod tamen pluribus simul, per fatum licere negat, Hanc vero Insulam septimo quoque anno ripæ adnasci tradit, vt à continente non discernas: In eius autem locum mox succedere alteram, priori, naturâ, magnitudine & virtute consimilem: quæ vnde veniat, nescin: idque cum quodam quasi tonitru contingere.

6 De venatoribus Norueglæ, qui lignum domare (sic enim loquitur, quantumuis improbè: cùm ligno vt non vita, ita nec domitura competat) adeò docti sint, vt asseres 8. vlnas longi, plantis pedum eorundem alligati, tanta eos celeritate, vel in excelsis montibus, promoueant, vt non modò canum venaticorum, aut caprearum cursu, sed etiam auium volatu superari nequeant: atque vnico cursu, vnico etiam hastæ ictu, nouem vel plures capreas feriant. Hæc & similia, de Hybernia, Norvegia, Islandia, Gronlandia, de aquæ & aëris etiam miraculis, centorum ille magister, in suum speculum collegit: Quibus, licet suis admirationem, vulgo stupo- Groenlandia.
rem, nobis tamen risum concitauit.

Sed Prisum audiamus. *Flamma*, inquit, *Montis Hecla nec stuppam, lucernarũ luminibus apposuam, adurit, nec aqua extinguitur.* Atqui, inquam, ex Schola vestra Philosophica petitis rationibus hoc Paradoxon confirmari poterit. Docent enim Physici, *commune esse validioribus flammis omnibus vt siccis extinguantur, alantur verò humidis: Vnde etiam fabri, aqua aspersa, ignem excitare solent. Cùm enim sint ardentior fuerit ignis, à frigido incitatur, & ab humido alitur, humorum utrumq; aqua inest. Item: Aqua solet vehementes accendere ignes: Quoniam humidum quod exhalat, pinguius redditur, nec à circumfuso fumo absumitur, sed totum ignis ipso depascitur, quò purior inde factus, ac simul collectus, à frigido alacrior inde redditur. Vnde etiam ignes arsenici aqua minimè extinguibiles. Item: Sunt sulphure & bitumine loca abundantia, qua sponte arderent, quorum flamma aqua minimè extinguitur.* Prodidit etiam Philosophus, *Aqua ali ignem.* Prisius.
lib.3. de anim. Et Plin. lib. 2, Nat. Histor. cap. 110. Et Strabo lib. 7. *In Nymphæo exit è Petra flamma, quæ aquâ accenditur.* Idem, *Vrget æternum conexens fontem ignem fraxinus.* Quin & repentinos ignes in aquis existere, vt Thrasumenum lacum in agro Perusino arsisse totum, rerum auctor est. Et anno 1226, & 1236, non procul à promontorio Islandiæ Reykianes, flammam ex ipso mari erupit. Etiam in corporibus humanis repentinos ignes emicuisse, vt Seruio Chronica Islandiæ
filio dormienti, è capite flammam exsilijsse: Et L. Martium in Hispania, interfectus Scipionis concionem seu orationem ad milites habentem, atque ad vltionem exhortantem, confla-
sse, Valerius Antias narrat. Meminit etiam Plinius flammæ montanæ, quæ vt aqua accen-
ta, ita terra aut fœno extinguatur. Item, Alterius campestris, quę frondem densi supra se ne-
ta, non adurat. Quæ cum ita sint, mirum, homines id in solâ Hecłâ mirari (ponam enim iam
ibus seu locis, tam montanis, quàm campestribus, cum ea commune esset.
Empetus quo apud nos globi. Sic enim Munsterus. *Mons ipse cum furit, inquit, horribilia tremi-* Prisius.
nat, proyecit ingentia Saxa, sulphur emomit, cineribus egestis, pam lange terram circumcirca operit,

operit, vt ad vicesimum lapidem coli non possit, &c. Cæterum oportuit potius cum Ætnâ, aut alijs montibus flammiuomis, quos mox recitabo, comparasse, cum non deesset, non modò similes, sed prope idem: Nisi fortè quòd incendia rarius ex Heclâ erumpant, quàm alijs id genus montibus. Nam proximis 34. annis prorsus quieuit, facta videlicet vltima eruptione, An. 1558 vt superius annotauimus. Et nihil tam magnificè dici potest de nostra Hecla, quin idem, vel maius cæteris montibus flammiuomis competat, vt mox apparebit. Quòd verò sulphur eiaculetur, manifestum est commentum, nullo experimento apud nostrates cognitum.

Is locus est carcer sordidarum animarum. Hîc præfandum esse mihi video, atque veniam a Lectore petendam, quòd, cum initio proposuerim, de terra & incolis diuisim agere, in hac prima parte tamen, quæ sunt meritò secundæ partis, miscere cogar. Euenit hoc scriptorum culpa, qui Insulæ situi ac miraculis, religionis incolarum particulam hanc, de opinione infernalis carceris, confuderunt. Quare etiam vt hunc locum attingamus, quis non miretur istiusmodi commentum ab homine cordato in Historia positum esse? Quis non miretur, viros sapientes eò perdeici, vt hæc vulgi deliramenta auscultent, nedum sequantur? Vulgus enim extrancorum & hominum colluuies nautica, (hîc enim saniores omnes, tam inter nautas quam reliquos, excipio,) de hoc insolito naturæ miraculo audiens, ingenito stupore ad istam, de carcere animarum, imaginationem fertur: Siquidem incendio nullam substerni materiam videt, quemadmodum in domesticis focis fieri consueuit. Atque hac persuasione vulgi fama inoleuit, dum (vt admodicta optimè assuefactum est) vnus alteri huius montis incendium imprecatur. Quasi vero ignis elementaris & materiatus ac visibilis, animas, 1. substantias spirituales comburat. Quæ denique non miretur, cur eundem carcerē damnatorum, non in Ætnâ etiam, nihilo minus ignibus ac incendijs celebri, confingant? At confinxit, dices, Gregorius Pontifex. Purgatorium igitur est, Sit sanè: Eadem igitur huius carceris veritas, quæ & purgatorij. Sed priusquâ longius procedamus, libet hîc referre fabulam perlepidam, huius opinionis infernalis originem & fundamentum: Nempe cuidam extrancorum naui Islandiam relinquenti, & turgidis velis, citissimo cursu iter suum rectà legenti, factam obuiam alteram, similiter impigro cursu, sed contra vim tempestatum, velis & remis nitentem: cuius præfectus rogatus, quinam essent? Respondisse fertur: De Bischep van Bremen. Iterum rogatus quo tenderent? ait. Thom Peckelfleisch tho, Thom Peckelfleisch tho. Hæc videns Lector: vereor, ne peluim postulet dari: Est enim mendacium adeo detestandum, vt facilè nauseam pariat. Abeat igitur ad Cynosarges & ranas palustres: illud enim eiusdē facimus atq; illarū coax, coax. Nec verò dignum est hoc commentum, quod rideatur, nedum refutetur. Sed nolo cum insanis Papistis nugari: Quin potius ad scriptores nostros conuertamur.

Atque inprimis nequeo hîc, clarissimi viri, D. Casparis Peucери, illud præterire. *Est in Islandia,* Inquit, *mons Hecla, qui immanis barathri, vel inferni potius profunditate terribilis, cùm tum miserabilis & lamentabilis ploratu personat, vt voces ploruntium circumquaq; ad interuallum magni milliaris, audiantur. Circumsolitant hanc coruorum & vulturum nigerrima agmina, quæ volatum illi ab incolis existimantur. Vulgus incolarum descensum esse per voraginem illam ad inferos persuasum habet: Inde, cum prælia committuntur alibi in quacunq; parte orbis terrarum, aut cædes fiunt crudeliores, commoueri horrendos circumcirca tumultus, & excitari clamores, atq; cùm latus ingentes longa experientia didicerunt.* Quis verò rem tam incredibilem ad te vir doctissime perferre aulus fuit? Nec enim vultures habet Islandia, sed genus aquilarum secundum, quod ab albicante colore Plinius notauit, & Pygargum appellauit. Nec vlli sunt huius spectaculi apud nos testes: Nec denique ibidem coruos aut aquilas nidificare probabile est, quæ, igni & fumo semper inimicissimo, potius à focis vel incendijs arceantur. Et nihilominus in huius rei testimonium, *(vt & auditi per voraginem montis tumultus extranei,)* experientiam incolarum allegant, quæ certe contraria omnia testatur. Vnde verò foramen vel fenestra illa montana, per quam clamores, strepitus & tumultus apud antipodes, periæcos & antæcos factos exaudiremus? De quâ re multa dicerent, quæ authorem istius mendacij interrogatum haberem, modò quid de illo nobis constaret: qui vtinam veniora narrare discat, nec tam perfrictâ fronte similia, incomperta, atq; sibi incredibilia, clarissimo viro Peucero, aut alijs referre præsumat.

Ast verò Munsterus cum incendij tanti & tam incredilis causas a famosissimâ Ætna ita fugare conatus sit, quam rem illic naturalem facit, hîc verò præternaturalē imo infernalem faciat, an non monstri simile est? Cæterùm de Ætnâ quid dico? Quin potius videamus quid de Heclæ incendio alijs sentiat Munsterus.

Munsterus Cosmograph. vniuers. lib. 1. cap. 7.

Dubium non est, inquit, *montes olim & campos arsisse in orbe terrarum: Et nostra quidem ætate ardent. Verbi gratia: in Islandia mons Hecla statis temporibus foras proijcit ingentia saxa, fumum sulphur spargit cineres, tam longè circumcirca, vt terra ad vicesimum lapidem coli non possit. Vbi tam montiū incendia perpetua sunt, intelligimus nullam esse obstructionem meatuum, per quos*

quaſi fumum quendam, ignes modo flammas, nunc verò fumum tantùm euomant. Sin per temporum interualla increſcunt, interni meatibus obturatis, eius viſcera nihilominus ardent. Superioris autem rur ſus reclauſis meatibus iſdem vel alijs, ex carcere magnâ vi erumpit, cineres, arenam, ſulphur, pumices, maſſas, quæ habent ſpeciem ferri, ſaxa, aliáſq; materias foras proijcit, plerumq; non ſine detrimento regionis adiacentis. Hæc Munſterus. Vbi videas quæſo Lector, quomodo ſuoſe iugulet glamen lib. 4. eiuſdem, admodum eſt diſpar, vt illic ad cauſas infernales confugiat.

Habet profectò Indię occidentalis mons quidam flammiuomus æquiores multò, quàm hic noſter, cenſores & hiſtoricos, minimè illic barathrum exædificantes: Cuius hiſtoriam, quia & breuis eſt, & non illepida, ſubijciam, ab Hieronimo Benzone Italo in Hiſtoriar. noui orbis, lib. 2. his verbis deſcriptam.

Triginta quinq; inquit, *milliarium interuallo abeſt Legioue mons flammiuomus, qui per ingentem craterem tantos ſæpe flammarum globos eructat, vt noctu latiſſimè vltra 10000. paſſuum incendia reuocent. Nonnullis fuit opinio, intus liquefactum aurum eſſe, perpetuam ignibus materiam. Itaq; Dominicanus quidam monachus, cum eius rei periculum facere vellet, abenum & catenam ferream fabricari curat, moxq; in montis ingens cum quatuor alijs Hiſpanis aſcendens, catenam cum abeno ad centum quadraginta vlnas in caminum demittit. Ibi ignis feruore, abenum cum parte catenæ liquefactum eſt. Monachus non leuiter iratus Legionem recurrit, fabrum incuſat, quòd catenam tenuiorem multo, quàm inſiſſet ipſe, eſſet fabricatus. Faber aliam multo craſſiorem excudit. Monachus montem repetit: Catenam & lebetem demittit. Res priori incœpto ſimilem exitum habuit. Nec tantùm reſolutos lebes euanuit, verùm etiã flammæ globus repentè è profundo exiliens, propemodũ & Fratrem & ſecum abſumpſit. Omnes quidem adeo perculſi in vrbem reuerſi ſunt, vt de incœpto exequendo nemo quam deinceps cogitarent, &c.*

O quam centura diſpar? In montano Indiæ occidentalis camino aurum: Iſlandię verò, inferi, quem in Hecla iſlandię animarũ carcerẽ, in Chimæra, Lyciæ monte, cuius noctu diuq; flammas immortalis perhibetur, non ſunt imaginati ſcriptores? Cur nõ in Epheſi montibus, quos tardi flãmante tactos, tantũ ignis cõcipere accepimus, vt lapides quoq; & arenæ in ipſis aquis ardeãt, & ex quibus accenſo baculo, ſi quis fulcũ traxerit, riuos igniũ ſequi narratur à Plinio? Cur non in Cophantro Bactrorum monte, noctu ſemper conflagrante? Cur non in Hiera Inſula, in medio mari ardente? Cur non in Aeolia, ſimiliter in ipſo mari olim dies aliquot aliquot accenſa? Cur non in Babyloniorum campo, interdiu flagrante? Cur non in Aethiopum campis, Stellarum modo, noctu ſemper nitentibus? Cur non in illo Liparæ tumulo, ampla & profunda voragine hiante, teſte Ariſtotele, ad quẽ non tutò noctu accedatur: ex quo Cymbalorũ ſonitus, crotalorum boatus, cum inſolitis & inconditis cachinnis exaudiantur? Cur non in Neapolitanorum agro ad Puteolos? Cur nõ in illa ſuperius cõmemorata Teneriffę pyramide montana, inſtar Aetnæ, ſugiter ardente, & lapides, vt ex Munſtero videre eſt, in aëra exſpuente? Cur non in illo Aethiopum iugo, quod Plinius teſtatur, horum omnium maximo aduri incendio? Cur non deniq; in Veſuuio monte, non ſine inſigni vicinię clade, & C. Plinij exitiali detrimẽto, dum inſueti incendij cauſas perſcrutaturus venit, nubium tenus flammas cum ſaxis euomẽte, pumicum & aquarum ineffabili copiâ aëra replente, & ſolem meridianum per totam viciniam denſiſſimis tenebris intercipiente? Dicam, & dicam quod res eſt: Quia ſcilicet illis, vtpote notioribus, fidem, ſi inferni eſſe incendia finxiſſent, minimè adhiberi præuidebant: Hecłę verò æſtum, cuius rubebant. Sed faceſſite: Deprehenſa fraus eſt: Definite poſthac illam de inferno Heklenſi opinionem cuiquam velle perſuadere. Decuit enim & nos, & alios, vobis inuitis, conſimilibus impudicis, operationes ſuas Naturæ, non Infernus. Sed videamus iam plura eiuſdem farinæ vulgi mendacia, quæ Hiſtoricis & Coſmographis noſtris adeò malè impoſuerunt.

SECTIO OCTAVA.

Duobus montes (tres prædictos Heclam, &c.) *ſunt tres hiatus immanes, quorum altitudinem a-* Friſius Zieglerus, Olaus Magn.
ad montem Heclam potiſſimum, no Lynceus quidem perſpicere queat: Sed apparent ipſum in-
terueniens, homines primum ſubmerſi, adhuc ſpiritum exhalantes, qui amicis ſuis, vt ad propria
redeant, hortantibus, magnis ſuſpiriys ſe ad montem Heclam proficiſci debere reſpondent: Sicque
dubij euaneſcunt.

Deconfirmandum ſuperius mendacium de Inferno terreſtri ac viſibili, commentum hoc, non minus calumnioſum (etſi facilè largiar, Friſium non tam calumniandi, quàm noua & inaudita

inaudita prædicandi animo iſta ſcripſiſſe) quàm falſum ac gerris Siculis longè vanius ac deteſtabilius, excogitarũt homines ignaui, nec cœlũ nec infernũ ſcientes. Quos ſcriptores iſti, vna alioqui præclariſſimi & optimè de Repub. literaria meriti, nimiũ præpropero iudicio ſecuti ſunt.

Cæterum optandum eſſet, nullos tanto nouitatis ſtudio Hiſtorias ſcribere, vt non vereantur aniles quaſuis nugas ijs inſerere, atq; ita aurum purũ cœno aſpergere. Qui verò demũ ſunt homines illi ſubmerſi, in lacu infernali natitantes, & nihilominus cum nobis & amicis confabulante? Anne nobis vetererem Orphea, cum ſua Euridice, in Stygias relabente vndas, colloquentem, & in his extremi orbis partibus, tanquam ad Tanaim Hebrumq́ue niualem, cantus exercentem lyricos, rediuiuum dabitis? Certè, etſi nolint alij futilem huiuſmodi ineptiarum leuitatem ac mendacium agnoſcere, agnouit tamen rerum omnium haud negligens æſtimator Cardanus, lib. 18. ſubtil. cuius hæc ſunt verba.

Eſt Hecla mons in Iſlandia, ardetq́; non aliter ac Ætna in Sicilia per internalla, ideoq; perſuaſione longa (vulgi) concepta, quod ibi expientur animæ. Alij, ne vani ſint, affingunt inania fabula; ut conſona videantur. Quæ ſunt autem illa inania? Quòd ſpectra communiſcuntur, ſe ad montem Heclam ire reſpondentia, ait idem. Et addit. *Nec in Iſlandia ſolum, ſed vbiq́, licet rarò, talia commiſcunt:* Subditq; de laruâ homicida Hiſtoriam, quæ ſic habet. *Efferebatur, inquit, anno præterito, fumus vnus plebeij Mediolani, orientali in porta iuxta templum maius foro venali, quod à cardine frequentia nomen cauſa noſtra lingua ſonat. Occurrit mihi notus: Peto, vt medicorum meruiſſ. quo morbo exceſſerit? Reſpondet ille: conſueſſe hunc virum hora noctis tertia à labore redire domum: Vidit lemurem nocte quadam inſequentem: Quam cum effingere conaretur, ecyus citato pede abba: Sed à ſpectro captus atq; in terram proiectus videbatur. Exclamare nitebatur: Non poterat. Tandem, cum diu in terra cum larua voluntatis eſſet, inuentus à prætereuntibus quibuſdam, ſenſerunt domum relatus, cum reſpiſſet, interrogatus, hæc quæ minus expectabantur, retulit. Obiit annum deſpondens, cum nec ab amicis, nec medicis, nec ſacerdotibus perſuaderi potuiſſet, mania eſſe hæc, aſſa inde diebus periit. Audimus poſtmodum & ab alijs, qui vicini eſſent illi, neminem ab inimico vulneratum tam conſtanter de illo teſtatum, vt hic, quod à mortuo fuiſſet in terram proiectus. Cum quidam quærerent, quid ille poſtquam in terram volutaretur ageret? Conatum, inquit, mortuum albibitus manibus, vt eum ſtrangularet: Nec obſtitiſſe quicquam, niſi quòd ſe ipſum tueretur manibus. Cum alij dubitarent, ne forte hæc à vino paſſus eſſet, interrogarentq́, in quo mortuum a vino ſeruare potuiſſet? Cauſſam reddidit ſatis probabilem, dicens ſe tanquam cotium attrectaſſe, nec pondus habuiſſe, niſi vi premebatur.* Et paulò poſt addit. *Eadem verò ratione, qua in Iſlandia, in arena ſaltuoſis Ægypti & Æthiopia, Indiaq́, vbi Sol ardet, eadem imagines, eadem ſpectra viatores luſiſſe ſolent.* Hactenus Cardanus. Inde tamen nemo concluſerit, ſicut de Iſlandia ſcriptores noſtri faciunt, in illis Ægypti & Æthiopiæ, Indiæq́; locis, carcerem exiſtere damnatorum.

Hæc ex Cardano adſcribere libuit, vt etiam extraneorum teſtimonia pro nobis, contra figmenta tanta afferamus. Conuincit autẽ præſens Cardani locus hæc duo, ſcilicet: nec eſſe Iſlandiæ proprias ſpectrorũ apparitiones: (quod etiã omnes norunt, niſi eius rei ignorantiã nimis affectent) nec illud mortuorũ cũ viuis, in hiatu Heclenſi, colloquium, niſi mendacijs hominum fabulis, quauis ampulla vanioribus, niti, quibus beluæ vulgares, ad confirmandã de animarũ cruciatibus opinionẽ, vſq; fuerant. Et quiſquã eſt, qui illis ſcriptorũ hiatibus, mortuorũ miraculis ſummum vſque refertis, adduci poteſt vt credat? Quiſquam, qui vanitatẽ tantam non cernat? Certè. Nam & hinc conuicia in gentem noſtram rectè ſumi aiunt: Nihil ſcilicet hac proiectius ac deterius eſſe vſquã, quæ intra limites Orcum habeat. Scilicet hoc cómodi nobis peperit Hiſtoricorum ad res nouas diuulgandas auiditas. Verum illa è vulgi dementis nata opinio ſtulta ac inanis, & in opprobrium noſtræ gentis conficta, hactenus, vt ſpero, ſatis labefactata eſt. Quare iam perge Lector, vlterius hanc de ſecretis infernalibus Philoſophiam cognoſcere.

SECTIO NONA.

Triſius & Munſt. *Circum verò Inſulam, per ſeptem aut octo menſes ſtuctuat glacies, miſerabilem quendam gemitum & ab humana voce non alienum, ex colliſione edens. Putant miſeræ, & in monte Hecla & in glacie loca eſſe, in quibus anima ſuorum cruciantur.*

EGregium ſcilicet Hiſtoriæ augmentum, de Orco Iſlandico in vnius montis baſin, haud ſpatioſam, coacto: Et interdum (ſtatis forſan temporibus) loca commutante. Vbi ſcilicet [illegible] in foco mœrano deliteſcere piget, & exire, pelagiſq́; ſed ſine rate, tentare iuuat, ſeſeq; in glaciei fruſtella colligere. Audite porrò, huius ſecreti admiratores: Er. porrigã Hiſtoricis aliud [illegible] fictionis auctarium nequaquam contemnendum. Scribant igitur, quotquot his ſcriptoribus [illegible] tis adhærent, Iſlandos non ſolùm infernum intra limites habere, ſed & ſcientes volentes[illegible] di, atq; intactos eodẽ die egredi. Quid ita? Quia peruetus eſt Inſulæ cõſuetudo, vt maritimi [illegible]

hanc glaciem, ab Hiſtoricis [illegible] ant, ac veſperi incolumes re[illegible] damnatorum aſſeruari, vt p[illegible]

Sed maturè prævidendus [illegible] tionibus præripiant: Quippe [illegible] lint & poſſint, illáq; ſine vllo [illegible] ſum ex iam dictis efficitur: E[illegible] longiuſculè à littore digreſſi[illegible] peſtatis violentia profligati, & [illegible] ctati, ſicque (id enim, inquam [illegible] cruciatus barathri glacialis ex[illegible] tibus venis, ad littora, cum ho[illegible] nerunt: Quorum aliqui etiam [illegible] placet, iuſtum volumen confic[illegible] illa commenta aliter, quàm ei[illegible] rum, ioco ſepoſito, vnde digre[illegible]

Primùm igitur ex ſectione [illegible] bus circa ipſam Inſulam fluitan[illegible] des ſonitus & fragores edit, int[illegible] quicquam tamen humanæ voc[illegible]

Quod autem dicunt, nos & [illegible] uerantur, Id verò ſenio perneg[illegible] inferno eripuit, & regni cœleſti[illegible] loco, in quem animę noſtrorum [illegible] ci, inſtituerit, Scimus & tenemu[illegible] pos Elyſios, ſed ita ſinum Abraha[illegible] ſalo tranſferri. Scimus & tenem[illegible] rum, vel glaciem noſtris oculis ex[illegible] eſt ſletus & ſtridor dentiũ, vbi e[illegible] & ſubtilem diſputationem poſit[illegible] tales, cruciantur. Huic extremo[illegible] nos, Danos, Gallos, Italos, aut qu[illegible] ius carceris loco ſitúue quicquã [illegible] ſum fœtorem & reliqua tormẽta, [illegible] ſanguine redempti ſumus, nunqu[illegible] ſatationis colophon eſto.

S[illegible]

Quòd ſi quis ex hac glacie magnam [illegible] iſſimi aſſeruarit, illa tempore gl[illegible] rum in particula vel guttula a[illegible]

IDprofectò neceſſariò addendu[illegible] Hiſtoricos, repreſentatem, & [illegible] in vaſtiſſima hac vniuerſitate omni[illegible] corpus eſſe videatur, corpus tamen [illegible] um corpora dura & ſolida perrump[illegible] elementaris naturæ, vt vel ſpiritual[illegible] largiantur, infernalem. Infernalem[illegible] ſtigus infernale longè eſſe intracta[illegible] poſita, nec quicquã ſuo contactu, ve[illegible] ctic dubimus; accepimus enim à Phy[illegible] quoquam decedere poſſe: Quæ ta[illegible] ſecundum illos, hyperphyſicam, cad[illegible] dum calore ſolis reſolutam, ac in[illegible] d ſecus ac riuos terreſtres, inferuire[illegible] ſualis, vt nec infernalis. Iam ve[illegible] inde aliquis ſuſpicetur, glaciem[illegible] o traxiſſe: Vel id cerio, quippe eiuſd[illegible] rorum cum Paradiſo cœleſti loca [illegible]

hanc glaciem, ab Historicis infernalem tactam, manè phocas, seu vitulos marinos capturum ea-ant, ac vesperi incolumes redeant. Addite etiam, in scrinijs & alijs vasis ab Islandis carcerem damnatorum asseruari, vt paulò post ex Frisio audiemus.

Sed maturè prævidendum erit vobis, ne Islandi fortitudinis & constantiæ laudem vestris nationibus præripiant: Quippe qui tormenta (vt historicis vestris placet) barathri sustinuisse & vesisse & possint, illáq; sine vllo grauiore damno perrúpere atq; effugere valeant, quod quidem ipsum ex iam dictis efficitur: Et multos nostratium enumerare possum, qui in ipso venationis actu longiusculè à littore digressi, glacie à Zephyris dissipata, multa milliaria glaciei insidétes, tempestatis violentia profligati, & aliquot dies ac noctes continuas crudelissimi pelagi fluctibus iacti, cruciatus barathri glacialis experti sunt: Qui tandem mutata tempestate, atq; à Borea spirante, ad littora, cum hoc suo glaciali naufgio rursus adacti, incolumes domum pernerunt: Quorum aliqui etiam hodie viuunt. Quare hoc nouitatis auidi arripiant, indeque, si placet, iustum volumen conficiant, atque ad Historiam suam apponant. Nec enim vanissima illa commenta aliter, quàm eiusmodi ocularibus excipienda & confundenda videntur. Cæterum, ioco sepositò, vnde digressi sumus, reuertamur.

Primùm igitur ex sectione secunda satis constat, glaciem, neque septem, neque octo mensibus circa ipsam Insulam fluitare: Deinde etiam, glaciem hanc, etsi interdum ex collisione granibus ventis, ad littora, cum hoc suo glaciali naufgio rursus adacti, incolumes domum pernerunt: Quorum aliqui etiam hodie viuunt. Quare hoc nouitatis auidi arripiant, indeque, si placet, iustum volumen conficiant, atque ad Historiam suam apponant. Nec enim vanissima illa commenta aliter, quàm eiusmodi ocularibus excipienda & confundenda videntur. Cæterum, ioco sepositò, vnde digressi sumus, reuertamur.

Primùm igitur ex sectione secunda satis constat, glaciem, neque septem, neque octo mensibus circa ipsam Insulam fluitare: Deinde etiam, glaciem hanc, etsi interdum ex collisione granquicquam tamen humanæ voci simile resonare aut ciulare minimè fatemur.

Quod autem dicunt, nos *& in glacie, & in monte Hecla loca statuere, in quibus anima nostrorũ cruciantur*, Id verò seriò pernegamus, Deóq; ac Domino nostro Iesu Christo, qui nos à morte & inferno eripuit, & regni cœlestis ianuam nobis reseranit, gratias ex animo agimus, quod nos de loco, in quem animæ nostrorum defunctorum commigrent, rectius, quàm dicunt illi Historici, instituerit. Scimus & tenemus animas piorum non in Purgatorium Pontificiorum, aut campum Elysios, sed in sinum Abrahæ, in manum Dei, in Paradisum cœlestem, mox è corporis ergastulo transferri. Scimus & tenemus de impiorum animabus, non in montanos focos & cineres, vel glaciem nostris oculis expositam, deflectere, sed in extremas mox abripi tenebras, vbi est fletus & stridor dentiũ, vbi est frigus, vbi est ignis ille, non vulgaris, sed extra nostrã scientiã & subtilem disputationem positus, Vbi non modò corpora, sed animæ etiam, i. substantiæ spirituales, cruciantur. Huic extremo & tenebricoso carceri non Islandos viciniores, quàm Germanos, Danos, Gallos, Italos, aut quamvis aliam gentem, quoad loci situm, statuimus. Nec de hums fœtorem & reliqua torméta, dante & iuuante Domino nostro Iesu Christo, cuius precioso sanguine redempti sumus, nunquam simus visuri aut sensuri. Atque hic de orco Islandico disputationis colophon esto.

SECTIO DECIMA.

Quòd si quis ex hac glacie magnam partem ceperit, eámque vasi aut scrinio inclusam, quàm diligentissimè asseruarit, illa tempore glaciei, quæ circum insulam est, degelantis, euanescit, vt neque minimam particula vel guttula aqua reperiatur. Prisius, Zieglerus Saxo hæc fusiùs tractant.

IN profecto necessariò addendum fuit: Hanc scilicet glaciem, voces humanas, secundum Historicos, representatem, & damnatorum receptaculum existentem, non esse, vt reliqua in vastissima hac vniuersitate omnia, ex Elementi alicuius materia constatam. Siquidem cum corpus esse videatur, corpus tamen non sit, (quod ex Frisij paradoxo rectè deducitur) cum etiam corpora dura & solida perrumpat, non secus ac spectra & genij: Restat igitur cum non sit elementaris naturæ, vt vel spiritualem habeat materiam, vel cœlestem, vel quod ipsi forsan largiantur, infernalem. Infernalem tamen esse non assentiemur, quia ad aures nostras peruenit frigus infernale longè esse intractabilius, quam est hęc glacies, humanis manibus in scrinio reposita, nec quicquã suo contactu, vel nudatam carnem lædere valens. Nec profectò spiritualem esse dabimus; accepimus enim à Physicis, substantias spirituales nec cerni, nec tangi, nec ijs quoquam decedere posse: Quæ tamen omnia in hanc historicorum glaciem, quantumuis, secundum illos, hyperphysicam, cadere certum & manifestum est. Præterea & hoc verissimum ideam calore solis resolutam, ac in superficie sua stagnantem, siti piscatorum restinguendæ, ni fecus ac riuos terrestres, inseruire: Id quod substantiæ spirituali denegari est. Non est igitur [illegible] infernalis, vt nec infernalis. Iam verò cœlestem habere materiam, nemo audebit dicere: Ne [illegible] inde aliquis suspicetur, glaciem hanc barathrum, quod illi Historici affingũt, secum è cœlo attulisse: Vel id cerio, quippe eiusdem materiæ cum glacie, commune esse, atq; ita carcer damnatorum cum Paradiso cœlesti loca commutasse, Historicorum culpa putetur.

Quare

Quare cum glacies hæc Historica nec ut elementaris, vt ex præsenti loco Frisij optimè sequi iam toties monuimus: nec spiritualis, nec infernalis, quod vtrumq; breuibus, solidis tamen rationibus demonstrauimus; nec cœlestis materiæ, quod opinari religio vetat: relinquitur omnino, vt secundum eosdem Historicos nulla sit, quam tamè illi tam cum stupendâ admiratione prædicant, & nos videri ac tangi putamus. Est igitur, & non est: Quod axioma vbi secundum idem, & ad idem, & eodem tempore, verum esse poterit, nos demum miraculis istis glacialibus credemus. Itaq; iam vides Lector, ad hæc refellenda nullo alio esse opus, quam mõstrari quomodo secum dissideant. Sed haud mirum, cum qui semel vulgi fabulosis rumoribus se permittit, sæpius errare. Cuiusmodi etiam prodidit quidam de glacie huius Sympathiâ, quod videlicet molis, cuius pars esset, discessum insequeretur, vt omnem observationis diligentiam inexhibili fugæ celeritate deciperet. Atqui sæpe vidimus eiusmodi solitariam molem pòst abactam reliquam glaciem, nullis vectibus, nullis machinis detentam, ad littus multis septimanis consistere. Palam est igitur, illud de glacie miraculum fundamento niti, quàm est ipsa glacies, magis lubrico.

SECTIO VNDECIMA.

Frisius. *Non procul ab his montibus,* (tribus prædictis) *ad maritimas oras vergentibus, sunt quatuor fontes diuersissimæ naturæ. Vnus suo perpetuo ardore omne corpus sibi immissum raptim conuertit in saxum, manente tamen priore forma. Alter est algoris intolerabilis. Tertius vel melle dulcior, & restinguendæ sitis incundissimus. Quartus plane exitialis, pestilens, & virulentus.*

ETiam hæc fontium topographia satis apertè monstrat, quàm ex impuro fonte has suas narrationes omnes miraculosas hauserit Geographus. Id enim dicere videtur: Montes hos tres prædictos ferè cõtinguos esse: Siquidè tribus montibus quatuor fontes indicrete adscribit. Alioqui si non vicinos statuisset, vni alicui horum duos fontes adscripsisset. Sed neque hi montes contigui sunt (quippe multis milliaribus inuicem dissiti) neque iuxta hos fontes illi quatuor reperiuntur: quod, qui credere nolit, experiatur. Cæterum ad hæc confutanda sufficit, credo, ipsorum historicorũ contrarietas. Nam de duobus fontibus quidam Frisio his verbis contradicit. *Erumpunt ex eodem monte* (Heclà) *fontes duo, quorum alter aquarum frigiditate, alter feruore intolerabilis excedit omnem elementarem vim.* Hi duo sunt [illegible] illi Frisij fontes, nisi quod hic miraculum indurandi corpora, alteri fontium attributum, omissum sit. Atqui non simul possunt ex ipso monte, & iuxta montem erumpere.

Hic vero libenter quæsierim, quâ ratione quisquam ex Peripateticis dicat, aliquid ipso elemento aquæ frigidius, aut igne calidius? Vnde demum, scriptores, ista frigiditas? Vnde ille feruor? Nonne è Schola vestra accepimus aquam esse elementum frigidissimum & humidum, atque adeò frigidissimum, vt ad constituendas qualitates secundas, remitti sit necesse, necsimplicem vsibus humanis inseruire? (Hæc ego nunc Physicorum oracula fundo, vera an falsa, nescio.) Testis est vnus omnium, & pro omnibus, Iohannes Fernelius lib. 2. Physiologiæ, cap. 4. *Sic, inquit, qualitates hæ (quatuor primæ) quatuor rerum naturis summa obtinent: vt quemadmodum puro igne nihil calidius, nihilque lenius: Sic terra nihil siccius, nihil grauius: Aquam secutam, nullius medicamenti vis gelida eminet, vt nec aerem, vllius humor. Summæ præterea sicutis insunt, vt ne minimum quidem possint amplectere, remitti verò possint.* Nolo huc rationes seu argumenta Physicorum aggregare. Vnum profectò hîc cauendum est, ne dum fontium miracula prædicant scriptores, vt glaciem Islandorum, ita etiam fontes creatorum numero eximant. Nos fontium adiuncta, quæ huc scriptores pertraxerunt, ordine persequemur. *Primus suo perpetuo calore*) Plurimæ sunt in Islandia thermæ seu fontes calidi: Pauciores ardentes: quos neque eo quidem miraculo esse debere existimamus, cum huiusmodi, vt a scriptoribus dicti, passim abundet Germania, præcipuè in ijs locis, quæ non sunt procul ab Alpium radicibus. Nota est fama thermarum Badensium, Gebarsullensium, Calbensium, in ducatu Wirtebergensi, & multarum aliarum quarum meminit Fuchsius in lib. de arte medendi. Et non solum Germania, sed etiam Gallia, & longè magis omnium bonorum parens Italia, inquit Cardanus. Et Aristoteles narrat, circa Epyrum calidas aquas scaturire, vnde locus Pyriphlegeton appellatur. Atq; inquam, hæc ideo minus miranda, quod vt incendij montani, ita feruoris aquei causlas indagarint Naturæ speculatores: Aquam scilicet per terræ venas sulphureas, aut aluminosas labi, inde non calorem solùm, sed saporem etiam & virtutes alienas concipere. Docuit hoc Aristotelis libro de mundo. *Continet, inquit, terra in se vaultos fontes, vt aqua, ita & spiritus & ignis: Quidam enumium more fluunt, & vel igne semel excitati feruunt: Nunc repente aqua erumpunt, nunc feruentissimæ, nunc temperatæ.* Et Seneca: *Empedocles existimabat ignibus, quos multis locis apertos tegit terra, aquam calescere, si subtecta sint solo, per quod aqua transitus est.* Et fortè de thermis Baianis Pontanus,

Lib. 3. Nat. quæst.

Fatuus

Baiano sed no fumare in litore thermas
Mirare, aut liquidis sluitare incendia venis
Vulcani fera sulphureis incensa caminis
Ipsa mouent, latè multùm tellure sub ima
Debacchari ignem, camposq; exurere opertos.
Inde fluit, calidum referens ex igne vaporem,
Vnda fugax, frigus fermenti & balnea flammis.

Hoc loco attingendum duxi quod tradit Saxo Grammaticus, Danorum celebratissimus historicus, *Islandia fontes quosdam nunc ad summum exaresceres, & exūdare: Nunc adeò subsidere, vt ibi à natura productos, ne quis hic monstri quippiam imaginetur.* Hos autem recitat Plinius. In Tenedo Insula vnum, qui semper à tertia noctis hora, in sextam solstitio æstiuo exundet. In agro Pisinate, trans Apenninum montem, fluuium esse, qui omnibus Solstitijs æstiuis exundet, brumali tempore siccetur. Refert etiam de fonte quodā satis largo, qui singulis horis immensescat & residat. Nec id magis negligendum: subire terras flumina, rursusque redire: vt Lycus in Asia, Erasinus in Argolico, Tigris in Mesopotamia, quibus Cardanus addit Tanaim in Moscouia: Et quæ in Æsculapij fonte Athenis immersa sunt, in Phaletico reddi. Et Seneca scribit esse flumina, quæ in specum aliquem subterraneum demissa, ex hominum oculis se subducunt, quæ cōsumi paulatim & intercidere constet: Eademq; post interuallum reuerti, recipereq; & nomen & cursum priorem. Et iterum Plinius; fluuium in Atinate campo mersum, post 20 milia passuum exire. Quæ omnia, & his similia, Islandiæ fontes, miraculo nullo, præ cæteris esse debere, ostendunt.

Omne corpus immissum continò conuertit in saxum. His duobus adiunctis, feruore nempe, seu ardore vehementissimo, & virtute indurandi corpora, primum sui fontem describit Frisius. Et hæc quidem accepi, ipse non sum expertus, existere similem fontem in Islandia, non procul à sede Episcopali Schalholt, apud villam nomine Haukadal. Habet simile Seneca, dicens, *fontē quendam esse, qui ligna in lapides conuertat, hominumq; viscera indurescere, qui aquam eius biberint:* Et addit eiusmodi fontes in quibusdam Italiæ locis inueniri: quod Ouidius Ciconum flumini tribuit 15. Metamorph.

Flumen habent Cicones, quod potum saxea reddit
Viscera, quod tactis inducit marmora rebus.

Et Cardanus: *Georgius Agricola, inquit, in Elbogano tractu iuxta oppidum à falconibus cognominatum, integras cum corpore abietes in lapidem conuersas esse, atq; quod mirum est, in primis etiam pyreidem lapidem continere. Et Domitius Brusonius, in Sylua amne, qui radices montis eius, qui est in agro urbis Vrsentinorum olim, nunc Contursij, lambit, folia & arborum ramos in lapides transire, non sola arborum, sed propria, vt qui incola sit regionis, (cui rei etiam Plinius astipulatur) narrat, cortices quoq; auū lapidi, annos numero ostendere.* Sic (si scriptoribus credimus) gutta Gotici fontis sparsa lapidescunt. Et in Vngaria, Cepusij aqua, in vrceos infusa, lapidescit. Plinius refert etiam, vt in Ciconum flumine, & in Piceno lacu velino, ligna deiecta, lapideo cortice obduci.

Secundus algoris intolerabilis. Quantum ad secundum fontem attinet, nullus hic est quòd quisquā scit, algoris intolerabilis, sed plurimi bene frigidi, ita vt vulgaribus riuis æstiuo sole tepescentibus, non sine voluptate ex frigidioribus illis aquam hauriamus. Sunt & longè frigidiores alibi: Nam & Cardanus in agro Corinthio è montis vertice fluentem riuum commemorat, niue frigidiorem: Et intra primum à Culma lapidem, Insanam vocatum: quæ aqua cū niue videatur, tamen longè frigidissima, &c.

Tertius vel mellè dulcior. Neq; id prosus verum est. Non enim est vllus apud nos, qui vel mille ex parte cum mellis dulcedine conferri possit. Rectius igitur Saxo, qui fontes (quoniam diuersi sunt) *in Islandia dicit inuenirī Cerealem referentes saporem, vt* etiam ibidem non diuersi saporis solum, sed diuersi etiam coloris fontes & flumina reperiuntur.

Diuersi autem tradunt Phytici aquam naturaliter ex se neq; saporem neq; odorem habere, tamen, vt superius attigimus, verisimile est, quod alij per accidens vocant, eam sæpe referre qualitatum terræ, in qua generatur, & per cuius venas transitum atq; excursum habet: Atq; hinc aquarum odores, colores, sapores, alios atq; alios existere. Cuiusmodi sunt, de quibus narrat Sextius, quorum alij famem excitent, alij bibentes inebrient, alij memoriæ officiant, alij iuuent etiam, alij vini saporem & virtutem repræsentent: Vt ille apud Plinium in Andro Insula fons, Liberi, qui Nonis Ianuarijs vini sapore fluat. Et apud Aristotelem fons in agro Carthaginis, qui oleū præbeat, & quidam Cretæ odore repræsentet. Item, Orcus fluuius Thessaliæ, Lib. de mirab. auscultat.
fons in Peneum, olei instar supernatans: Cuiusmodi etiam narrat Cardanus in Saxonia
, iuxta Brunonis oppidum, lacum oleo perfusum: Et in Sueuis, iuxta Cœnobium, Lib. 2. de Elemēt.

cui Tergenſche nomen eſt. Ité, in valle montis Parnaſſi. Cauſam huius rei putat eſſe bitumen valde pingue, quod oleum ſine dubio contineat. Idem, famam eſſe ait, in Cardia, iuxta locũ Diſchyli, in campo albo aquam eſſe lacte dulciorem. Aliã quoq; iuxta pontem, qua Valbeburgum itur, Iam aquarũ vini ſaporem referentium meminit his verbis Propertius, 3. lib. Elegiar.

En tibi per mediam bene olentia flumina Naxon,
Vnde tuum pota Naxia turba merum.

Eſt autem Naxus Inſula vna ex Cycladibus, in mari Ægeo. Cauſam huius aſſignat Cardanus, quod hydromel vetuſtate tranſeat in vinum. Ariſtoteles commemorat Siciliæ fontem, quo incolæ loco aceti vtantur. Idem ſaporum aquæ cauſam in calorem retulit, quòd terra excocta mutet & præbeat ſaporem aquæ.

Iam de aquæ coloribus ita Cardanus. *Eadem eſt ratio colorum aquæ, ait, quæ & ſaporum: videlicet à terra originem trahere. Nam Candida eſt aqua, ad ſecundum lapidem à Glauca, Miſenæ oppido: Rubea, vt in Radera Miſenæ fluuio, iuxta Rodelbergum: Et olim in Indiæ tractu loppe: Viridis, in Carpato [illegible] iuxta Neuſolam: Cærulea aut blana, inter Feltrinum & Tarui[illegible], & in Thermopylis etiam talem fuiſſe referunt: Nigerrima in Albera fluuio Saxoniæ, vbi Viſurgim ſe exonerat. Cauſſa ſunt argilla colores, ſed tenuiores.* Item Ariſtoteles: circa Iapygiam promontoriũ, eſſe fontem, qui ſanguinem fundat, addens, eam maris partem ſuo fœtore nauigantes procul arcere. Aiunt præterea in Idumæa fontem eſſe, qui quater in anno colorem mutet, cum ſit colore nunc viridi, nunc albo, nunc ſanguineo, nunc lutulento.

Et de aquarum odore ſic Cardanus. *Similis ratio differentiæ eſt in odoribus. Plerumq; tamen aquarum odores iucundi ſunt, quòd rarò terra bene oleat. Peſſimè olim fœtabat in Ætide, Amyſi fluminis aqua, vſq; ad perniciem, non ſolum piſcium, ſed etiam hominum. Iuxta Meteonem in Meſſenia, in puteo quodam optimè olens aqua hauriebatur.* Hæc ideo recito, vt nullus magis in Iſlandia quàm alibi, aquarum, colores odores, ſapores, miretur.

Quartus plane exitialis. Autor eſt Iſidorus, eſſe fontem quendam, cuius aqua pota vitam extinguat: Et Plinius: *Iuxta Nonacrim, inquit, Arcadiæ, Styx* (iuxta Cyllenem montem, ait Cardan. Sola equi vngula continebatur: referunt ea ſublatum Alexandrum magnũ) *nec odore differens, nec colore, epota illico necat.* Idem, *In Beroſo Taurorum colle ſunt tres fontes ſine remedio, ſui dolore emortiferi:* Et quod longè maximum eſt, quod Seneca ſtagnum eſſe dicat, in quod proſpicientes ſtatim moriantur. Nos verò Iſlandi etiam hunc quartum Friſij fontẽ, cuius etiam Saxo meminit, vt antehac ſemper, ita idem etiam nobis hodie penitus ignotum teſtamur: Hocq; igitur nomine, Deo immortales gratias agimus, quòd ab eiuſmodi fontibus & ſerpẽtibus, iniectis venenatis, ac alijs peſtiferis & contagioſis, eſſe nos immunes voluerit.

Præterea eſt apud pradictos fontes tanta ſulphuris copia. Montes tres à Munſtero & Friſio ignuomi dicti, omnes longiſſimo interuallo à noſtris fodinis diſtant. Quare cum iuxta hos montes, fontibus quatuor, quos tantopere miraculis celebrant, locum & ſitum faciant, neceſſe eſt eos fontes pari ferè interuallo à fodinis ſulphureis remotos eſſe. Nec verò apud montem Heclam, vt Munſterus, nec apud hos Friſij fontes (quorum rumor quàm verus ſit, hactenus oſtenſum eſt) ſulphur effoditur: Nec patrum noſtrorum memoria effoſſum eſſe arbitramur, Neq; verunetiam quod de ſulphuris copia tradit Munſterus, eſſe videlicet penè vnicum Inſulæ mercimonium & vectigal. Nam cum inſula in quatuor partes diuiſa ſit, quarta pars, nempe borealis, tantumdem vtilitatis mercimonio, nec ſulphuris mica in vectigal Inſulæ penditur.

Sulphur in boreali Iſlandiæ parte

SECTIO DVODECIMA.

Munſt. *Piſcium tanta eſt copia in hac Inſula, vt ad altitudinem domorũ ſub aperto cælo venditi exponatur.*

Sub aperto cælo. Id quidem facere vidimus mercatores extraneos, donec naues mercibus extraneis exonerarint, incipiãq; eaſdem rurſus piſcibus & reliquis noſtratium mercibus onerare. An verò noſtri homines id aliquando fecerint, non ſatis liquet. Certè copioſa illa & vetus piſcium abundantia iam deſijt, Iſlandis & iſtius boni, & aliorum penuria laborare incipientibus, Domino Deo meritum impietatis noſtræ flagellum, quod vtinam ritè agnoſcamus, immittente.

SECTIO DECIMATERTIA.

Friſius. *Equos habent velociſſimos, qui ſine intermiſſione 30. millaria continuo curſu conficiunt.*

QVidam in ſua mappa Iſlandiæ, 20. millaria continuo curſu aſſequi tradit cuiuſdam paruæ ciæ equos. Sed veruntamen impoſſibile ducimus. Nam maximæ celeritatis & [illegible] beſtias (Rangiferos appellant) ſcribit Munſterus non niſi 30. millaria 24. horarum ſpacio confecere.

SECTI

SECTIO DECIMAQVARTA.

Cete grandia instar montium prope Islandiam aliquando conspiciuntur, qua naues euertunt, nisi tubarum fumo absterreantur, aut missis in mare rotundis & vacuis vasis, quorum lusu delectantur, impediantur. Fere aliquando, vt naues a in dorsa cetorum, qua Insulas esse putant, anchoras figentes, periclitentur, vocantur autem eorum lingua Trollwal, Tuffelwalen, i. *Diabolica cete.* Munst.

INter *montium*: En tibi iterum, Lector, Munsteri Telenicia Echo, & cæcum, vt dici solet, insomnium. Deformat, me Hercule, adeò mendax & absurda hyperbole historiam, idque tanto magis quanto minus est necessaria. Nam quorsum attinet mentiri Historicum, si historia est rei veræ narratio? Quorsum tropicas hyperboles assumet? Quid conabitur persuadere, aut quo pertrahere Lectorem, siquidem nihil nisi simplicem rerum expositionem sibi proponit?

Floribus arg, Portis,
Quodlibet audendi semper fuit æqua potestas:
Non itidem Historicis.

Dorsa cetorum, qua Insulas putant: Nata est hæc fabula, vt & reliquæ, ex mendacio quodam, vt antiquo, ita ridiculo & vano, cuius ego fidem tititilitio non emam. Est autem tale: Missos fuisse olim Legatos cum sodalitio monastico, ab Episcopo Bremensi (Brandanus vetustis Norwagis, Krantzio, ni fallor, Alebrandus appellatur) ad fidem Papisticam, quæ tum Christiana putabatur, in Septentrione prædicandam & diuulgandam: Eosque, vbi immensum iter Septentrionem versus nauigando consumpsissent, ad insulam quandam peruenisse: ibique iacta anchora descensum in Intulam fecisse, locos secendisse: (Nam verisimile est nauis in ipso mari glaciali frigore non parum esse vexatos) & commeatum naualem ad reliquum iter expediuisse. Aft vbi bene ignibus accensis incaluerant foci, Insulam hanc submersam euanuisse, nautas autem per præsentem scapham vix seruatos fuisse. Habes huius rei fundamentum, Lector, sed quàm incredibile, ipse vides. Quid verò tandem est animi nautis, qui in mari procelloso videntes scopulum, vel, vt Munsterus, Insulam perexiguam emergent, non vitent potius omni studio, allisionem & naufragium metuentes, quam vt in portu tuto quiescere tentent? Sed vbi anchora figenda? Solent enim, vt plurimùm, deesse nauis tam immensi fines, vt in altissimo æquore anchoram demittant: Igitur in dorsis cetorum, respondet Munsterus. Oportet igitur, vestigiũ vnci prius effodiant, O stultos nautas, balenarum carnem, à terræ cespitibus, inter fodiendum, non dignoscentes, nec lubricam cetorum cutem, à terrestri superficie internoscentes. Digni profectò, quibuscum ipse Munsterus, Caucasum transfretaret. Equidem hoc loco, vt & superius, de miraculis Islandiæ terrestribus agent, è Tantali, vt aiunt, horto fructus colligit, id est, ea consectatur, quæ nunquam repetuntur, nec vsquam sunt, dum miracula hinc inde conquirere, terram & pelagus verrere, ad Historiæ suæ supplementum studet: Vbi tamen nihil nisi commentitia tantùm venari potest.

Vocantur autem lingua eorum Trollwal. Ne vltra peram, Munstere: Nullam siquidem es Linguæ nostræ cognitionem adeptus: Quare meritò puderet tantum virum, rem ignotam alios velle docere: Est enim eiusmodi inceptum erroribus obnoxium complurimis, vt vel hoc vno exemplo docebimus. Dum enim vis alijs autor esse, quomodo nostra lingua balenæ vel cete appellentur, detracta, per inscitiam, aspiratione, quæ penè sola vocis significationem facit, quod minimè verum est, affers: Non enim val nostra lingua balenam, sed electionem siue delectum significat, à verbo, Eg vel .i. eligo, vel deligo: vnde val, &c. At balena Qualur nostra vocatur: Vnde tu Trollhualur scribere debebas. Nec vero Troll Diabolum, vt tu interpretaris, sed Gigantes quosdam montanos significat. Vides igitur, quomodo in toto vocabulo carpiter, quod haud tamen mirum, erres. Leuis quidem illa in linguam nostram iniuria, in vocem tantùm vocet; quoniam plures, haud dubiè, non noras.

Idem alijs etiam vsu venit: Non enim probandum est, quòd quidam, dum Islandiæ descriptionem, ab Islandis acceptam, ederet, maluerit omnia, aut certè plurima promontorium, sinuum, montium, fontium, fluminum, cesquorum, vallium, collium, pagorum nomina deprauare (quòd nostræ linguæ ignarus, non sciret à nostratibus accepta satis exactè scire) atque corrumpere, quàm prius ab ipsis Islandis, qui tum temporis, id est, Anno 1585. 1585.
Academia Hafniensi vixerunt, quomodo singula legi ac scribi deberent, edicere. Ipsum me hac nativorum nominum & appellationum voluntaria deprauatione, (qua factum est, vt in legentes, pauciſſima nostra agnoscamus) in linguam nostram, alioqui puram & suitam & elegantiam retinentem, non leuiter peccasse reputamus.

Cæterum iam plurima Islandiæ miracula, quæ quidè scriptores nostri attigerunt, sic vtcunq; examinauimus. Sed tamen priusquã alio diuertamur, in hac parte attingendum videtur, quod

idem ille in mappa Iſlandiæ, quam ſub ſuo nomine, prædicto anno edi fecerat, de duobus, præter ſupra dictos, fontibus Iſlandiæ prodidit: quorum alter lanas albas colore nigro, alter nigras albo, inficiat. Quod quidem vbi acceperit, aut vnde habeat, ſcire equidem non poſſumus: Nec enim apud noſtrates, nec apud extraneos ſcriptores, reperire licuit. Sed vndecunq; eſt, fabula eſt, nec veritatis micam habet. Quamuis autem ſit incredibile, *Lanas nigras albo reſpondere colore*, cum traditum ſit a Plinio, Lanarum nigras nullum imbibere colorem: Tamen ſimile quiddam narratur à Theophraſto: Plumen eſſe in Macedonia, quod oues nigras, albas reddat. Et illa, cuius etiam ſuperius memini, rapſodia Norwagica, ſpeculum ſcilicet illud Regale, hos ipſos fontes Irlandiæ, quæ hodie Hybernia, non Iſlandiæ eſſe affirmat. Quod forſan. Lectori impoſuit, in lingua peregrina, pro R, S, legenti.

Non maiorem fidem meretur, quod Hiſtoricus quidam habet: *Eſſe in Iſlandia ſaxum, quod montium præruptа non extrinſeca agitatione, ſed propria ſatinaq; motione pernolitet*: Id qui credere volet, quid incredibile ducet? Eſt enim commentum tam inauditum, vt nullum ens ſimile, fabulatos fuiſſe Epicuræos (qui tamen multa incredibilia excogitaſſe Luciano viſi ſunt; cõfteri: Niſi fortè hominem, qui Iſlandis proprio nomine Stein dicitur, ſentit Hiſtoricus rupes quaſdam circuiſſe, vel circumreptaſſe. Quod, etſi ridiculum eſt in Hiſtoriâ miraculoſam referre, hominem ſcilicet moueri vel ambulare, tamen ad ſaluandam Hiſtorici fidem, ſimulandum: ne figmentum illud, per ſe ſatis abſurdum, nec dignum quod legatur, durius perſtringamus.

Eodem crimine tenentur, quicunq; Iſlandię, coruos albos, picas, lepores, & vultures deſcripſerunt: Perrarò enim vultures, cum glacie marina, ſicut etiam viſos (ſed hos ſæpius quà vultures) & cornicum quoddam genus, Iſlandis Iſakrahur, aduenire obſeruatum eſt. Picas verò & lepores, vt & coruos albos, nunquàm Iſlandia habuit.

Atque hæc ferè ſunt, quę de prima commentarij noſtri parte per quotidianas occupationes, in præſentia, afferre licuit. Quæ in hunc finem à me ſcripta ſunt, (quod etiã prius teſtatus ſum,) vt ſcriptorum de terra ignota errores, & quorundam etiam affectata vanitas, patefierent: Nec enim eorum famæ quicquam detractum cupio: Sed quòd veritati & patriæ, operam meam conſecraram, illa, quæ hactenus dicta ſunt à multis, de Inſula, fidem valde exiguam meruerunt, neceſſe habui oſtendere: ac ita mihi viam ad ſequentia de Incolis ſternere.

Commentary prima partis Finis.

Commentarij de Iſlandia pars ſecunda: quæ eſt de incolis.

ABſolutis hactenus miraculis Iſlandię, (cum nonnullis alijs, primæ parti annexis) quę dum ſcriptores, velut Agamemnonios quoſdam fontes, imò, vt quiddam pæne & contra omnem naturam, mirantur, nec non variè deprædicant, minus veritatis & authoritati ſuæ conſulunt; monet propoſitæ orationis ſeries, vt ad alteram commentarij partem nos conferamus, quæ eſt de incolis: Vbi quid primùm dicam, aut vnde initium ſumam, non ſatis teneo. Tanta enim ſunt in nos vltimos Iſlandos, & tot quorundam ludibria, ac opprobria, tot ſcommata, tot dicteria, (Atque inter hæc etiam nonnulla eorum, qui ſimplicem veritatem profiteri volunt, nempe hiſtoricorum) vt ſi ſingula recenſere velim, non aliud quàm

Icaria numerum dicere conor aqua. Sed, vt dixi initio, non cum omnibus æquè ſtricto ire agemus. Nam licet Krantzius, Munſterus, Friſius, & alij, nimis audacter multa de gente noſtra ſcripſerint: Tamen ſuis monumentis de ſtudijs liberalibus alioqui benè meriti, etiam apud eos erunt in precio, quo merentur. Verum interea, etſi quis velit eos à calumniandi nota liberare, tamen non leue eſt, eos res quaſdam tam abſurdas, impoſſibiles & ridiculas propoſuiſſe: iuſmodi illa fuerunt, quæ hactenus expoſuimus, tum impias, & atrocitate mendaciorum horrendas, cuiuſmodi iam ſequentur aliquot, in hiſtorias retuliſſe. Aſt alijs, quicunq; ſunt, qui quotidianis conuicijs nationem Iſlandorum inceſſunt, reſpõſio, quam merentur, parata eſſe debet. Ex quorum numero, ſcurra ille fuit, qui rhythmis aliquot, in gentis noſtræ contumeliam, Germanica lingua editis, nomen ſuum immortali dedecori conſecrauit.

Quapropter, vt inſtituti noſtri ratio exigit, dum ſcriptorum de hac re monumenta perſequimur, etſi quædam in eis occurrant, quæ contumeliæ parum habent, nos tamen plerasq; excutemus, & errores, vt hactenus, annotabimus: tum ſi quid veritatis ea attulerint, id ne quaquam diſſimulabimus. Ac eo modo, primùm Munſterum, Krantzium, Friſium, & ſi qui ſunt alij, excutemus, Graculo illo, cum ſuis rhythmis Germanicis, dira calumnia infectis in poſtremum, vt dignus eſt, reiecto locum. In hunc igitur modum, primùm de fide ſeu Religione Iſlandorum. Deinde de ipſorum moribus, inſtitutis ſeu viuendi ratione, authores iſti ſcribunt.

Sectionis partis ſecundæ diſtributio.

2. Capitis huius partis diuiſio.

SECTIO

SECTIO PRIMA.

Adalbertus Metropolitanus Hamburgensis. Anno Christi 1070. vidit ad Christum conuersos Islandos: licet ante susceptam Christi fidem, lege Naturali viuentes, non multùm à lege nostra discrepantes: itaque, petentibus illis, ordinauit quendam virum sanctum, primum Episcopum, nomine Iserif.

KRantzius his verbis, & Munsterus alibi, fidei seu Religionis Christianæ dignitatem Islandis videntur adscribere: Facerentq; & se, & veritate dignum, nisi eandem aliàs nobis adnexerent. Nam (vt de Krantzio infra) Munsterus, quæ supra prodidit, de fide nostra, seu opinione circa Inferni locum situmque, omninò est à Christiana pietate alienum: Velle scilicet scrutari arcana, quæ Deus sibi soli reseruauit, quæq; voluit nostrum captum excedere: Non enim reperitur de hac re quicquam in literis sacris, vbi locus vel situs inferni seu ignis æterni, Diabolo & Angelis ipsius, adeoq; damnatis omnibus animabus destinati, determinetur, aut circumscribatur: Nullum inquam, in ea terram, seu in ea, aut vlla alia huius mundi parte, corporalem seu localem situm illi damnatorum carceri pagina sacra assignat: quinimò, terram hanc immaculatam: Apoc. 21. 2. Petri 3. Esa. 65. Quare Christianus rerum adeò abstrusarum inquisitionem libenter præterit: tum dogmata nullis apertis & illustribus scripturæ sacræ testimonijs stabilita, velut certa & vera recipere, aut alijs tradere, nefas esse ducit. Deut. 4. & 12. Esa. 8. Matth. 17. 2. Timoth. 3.

Deinde etiam pugnat acriter cum Religione Christiana, quo Munsterus & Krantzius Islandos ornant, encomium: Eos videlicet, catulos ac pueros suos æquo habere in precio. De quo infra, section. 7. Sic igitur secum diffidet Munst. dum quos Christianos asserit, inferni architectum pietatis & honestatis sensu exuunt: quòd scribant filios ab his, non maiore cura, quam catulos diligi.

Sed vt ad rem: De Religione equidè nostra, quæ qualisue fuerit, cũ Ethnicismus primùm fugere cœpit, nihil magnificè dicere possumus: quemadmodum nec alia Septentrionis Regna vicina, vti existimo, de suis fidei initijs. Patendũ enim est, & cum lerijs gemitibus deplorandum vsq; ad illam nunquàm satis prædicatam diem, quę nobis velut immortalitatis imetũ illuxit & repulit Euangelij doctrinam attulit, tenebras plusquã Cimmerias, etiã nostris hominibus, vt reliquis Septentrionis Ecclesijs, offusas fuisse. Illud tamen piè nobis sentire licebat, apud nos, vt & in vicina Noruegia (nam nolo vltra septa vagari, & de populis ignotis quicquã pronunciare) ecclę primum Idololatria Ethnica, sinceriorem longè & simpliciorem fidem seu religionem Christianam vigutsse; quippe veneno Papistico minus infectã, quã posteà, vbi auctum Romanæ sedis fermentum pestiferum, & malum contagiosum maturuit, & per totum orbem virus fusum diffudit: Nam vt posteà apparebit, multis annis antequã noua Pontificiorum Idololatria vires & incrementum cepit, Islandia Christum amplexa est: & vt laudatissimi duo illi Noruegiæ Reges, quibus vt commune nomen, ita commune nominis Christi propagandi studium & professio, nihil nisi fidem in Deum Patrem, Filium, & Spiritum Sanctum, sonabat. Dico autem illum Olaum Thryggonis F. qui Anno Christi 968. natus, Anno ætatis 27. imperium Norueg. adeptus est, & primus, vt accepimus, Noruegis Christum obtrusit: quibus imperitabat annos 5. Ex huic cognominem, Olaum nuncupatum Sanctũ, Haraldi F. Qui anno Christi 1013. ęque circiter, imperij habenas arctius in primis obtinuit: Per annos fere 17. Christi doctrinam auctior tradidit. Anno Christi 1030. ab improbis parricidis ne fariè interfectus, in pago Norueg. Stickla Stodum, pro Christi nomine cruorem fudit.

Habuit etiam nostra patria inter multos alios quendam insignem pietate virum; cui Nialus nomen erat, qui circa annum Christi 1000 vixit in prædio seu villa Berthorshuol, sita in Paro. Islandiæ, Landemm: Quiq; rerum humanarum experientia, circumspecta animi prudentia, sagacitate & consilio, habebatur insignis. Cum enim, eius seculo, indomitis Islandis motibus fluctuaret, incolis à nullo ferè superiore magistratu repressis, nullis se factionibus immiscuit. Paucissimas cauta animi virtute ac industria composuit: Nunquam vim fecit, nec passus est, plurimum tantum in vita diem excipias. Adeò studiosè seditiones & turbas vitauit: alios; vi- ut euadere cupientes optimè iuuit: Nec quisquam eius consilio, nisi maximo suo commodo est vnquam vsus: nec quisquam ab eo, nisi cum vitæ & fortunarum periculo deflexit. Tantum ab eo oraculum petebatur, vt valde mirandum sit, vnde homini tanta futurorum cognitum, & tam certa cõiectura & consilium esse potuerit, quanta in ipso deprehensa est. Vnius cauta, prouidens & consilij plena sapientia, apud nostrates in prouerbium abijt: Nialis ratio: quasi dicas, Niali consilium: vel, Niali consilio res geritur, aut succedit: cùm quid sapienter & admirando cum consilio gestum est.

Hic cum domi suæ, a 100. viris coniuratis ob eædem à filio ipsius, ipso tamen indicio p[re]ssam cingeretur, & inimicis domu[m] undiq; igni succendentibus, sibi videret [s]upremum fatum inferre, ait tandem. Hæc quidem fato, hoc est, voluntate diuina accidunt. Cæterum ipsem & fiduciam in Christo sitam habeo, nos (dese & vxore loquens) licet corpus hoc nostrum caducum, mucorum flammis, mortalitatis corruptionem subeat, ab æternis tamen flammis liberandum. Sicq; inter has voces, & flammarum sæuitiam, vitam, An. Christo 1010. cum vxore & filio homicida, finiuit. Vox profectò filijs Dei non indigna, animæ, cum mortis acerbitate luctantis summum solatium arguens.

Hæc ideo addidi, vt ostendam, quâ coniectura adducar ad existimãdum mox initio C[hristi]anismi (vt sic loquar) apud nos recepti, non fuisse tam deceptas & errorum tenebris immersas hominum mentes, quàm nunc, paulò ante hæc nostra tempora fuerunt.

Ast verò iam postquam Dominus Deus per Lutherum, & Lutheri in vinea Domini collegas & pios successiores, salutis doctrinam illustriorem reddidit, mentiúmq; nostrarum graui veterno & densa caligine excussis, dextræ suæ digito, hoc est, spiritu Sancto, (Matth. 12. vers. 28., oculos nostri auriculas vellicauit, ac oculos, quibus salutificam ipsius veritatem cerneremus, nobis aperuit: Nos omnes & singuli credimus & confitemur Deum esse Spiritum, (Iohan. 4. vers. 24. æternum Esai 40. vers. 28.) Infinitum (Ierem. 23. vers. 24. Psalm. 139. vers. 7. 8. 9.) eternum (Matth. 19. 17.) omnipotentem (Gene. 17. 1. Apocal. 1. 8.) Vnum essentia & natura: Vnum prouidentia: vnum efficientia rerum & administratione (Deut. 6. 5. Ephes. 4. 5.) At personis diuinitatis, proprietatibusque distinctum, Patrem, Filium & spiritum Sanctum (Matth. 28. 19. & 3. 17.) Deum Patrem quidem, primam diuinitatis personam, cœli terræ & omnium rerum creatorem (Gene. 1, vers. 1. & sequent.) Sustentatorem & gubernatoré (Psal. 115. 3. Heb. 1.) Patrem Domini nostri Iesu Christi (Psalm. 2, 7. & sequent.) & nostrum per eundem Patrem (Rom. 8, 15.) Animæ & corporis curatorem (Luc. 12. 12.) Tum Iesum Christum, secundam diuinitatis personam, filium Deipatris (Iohan. 1. 18. &c.) Vnigenitum (Iohan. 1. 29. Heb. 1. 2.) æqualem patri (1. Paral. 17. 13, Iohan. 1. 1.) Deum verum (Iohan. 1. 2 &c.) ante omnia creata præordinatũ (1. Pet. 1. 20. Apocal. 13. 8. &c.) & statim post lapsum promissum Messiam (Gen. 3. 15.) Sanctis Patriarchis identidem promulgatum, vt Abrahæ (Gen. 12, 3 &c.) Isaac, Gen. 26, 4.) Iacob. (Gen. 28. 14.) & prophetis confirmatum (Genes. 49. 9. Esa. 11. 1. 10. Sacrificijs Mosaicis (Leuit. 1, 2, &c.) Et alijs typis præfiguratum: immolatione Isaac (Gen. 22.) Exaltatione ænei serpentis, (Num. 21.) Iona (Ion. 2. &c.) Prophetarum testimonio proclamatum (Esai 7. 14. &c.) ac tandem in plenitudine temporis verè exhibitum: hominem verum (Iohan. 1, 14. &c. Paul. Galat. 4.) mortuum pro peccatis nostris: resuscitatum propter iustificationem nostri (Rom. 4. 25. &c.) Ascendentem in cœlum (Act. 1. 9. &c.) ac pro nobis ad dexteram patris sine intermissione interpellantem (1. Iohan. 2. 1. &c.) per spiritum Sanctum suum (qui ternarii diuinitatis persona patri & filio compar & consubstantialis. (Actor. 5. 4.) Ecclesiam sibi verbo & Sacramentis colligentem (Matth. 16, 18, Roman. 10. 14. &c.) Et ad vitam æternam sanctificatem. (Actor. 9. 31. &c.) Ac tandem consummatis seculis è cœlo venturum (Actor. 1. 11.) Iudicem viuorum & mortuos (1. Thess. 4. 15.) redditurum impijs secundum opera sua, eosq; pœnis æternis mulctaturũ (Mat. 13. 42. & 25. 41.) credentes verò in nomine ipsius æterna vita donaturum. (Matt. 25. 34. &c.) Hunc, inquam, Iesum Christum redemptorem (Mat. 1. 21.) Caput (1. Corinth. 12. 27.) & Dominum nostrum (Ephes. 4. 5.) agnoscimus: Noscq; illi nomen in sacro baptismo dare ac dedisse (Actor. 2, 38.) Et per baptismũ illi inseros esse (1. Cor. 12. 13.) apertè, ingenuè, liberè ac libenter fatemur ac contestamur: omnesque alios, quicunq; aliud nomen sub cœlo datum esse hominibus, per quod salui fiant, comminiscuntur, seriò detestamur, execramur & damnamus. (Actor. 4. 12.) Verbum ipsius sanctissimum vnicam salutis normam statuimus, illudque tantummodò, omnibus humanis commentis abiectis & spretis, infallibilem dei nostræ regulam & amussim nobis proponimus: (Galat. 1. 8. Esa. 29. 13. Ezech. 20.) Quod dupliçis Testamenti, veteris & noui appellatione complectimur. (Hebr. 8.) traditum per Prophetas & Apostolos (Ephes. 2. 20.) singulari & immensa Dei bonitate in hunc vsque diem integrum per in Ecclesia conseruatum & conseruandum in posterum. (Matth. 28. vlt. Psalm. 71. 18. 1. Cor. 11. 26.)

Deo igitur optimo maximo gratias ex animo & toto pectore agimus, quòd etiam ad nostra vastissimo interuallo à reliquo Ecclesiæ corpore diuulsos & vltimas mundi partes habitantes lumen hoc suum, concessum ad reuelationem gentium, & paratum ante faciem omnium populorum, olim pio Simeoni benigne ostensum (Nam in Christo omnes thesauri sapientiæ recônditi) quod nunc totam nostram gentem radijs suis salutificis illuminet ac fouet, peringere voluerit. Hæc ita breuiter, ipsam summam perstringendo, fides nostra est, & nostra religio, quæ nostrante spiritu Sãcto, & ipsius in vinea Christi ministris, hausimus: idq; ex fontibus Iuda[ic]is

A

The true state of I

Anno Dom

Dubium nobis est, virum
mini 1070. ad Christum
sed eo primum anno ini Adal
ua hoc loco fulpectam reddu
rarum extantur: quibus
ftræ insulæ limites gestis crede
ria peregrino, sit penes tuum,
sum potius assentiar. Nostrate
ignora, Historias Chronologias
remerunt tantùmodò, vt rebus
re & veritate pugnancia in cont
Nostil apparebit, hi omnium ep
huntalle vnius tantum mention
cian, pauca, quę in vetustissimis
coporum in nostris Ecclesijs succ
est, cum extraneis communicabo
bantur, scribenda tamen omninò
alios afferendam: Sic igitur habe

Anno Christi 874. prius quide
Norwegia (quorum princeps fuit I
criensalis Ingulfis postea appellati
cognatis & agnatis & præterea num
accolarum tantùm numerus defer
singuli occupauerint & incoluerint
Islandis, porthmis, promontorijs, ru
flumnibus, riuis, ac deniq; villis seu
nacula & in vsu sunt, apertè narrat
cis, aut circiter, habitabiles partes su
Erlendi manserunt, si pauciſſimos, q
Annis autem vix centum à primo ing
nempe circa annum Domini 974. qu
nè à multis tentata est. Commemora
mendada ad fidem Christi insula, dilig
no 981. ad Islandos venit, atque doce
984. factæ ædes Islandis in vsu fuerint.

Alter verò ille extraneus Episcopus
no 997. in Islandiam primùm venit.

Hinc post 26. annorum disceptation
ibi omnium incolarum decretum est, v
ubi eo sopito, religionem sectarentur C
Rursus in solenni incolarum conuen
Suę (quarum constitutiones allatas ex N
canæ) vbique cederent iuri Canonico
Anno 1056. abit peregrè ex Islandia I
Redit ordinatus in Islandiam, & Cathe
tembr. 7. 4. Kalendas Iulias.

Videbuntur forsitan hæc minuta, cone
ne sequuntur: Sed nec historiam Roman
Antony & aliorum errores conuincendos
ad fidem nostrarum Chronologiarum
Gallie: Cuius, in præfatione suæ Dania, h
Nos appellat) industria silentio obliterand
runt, officia continua sobrietatis exerce
non ferre soleant, inopiam ingenio pensan
ne mendacio, voluptatis loco reputant, pe
suis proprias exhibere. Quo non thesauros
manu, haud paranam præsentis operis partem ex
ex intempsi, quos tãta vetustatis peritia c

Anno Domini 1070. vsque ad Christum conuersos Islandos.

Dubium nobis est, vtrum his verbis ducere voluerit *Krantzius*, Islandos primùm Anno Domini 1073. ad Christum esse conuersos: an vero, [illegible] quidem esse conuersos non neget, sed eo primùm anno id *Adalbertum* notuisse dicat. Vtrumuis autem affirmet, tamen fidem ipsi in hoc loco suspectam reddunt annales & Chronologiæ nostræ gentis antiquissimæ, quæ constanter testantur: quibus vtrum malis, de rebus nostris proprijs & domesticis & intra nostræ insulæ limites gestis credere, an verò *Krantzio*, aut cuiuis alteri in nostratium rerum historia peregrino, sit penes tuum, candide Lector, arbitrium. Ego profectò multis adducor vt nostratium potius assentiar. Nostrates enim nosci tantùm & ferè domesticæ [illegible]unt; ille peregrina & ignota. Hi suas Chronologias sine aliarum omnium nationum labe[illegible]cula & sugillatione cóstruxerunt tantùmodò, vt rebus gestis suum verũ temp' seu æram assignarent; ille quędam cum re & veritate pugnantia in contumeliã gentis nostrę ignotissimæ, historiæ suæ admiscuit, vt paulò post apparebit: hi omnium episcoporũ Islandiæ nomina, annos, ordinem & successum describunt: ille vnius tantùm mentionẽ facit, idq; longè secus quàm res habet. Porrò vt his fidem facerem, & veritate pugnantia in contumeliã gentis nostrę ignotissimæ, historiæ suæ admiscuit, vt paulò post apparebit: hi omnium episcoporũ Islandiæ nomina, annos, ordinem & successum describunt: ille vnius tantùm mentionẽ facit, idq; longè secus quàm res habet. Porrò vt his fidem facerem, coporum in nostris Ecclesijs successione reperi, quorum etiam fides apud nos publicè recepta est, cum extraneis communicabo. Quæ tametsi leuiuscula, nec omnia prorsus digna quæ scribantur, scribenda tamen omninò sunt ad nostrarum rerum veritatem, aduersus *Krantzium* & alios asserendam: Sic igitur habent.

Krantzius.

Chronologiæ Islandorum gentis antiquissimæ.

Vetustissimi annales.

Anno Christi 874. prius quidem, vt ante commemorauimus, inuenta, sed tunc primum à Norwegis, quorum princeps fuit Ingulphus quidam, è cuius nomine promontorium Islandiæ orientale Ingulffs hofdt appellationem traxit) occupata est. Hi plures quam 400. cum cognatis & agnatis & propere[illegible]a numerosa familia nominatim [illegible]libus nostris recensentur: nec illorum tantùm numerus describitur, sed quas oras, quæ singuli occupauerint & incoluerint, & quomodo primi inhabitarint, & quæ loca mediterranea, Islandis, porthmis, promontorijs, rupibus, scopulis, mõtibus, collibus, vallibus, tesquis, fontibus, fluminibus, riuis, ac deniq; villis seu domicilijs suis nomina dederint, quorum hodiè plæraq; recentur & in vsu sunt, apertè narratur. Itaq; Norwagi occupatæ iam Islandiæ 60. annorum spacio, aut circiter, habitabiles partes suas multitudine implent: Centum verò propemodum annis Ethnici manserunt, si pauciſſimos, qui in *Norwegia* fortè sacro fonte abluti fuerant, excipias. Annis autem vix centum à primo ingressu elapsis, mox de religione Christiana agi cœptum est, nempe circa annum Domini 974. quæ res non sine insigni rebellione plusquam 20. annis vacillata ad fidem Christi insula, diligenter laborarint: Prior *Fridericus*, Saxo natione, qui anno 981. ad Islandos venit, atque docendi munere strenuè functus est, ac tantum fecit, vt Anno 984. factæ ædes Islandis in vsu fuerint.

874 Islandia primùm inhabitata.

974

Fridericus Saxo.

Alter verò ille extraneus Episcopus siue concionator, quem *Thangbrandi* nuncupauere, anno 997. in Islandiam primùm venit.

Hinc post 26. annorum disceptationem de religione, tandem Anno 1000. in conuentu generali omnium incolarum decretum est, vniuersali eorundem consensu, vt Ethnicorum numinum simulachra deposito, religionem sectarentur Christianam.

Anno dom. 1000.

Rursus in solenni incolarum conuentu Anno 1050. sancitum est, vt leges seculares seu politicæ (quarum constitutiones allatas ex *Norwegia* quidam *Vffonius*, Anno 926. Islandis communicarat) vbique cederent iuri Canonico seu diuino.

Anno 1056. abit peregrè ex Islandia *Isleifus* quidam, in Episcopum Islandiæ ordinandus.

Redit ordinatus in Islandiam, & Cathedram Scalholtensem adit Anno 1057. Moritur 1080. anno 74. 4. Kalendas Iulias.

Videbuntur forsitan hæc minuta, concisa, vilia, nec narratione satis digna, cum multis fortè sequuntur: Sed nec historiam Romanam conteximus, nec tam minuta erunt, quin contra [illegible]ry & aliorum errores conuincendos, prout nostrum est institutum, valeant, Et certè, quã[illegible] ad fidem nostrarum Chronologiarum, constat Saxonem Grammaticum non parum illis [illegible]dos appellat) *industrijs silentio obliterandis: qui cum ob nationem [illegible] soli florilitatem, luxuria nutrimẽ[illegible]rutes, officia continua sobrietatis exercerent, omnibq; vita momenta ad alterius [illegible] [illegible]ferre soleant, inopiam ingenio pensant. Cuiusque quippe nationum res gestas cognosse, [illegible]mandare, vsui patrię loco reputant, non minoris gloriæ indicantes, alienas virtutes disserere, [illegible]proprias exhibere. Quo verò thesauros Historicarum rerum pignoribus refertas curiosius con[illegible], haud parum præsentis operis partem ex eorum relationis imitatione conexui: nec arbitros ha[illegible]tempsi, quos tãta vetustatis peritia callere noui.* Hæc Saxo. Quare lubet Episcoporũ Islandię

Catalogum



Catalogum perſequi, vt ex annalibus noſtris continuata diligenter, quoad eius fieri poteſt, omnium ſeries, his quæ de primo Iſleifo contra *Krantzium* attulimus, fidem faciat.

Anno Chriſti.	EPISCOPI *Schalholtenſes.*	EPISCOPI *Holenſes.*	Anno Chriſti.
	II Gyſſerus.	I Ionas Augmundi F.	
1082	*Ordinatur peregrè.*	Iſleifi *diſcipulus.*	
1083	*Redit in Iſlandiam cum Epiſcopatu.*	*Ordinatur peregrè: anno ætat. 64. cognomentum illi, ſanctus: cuius memoriæ dies 3. Martij, apud Iſlandos eſt antiquitus dicatus.*	1106
1118	*Moritur 5. Kalend. Maias qui fuit dies Martis.*	*Moritur 11. Kalend. Maias.*	1121
	III Thorlacus Runolphi. F.	II. Ketillus *ſive* Catullus.	
Anno ætatis 32:	*Ordinatur eodẽ anno, quo prædeceſſor* Gyſſerus *vita excеſſit, ſed tamen ante illius obitum 30. die.*	*Ordinatur.*	1122
1133	*Moritur.*	*Moritur.*	1145
	IIII Magnus.	III Biorno.	
1134	*Ordinatur.*	*Ordinatus venit in Iſlandiam.*	1147
1148	*Poſtridiè feſti omnium Sanctorũ in villa ſacerdotali* Hitardal *cõuiuans, cœnaculo fulmine percuſſo, cum viris 70. flammis abſumptus eſt.*	*Moritur.*	1162
	V Klaingus.	IIII Brandus.	
1151	*Eligitur.*	*Ordinatur.*	1163
1152	*Cathedram adit.*	*Cathedram adit.*	1165
1176	*Moritur.*	*Moritur.*	1201
	VI Thorlacus.	V Gudmundus, *cognomento* Bonus.	
	Eligitur biennio ante obit. prædeceſſoris	*Eligitur & ordinatur.*	1203
1178	*Ordinatur.*	*Moritur.*	1237
1193	*Moritur.*	VI Botolphus.	
	VII Paulus.	*Redit ordinatus.*	1239
1195	*Ordinatur.*	*Moritur.*	1246
1211.	*Moritur.*	VII. Henricus.	
	VIII Magnus.	*Cathedram adit.*	1247
1216	*Ordinatur.*	*Moritur.*	1260
	IX Siguardus.	VIII Brandus.	
1239	*Cathedram adit.*	*Abbas peregrè abit.*	1261
1268	*Moritur.*	*Cathedram adit.*	1263
	X Arnerus.	*Moritur.*	1264
1269	*Cathedram adit.*	IX. Iorundus.	
1298	*Moritur.*	*Cathedram adit.*	1267
	XI Arnerus Helgonis F.	*Moritur.*	1313
1304	*Ordinatur.*	X Audunnus.	
1305	*Cathedram adit.*	*Cathedram adit.*	1314
1309	*In Norwagiã abit ligna à rege Norwagiæ petiturus, quibus templũ Schalholtenſe reædificaretur, quod eodem anno fulmine tactum conflagrarat.*	*Moritur.*	1322
1310	*Redit ex itinere.*	XI Laurentius.	
1320	*Moritur.*	*Eligitur & ordinatur.*	1324
	Ionas	*Moritur Idib. April.*	1331
		XII Egillus.	
		Cathedram adit.	1332
		Moritur.	1341
		XIII	

ANNO Christi.	Episcopi Schalholt.	ANNO Christi.	Episcopi Holenses.	ANNO Christi.
	XII Ionas Haldorus,		XIII Ornus,	
1321	*Eligitur.*		*Cathedram adit.*	
1322	*Ordinatur Kal. Augusti.*		*Moritur in festo omnium Sanctorum.*	1343
1323	*Cathedram adit.*		XIIII	
1338	*Moritur.*		Ionas Erici F. cognomento Skalle.	1355
	XIII Ionas Indridi F. Norvagus.		*Cathedram* Holensem *aditurus venit in Islandiam. Hic* Ionas, *olim in Episcopum* Gronlandiæ *ordinatus, à Pontifice Romano impetrauit, vt liceret sibi Episcopatum* Holensem *adire, qui tunc temporis vacabat. Vnde cum confirmationem huius dignitatis ac ministerij, à Pontifice acceptam, veniens non proferret, apud Presbyteros diœcesis* Holensis, *suspectæ fidei esse cœpit. Quare ab iisdem in Norvagiam relegatus est, vt ea res arbitrio Regis componeretur. Rege igitur ipsius partibus fauente Cathedram Holensem obtinuit.*	1358 Gronlandiæ Episcopus.
1339	*Cathedram adit.*			
1341	*Moritur.*			
	XIIII Ionas Siguardi F.			1356
1343	*Cathedram adit.*			
1348	*Moritur pridie Divi Magni.*			
	XV Gyrthus.			
1349	*Ordinatus Assoiæ Norvagorum, ab Episcopo* Assoiensi Salomone.			
1356	*Abiens peregrè fluctibus vitam finit.*			
	XVI Thorarinnus.			
1362	*Cathedram adit.*			
1364	*Moritur.*			
	XVII Oddgeirus.			
1366	*Cathedram adit.*			
1381	*Moritur in Assumpt. beatæ virginis, in portu* Norvagiæ Bergensi, *è mercium acervo in immanem navis delapsus. Sepultus Bergis in æde Salvatoris.*			
	XVIII Michaël Danus.			
1385	*Cathedram adit.*			
1388	*Resignat profectus in Daniam.*			
	XIX. Wilhelmus Danus.			
1394	*Cathedram adit. Moritur.*			
	XX Arnerus.			
	Hic cognomento fuit Pilldur *i. liberalis. Gessit vna præfecturam Islandiæ totius: Episcopatū Schalholtensē, & vice Episcopatū Holensē.*			
1410	*Obijt.*			
	XXI Ionas Gerickson.			
	Suecus sine cognomento sine natione præfuit Ecclesiæ Schalholtensi: *ac postea ob quædam inimicis audacter tentata, à quodam Thornaldo de Modruuollum (vt fama est) captus, & alligato ad collū saxo in amne Schalholtensi, qui à ponte nomē habet, vinus submersus & strangulatus est.*			
1412				
	XXII Gosuinus.			
1415	*Præfuit Ecclesiæ Schalholtensi.*			
	XXIII Sueno.			
1472	*Dictus sapiens præfuit.*			
	XXIIII			

subdito.

ANNO Christi.	Episcopi Schalholt.	Episcopi Holenses.	ANNO Christi.
	XXIIII Magnus Eiolphi F.		
1489	*Praest.*		
	XXV. Stephanus.		
1494	*Cathedram adit.*		
	Deinde Godtschalco *episcopo Holensi, qui crudelia nomen meritus esse videtur, Synchronos similem cum illo clementiæ & iustitiæ laudem reportauit.*		
1519	*Moritur: aut circiter.*		
	XXVI Augmundus.		
	Eligitur anno obitus Stephani.		
1522	*Cathedram adit.*		
	Hoc episcopo, præfectus regius cum comitibus aliquot Scalhotiam inuitatus, in ipso conuiuio à coniuratis quibusdam interfectus est, eò quòd impiè passim in incolas & bona ipsorum grassatus esset. Augmundus *verò tanquam istius cædis author, quanquam se iuramento purgarat, in Daniam transuectus, Obijt.*		
	XXVII Gysserus.		
1540	*Eligitur vivente* Augmundo.		
1541	*Cathedram adit, Papisticarum traditionum abrogator circa coniugium sacerdotum: Eius nuptiæ Schalholtiæ celebratæ.*		
	XXVIII. Martinus.		
1547	*Præst, & sequentibus.*		
	XXIX Gislaus Ionas.		
	Hic statim, Augmundo *episcopo, cœpit imminis veræ pietatis & puioris doctrinæ Euangelicæ studio, & amore flagrare, eandemq; pastor ecclesiæ Selardalensis diligenter propagare, qua ratione Pontificiorũ odium adeò in se deriuauit, vt illorum insidijs ac rabiei cedere coactus, Hamburgum se contulerit, vnde Haffniam Danorum profectus, in cœpto veræ Theologiæ studio strenuè pergens, in multorum, præcipuè verò in summa D.D. Petri Palladij tũ temporis Episcopi, familiaritate & gratia vixebat. Postea, inde in patriam reuerso,* Martinus *sponte cessit. Moritur & hic 31. annos plus minus Euangelium* Iesu Christi *professus: nec tantum viua voce, sed & quocunq; demum potuit modo, docendo, dicendo, scribendo, re & consilio Ecclesiam Dei iuuit & promouit.*		
	XXX Otto Enerus, *vir gravis, pius & eruditus.*		
1588	*Electus abit patria.*		
1589	*Ordinatur:*		
	Redit & cathedram adit, susceptiq; muneris labores aggreditur.		
		subditos vsus est, vim cum miseranda morte commutauit.	
		XX Ionas Aræsonius.	
		Cathedram adit: etiam hic Papisticarũ superstitionũ vltimus & acerrimus assertor. Qui, cum Gysslero & Martino *episcopis Scalholtiæ acriter resisteret, à pientiss. Rege Christiano tertio iubetur sub pœna exilij protinus in Daniam aduentare. Sed hoc neglecto, captum* Martinum Schalholtiæ *Episcopum custodiæ mandauit. Tandem & ipse à viro quodam magni nominis, quem prius vt fertur, lacessiuerat, captus, ac* Schalholtiam *adductus, ibidem cũ filijs duobus, authoritate regij præfecti, capitis supplicio affectus est. In cuius vltionem, nõ multò post præfectus ille regius, cum sociis aliquot, à quibusdam sicarijs, decollatorum olim famulis, nefariè occisus est.*	1535 1548 1550 1551
		XXI Olaus Hialterus.	
		Abit patria.	1552
		Cathedram adit.	1553
		Hic primus sinceriorie doctrinæ apud Holenses *amorem in multorum animis, etiam adhuc prædecessoris sui collega, accendit: Deinde eandem doctrinam Episcopus apertius docuit & propugnauit.*	1568
		Moritur.	
		XXII Gudbrandus Thorlacius.	
1556 1587		*Ille non modò sua ætatis, sed & posteritatis ornamentum. Quo prætereà quòd inchoatũ opus à prædecessore* Olao *sibi relictum ducente S. S. optimè ad eam, quam dedit Deus perfec[illegible], deduxit: (Dico laborem & [illegible]iam in asserenda veritate Euangelica, & papisticis superstitionibus abrogandis) etiam in hac patria sua officinam Typographicam primus Islandorum aperuit. Cui idcirco patria inter libros complures in linguam vernaculam translatos, etiam sacrosancta Biblia, elegantissimis typis Islandica lingua in officina ipsius excusa, in æternum debebit.*	
		Hic inquam Episcopus præsens, officium susceptum.	
		Abijt:	1579
		Redit & Cathedram Holensem *ingreditur.*	1579

Circa

Circa hæc igitur tempora mentibus nostris è cœlo reddita lux est, & regni cœlestis ianua per sinceriorem doctrinæ Christianæ expositionem reserata. Nam & Schola triuialis in vtraque sede Episcopali, laudatissimi Regis Daniæ Christiani tertij munificentia & pietate, circa annum 1553. fundata est: ac subinde patris Christianissimi eximiam pietatem imitante filio, Diuo *Friderico* secundo rege nostro sanctissimo, Anno 1588. ad cœlestem patriam euocato, aucta & protracta: quæ etiam hodiè, clementissimi regis & principis nostri, Christiani 4. fauore & nutu viget florétque: in qua iuuentus nostræ Insulæ, artium dicendi & sacræ Theologiæ rudimentis imbuta, ad scientiam & veram pietatem formatur, vt hinc ministri Ecclesiarum perantur.

Peruenimus tandem ad hodiernum vsq; diem in Episcoporum Islandiæ catalogo: quo præ-dicti viri clarissimi Dom. *Gudbrandus Thorlacius*, & Dom. *Otto Enerus* ille Holis, hic *Schalholtæ* Ecclesiarum sunt antistites: quorum vtrumque, vt Deus opt. max. Ecclesiæ suæ saluum & superstitem, propter gloriam nominis sui sanctissimi, diu conseruare velit, omnes seriò & ardentibus votis flagitamus.

SECTIO SECVNDA.

Specus habitant plerúmq;, aut ad montium latera in excauatis mansiunculis. Et mox: Templa habent multa & domos ex ossibus piscium & balenarum constructas. Item: Multi etiam ad pellendam frigoris asperitatem in cauernis latitant, quemadmodum Africani ad solis æstum vitandum. Item Munsterus, Multi in Islandia hodie coctis & ossibus balenarum, domos suas construunt, &c. Munst. Krantz. Frisius.

Hic membrum secundum initium sumit, de incolarum viuendi ratione & moribus. Et primùm, quibus vtantur ædificijs seu domibus: nempè secundũ *Munsterum, Krantzium, Frisium, &c. Specubus & montium cauernis.* Quamuis autem in splendidis ædificijs, alijsq; id genus mundani ornatus pretiosis rebus parum ineſt, quod ad verè beatam vitam conferre queat, tamen nec hîc veritatem tacere possumus: dicimúsq; omnino Cosmographos & Historicos in errore etiam hîc versari. Etenim, cuiusmodi gentis publica domicilia esse scribunt, ea sunt tantùm in paucis locis, cum magalia, vt opilionum, tum piscatorum casæ & receptacula, eo tantum tempore quo piscaturæ operam dare, aut propter gregem excubare opus habent. At ipsas domus, seu ipsa hominum domicilia, antiquitùs quidem satis magnificè & sumptuosè, quoad huius terræ fert conditio, ligno, cespite & saxis habuerunt Islandi constructa, vsq; ad illud tempus, quo illis cum Norwagis, qui ligna sufficiebant, negociatio, & mercium commutatio esse desijt, quæ inde paulatim collabi incipiunt: Cùm nec syluas ædificijs aptas habeamus, nec fluuium maris beneficio iam vt olim ad littora, quod minima ex parte sufficiat, adferatur: Nec exercitatores extranei inopiæ nostræ succurrant, Vnde plurima rura ignobiliora ab antiqua illa ubertate multum declinarunt, & iam quædam collapsa sunt, quædam ruinam minantur. Nec dominus multa sunt prædia, multæ villæ, quas haud facilè recensuero, quarum ædificia veteri illam excellentiam imitantur, & quarum domus sunt maximæ, & latæ & longæ, tum plærunque benè altæ. Vt exempli gratia. Prædia seu villæ, quæ cubilia habent pluſquam 50. cubita longa, 10. lata, alta 20. Tum reliquas domus, vt cœnaculum, hypocaustum, penuarium &c. pro sua proportione respondentes. Possum multa nostratium ædificia ampla & vasta, nec in ipsa quidem deformia, nec ob artis structuram & sumptuosam firmitudinem, seu robur, contemnenda: quæ tum aliquot delubris, siue sacris ædibus, solis lignis, antiqua & operosa grauitate & pulchritudine exstructis commemorare: Cuiusmodi est templum Cathedrale *Holense* atrium habens, cuius columnæ vtrinque quinque, vlnas 14. altæ, 5. circiter crassæ: tum trabes ac tigna, & reliquum culmen, huic substructioni proportionaliter respondens. Ligna ad hoc ipsum atrium anno 1584. horrenda tempestate collapsum, clementissimus Rex noster D. *Fridericus*, cuius sacratissima est memoria, Anno 1588. benignissimè largitus est, Ipsum verò templũ atrium omni quantitate manifestè excedit: tum templi intima pars quæ chorus appellari solet, quam accepi *Schalholtense*, quod iam bis concrematum, ad inferiorem magnitudinem redactum est. Præterea aliquot alia templa nostrę Insulæ, horum antiquam magnificentiam imitantia, licet non æquantia. Sed hîc nequaquam res exigere videtur, vt in prolixiorem eius rei descriptionem euager. Vt enim Domus & ædificia nostra nihil deprędicamus: ita eorundem nihil pudet, quòd contenti paupertate nostra Christo gratias immortales agamus, qui à *Frisio* piscium & balenarum ossibus non verè dicunt exstructas, non aspernetur magis, quàm illa extraneorum culmina marmorea, parietes vermiculatos, pauimenta tessellata, reliquè id genus ornamenti. Negotiatio cum Norwagis desijt. Syluæ fluctibus maris delatæ.

SECTIO

SECTIO TERTIA.

Communi tecto, victu, ſtatu, (hic Krantzius *habet, ſtrato) gaudent cum iumentis. Item: Solo paſtu pecorum & nunc captura piſcium victitant.*

Munſterus. Krantzius.

HAec ſunt & ſequentia, quæ *Krantzius* ſuo *Munſtero* præmanſa, in os ingeſſit, adeò vt *Munſtero* non opus fuerit ea vel ſemel maſticare, quod ex collatione vtriusq; patet. *Munſterus* enim hæc opprobria, vt ex *Krantzij* in ſuam *Norwegiam* præfatione hauſta deglutierat, ita eadem cruda lib. 4. Coſmographiæ capit 8. in gentem noſtram euomit. Quæ hactenus fuerunt, etſi ſatis grauia ſunt, tolerabiliora tamen erant. Hoc verò commentum malignisſimum, & quæ ſequuntur, non facilè eſt ſine ſtomacho præterire. Noſtrum igitur eſt, etiam hic veritatem aſſerere, & mendacium in Authoris caput retorquere.

Tecto: Primùm igitur quod de communi tecto, (vti etiam de victu & ſtatu) cum iumentis dicunt, falſum & erroneum clamamus, teſte non modò re ipſa, ſi quis id hodiè perquirere voleat. Sed etiam multorum extraneorum, qui aliquot apud nos annos egerant, & veritati plus quam gentem noſtram calumniandi affectui tribuunt, experientia; qui ipſi domos & habitationes noſtras viderunt, & norunt in ſingulis prædijs ſeu villis, multas eſſe diſtinctas domus: nempe inabiectiſſimis & viliſſimis 7. vel 8, in maioribus, nunc decem, nunc 20. In maximis, nunc 40, nunc 50; quę vt plurimùm, & tecto & parietibus diſtinctæ, vni poſſeſſori vel domino, raro duobus aut tribus, rariſsimè pluribus inſeruiunt, ac vſibus quotidianis & domeſticis ſufficiunt. Vnde facilè intelligis, Lector, quàm verè *eodem tecto* cum iumentis vtantur Iſlandi, cum ſinguli ruſtici in hac domuum varietate, peculiaria boulia, ouilia, equilia, agnilia, debitis interuallis diſta habeant, quæ ſerui, quoties opus eſt, petunt, vnde rurſus habitationem ſubinde repetunt.

Quòd autem quidam in mappa Iſlandiæ de prouincia Skageſiord annotauit, *ſub eodem tecto homines, canes, ſues & oues, viuere*, partim falſum, partim minimè mirandum eſt. De ouibus quidem, vt iam dictum eſt, & præcipuè ſuibus (cum illa prouincia ſues non habeat) falſum: De canibus haud mirum, cum illis nec regum aulæ caruerint nec hodiè careant, vt nimis omnibus eſt notum. Sed de canibus paulò poſt. Sect. 7. huius.

Victu. An iumentorum pabula poſſint commodè victus appellatione contineri, meritò dubitauerim: Cùm *Doletus, Ciceronis* interpretem agens, dicat: Victum, inquit, cum iureconſultis, ita exponemus, vt victus verbo contineantur, quæ eſui, potui, cultuiq; corporis, quæque ad viuendum homini ſunt neceſſaria. Et *Vlpianus*, de verborum ſignificat. Iiſdem verbis victum definit. Hoc loco verò Authores illi, etiam iumentorum pabula, victum appellant.

Cæterum videamus quomodo hîc eluceat veritatis & candoris præſtantia. Iumenta non habemus præterquam equos & boues: His gramina & fœnum (niſi vbi fœni inopia obtrepit) pabulum, aqua potum præbet. At hi ipſi ſcriptores fatentur, Iſlandos piſcibus, butyro, caſeo tum bubulis, tum ouillis, etiam frumento, licet pauco & aduentitio, viuere. Non igitur cibum habent cum brutis communem, quod tamen iidem his verbis aſſerunt: *Commune victu gaudent cum iumentis:* Quod quid ſit *Munſtero*, ipſe paulò ſuperius haud obſcurè docuit. *Iſlandi*, inquit, *populus multos continet, ſolo pecorum paſtu, & nunc captura piſcium victitantes.* Quid autem eſt pecorum paſtus, aliud, quàm pecorum cibus? ait *Doletus:* niſi *Munſterus* fortè pecorum paſtum, ipſa pecora ad paſtum hominum mactata appellet: cui, vt exiſtimo, vſus Romanorum refragatur, qui, vt homines veſci, ita pecora paſci docuit: hominúmque victum, pecorum tectum, paſtum & pabulum vocari iuſſit. An verò exiſtimem tam dementes fuiſſe *Munſterum, Krantzium*, vt ſenſerint Iſlandos graminibus & fœno viuere? Quo miſeriæ *Nabuchodonoſoris* uinæ vltionis iugum ſubiens, redactus eſt, Dani. 4. 30. Facilè dabimus multa, quibus homines, non modò noſtrates, ſed veſtrates quoque veſcuntur, iumenta & pecora fortè non rere, ſi familiari pabulo deſtituantur. Vt equi frumento & panibus hordeaceis paſcuntur: lac (quemadmodum etiam vituli & agni) & cereuiſiam, ſi offeratur, bibunt, & quidem auSed & canes quæuis fercula & cibaria deuorant. An idcircò quiſquam dicet, homines cani victu cum canibus & iumentis gaudere?

Iam quęcunq; famis graſſantis tempore contigêre, pro vniuerſali gentis alicuius conditione in hiſtoriam referri non debent. Vt non licet nobis de extraneis ſcribere, huius autem terræ populos canum, murium aut felium vſu victitare ſolitos, etſi fortè fame, ſiue obſidione alioqui annonæ charitate inualeſcente immiſſa, id factitarint.

Potum autem interdum eſſe multis cum iumentis communem non magnoperè conmus: nempè aquam lympidiſſimam, naturalem illum potum, omnibus animantibus creatum: quem etiam ex parte, medicinæ conſulti comendant, imò nec patres Hebræi, ſe Seruator noſter faſtidiebat.

Ad amictum verò quod attinet, (Nam & amictum *victus* vocabulo comprehendimus quæ-

quaquam hic cum iumentis communis est. Illa enim pilis & villis natura (quod *Munste-rum* & *Krantzium* nouisse iurarim) vestiuit: homines, alioqui nudi, pannis corpus induere necesse habent. Hæc indumenta, quæ quidem Islandia suppeditat, ex lanis ouium conficiuntur. Vtuntur etiam extranei pannis ex ouilla lana confectis, licet artificio subtiliore. Sed de indumentis nihil: Stultum enim est, ex eo laudem vel superbam æstimationem quærere, quod naturæ nostræ infirmitatem arguit.

Status. Restat ille status, quem cum brutis habere communem dicimur. Qui qualis aut cuiusmodi sit, aut eum esse velint nostri scriptores, certè non facilè assequor. Status, inquit *Doletus*, est vel corporis, vel causarum, vel ordinis & cõditionis. Certè alium esse statum nostri corporis, quàm iumentorum (nam præter duos pedes etiam manus habemus, & corpore ac vultu sursum erecto incedimus) alium item ordinem & conditionem nostram ducimus. Illi boni viri, si id de se aut alijs cognitum habent, fateantur. Nos hæc tam vana & in Deum creatorem nostrum tam contemptibilia irridemus, nec prolixiore tractatu dignamur.

Cæterum quia nostrum est, nec amori patriæ, nec vlli rei tantum tribuere, quin plus semper & vbique veritati largiamur: Dicam quid sit, quod huic infami scriptorum conuicio occasionem forte dederit.

Occasio harum fabularum.

Sunt in vicinia *Schalholtæa*, ad littus *Islandiæ* australe, paræchiolæ tres, inter duos rapidissimos amnes Thiorsaa & Diffwis Aa interceptæ; quæ & syluis & cespitibus, consueto gentis ad focos alendos fomite, ferè destituuntur. In istis paræchijs habitantes, & si qui sint vicini, quamuis plures eorum, vt de omnibus rebus, ad rem familiarem pertinentibus, ita etiam de his, quæ ad focos & balnea opus habent, sibi opportunè prospiciunt: Tamen sunt inter eos quidam, sed infimæ tantum sortis coloni, qui quoniam istis rebus domi destituantur, nec aliunde petere eas valeant, in culinis fœno ad coquendos cibos vtuntur: Ast vbi hyemis niuosæ squalida horrida ingruit, coloni isti miseri ad suum bouile refugiunt, illic scilicet exstructis tabulatis interdiu operas domesticas exercentes, à bobus, cum focos habere nequeant, calorem mutuantur, quemadmodum mihi ab alijs narratum est. Sicq; illi tantùm, qui sanè pauciissimi sunt, commuuntur cum bobus tecto, in bruma, vti quidem non gaudent, sed coguntur. Verùm victum & stationem longè alium habent, de qua re hactenus. Hęc est in istis Parœchiolis quorundam sors & inopia, quorum conditio idcirco etiam apud nos fabula vulgi effecta est, quamuis non satis iustè. Vbi, quo iure toti genti tribuatur, quod vix ac ne vix quidem de istis paucis colonis verum est, licenter quæsierim? Tædet de his pluribus agere: Tantùm quia mihi cum Theologis res est, illud Salomonis ijs reponam, Qui calumniatur egenum, deridet factorem eius.

Prouerb. 14.

Equidem quia gens hæc nostra pauper & egena est & fuit, ac veluti quidam mendicus inter diuites, tot extraneorum probra & scommata tulit. Sed videant cui exprobrent. Certè, si aliud nihil nobis cum illis commune est, tamen omnes ex ijsdem constamus elementis, & vnus & idem omnium Pater, Deus.

SECTIO QVARTA.

In simplicitate sancta vitam agunt, cum nihil amplius quærant, quàm natura concedit. Beata gens, cui paupertati nullus inuidet. Sed mercatores Anglici & Dani quiescere gentem non sinunt, qui ob piscaturam euehendam terram illam frequentantes cum mercibus omnigenis vitia quoq; nostra inuexerunt. Nam & fruges aquæ miscere in potum didicerunt, & simplicis aquæ haustus oderunt. Nunc aurum & argentum cum nostris admirantur. Krantzius. Munster.

In simplicitate. Equidem sanctæ simplicitatis laudem nobis attribui, meritò gaudemus: Sed id dolemus, quòd reperiatur etiam apud nos iustitiæ ac legum ingens deprauatio, ac magna nequitia, quam multorum scelerum myriades consequuntur; quod pij & boni omnes quotidiè deplorant. Id mali autẽ nequaquam supremi Magistratus, hoc est, Regis nostri clementissimi, verius nostrapte culpa accidit: qui hæc quæ clàm ipso præposterè geruntur & quæ in inferiore magistratu desiderantur, ad maiestatem ipsius non deferimus.

Mercatores. Mercatores porrò, non solùm Angli & Dani, sed maximè Germani, vt nunc, ita olim terram nostram, non ob *piscaturam* sed pisces auehendos frequentantes, nequaquam aruerunt illam, miscendarum frugum aquæ, Islandos docuerunt. Quippe ipsi Norũagi primi, ex duobus constet, terræ nostræ incolæ, à quibus oriundi sunt Islandi, artem illam, sicut etiam vsum argenteosq; nummos, secum ex Norũegia attulerunt, vt initio non fuerit minor argenti vsus apud nos, quàm est hodiè.

Fuere quidem ante Danorum, Germanorum, Anglorumuè frequentes ad nos nauigationes, tertiùm multò, quàm nunc, senescentis mundi incommoda, cœlo solóq; persentiens, fertilior,

in delectissimis quibusque locis, Cereris munera produxit.

SECTIO QVINTA.

Munsterus, Krantzius.

Rex Daniæ qui & Norvagiæ quotannis præfectum immittit genti.

858 ANno Domini 846. natus est *Haraldus* Harfagre (quod auricomum vel pulchricomum dixeris) Qui deinde Anno 858. Rex *Norvagiæ* designatus, vbi ætas virétque iustum incrementum acceperunt, formam imperij Norvagici mutauit. Nam antea in minutas prouincias diuisum (quas Fylki vocabant, & qui his præerant regulos, Fylkis Konga) ad Monarchiam armis potentibus redegit. Id cum & genere & potentia valentes aliquot regni incolæ ægrè ferrent, patria exulare, quàm ipsius Tyrannidis iugum non detrectare maluerunt. Vnde hi in Islandiam, antea quidem à quibusdam visam & inuentam, at desertam tamen, colonias, dicto superius Anno 874. transtulerunt: Atque sic genti nostræ originem præbentes, se Islandos nuncuparunt, quod nomen hodiè posteri retinent. Vixerunt itaque Islandi diu, nullius imperium agnoscentes, annis scilicet 386, plus minus. Et quamuis Rex Norvagiæ *Haquinus* ille conatus, qui omnium regum Norvagiæ diutissimè, nempe plusquam 66. annos imperium gerebat, sæpè per legatos tentarat tributarios sibi facere Islandos, constanter tamen semper restiterunt, donec tandem circa annum Domini 1260. homagium ipsi præstarent. Atque postea semper in data fide persistentes, & regibus Norvagiæ parentes, translato per *Margaretam*, Daniæ, Sueciæ, & Norvagiæ reginam, Norvagorum imperio, ad Danos, vnà cum reliquis imperij Norvagici Insulis, Serenissimum Daniæ regem; Dominum & Regem suum hodiè salutant.

1260

Margareta.

SECTIO SEXTA.

Krantzius. Munsterus.

Omnia inter eos communia sunt, præter vxores.

HOc loco præmittit *Krantzius* talem Ironiam.

Multa insignia in moribus illorum, &c. Porrò etiam hîc fidem vestram eleuat ingenium, ad asserendum res incompertas nimis procliue, cupidinem nouitatis, & nominis ac famæ, imò veritatis curam præposteram arguit, omnium & rerum personarúmq;, & temporum experientia: O scriptores suspiciendi.

Testes sunt leges politicæ, quibus inde ab initio cum Norvagis vsi sunt eisdem Islandi: De Rege & subditis: De foro, & his quæ in forensem disceptationem cadere possunt: De hæreditatibus: adoptionibus, nuptijs, furto, rapinis, mutuo, contractibus & cæteris: Quæ omnia, quorsum illis, quibus res omnes sunt communes? Testes sunt, tot de bonis mobilibus & immobilibus contentiones, turbæ & certamina, in foris ac iudicijs Islandorum: Testes sunt Reges nunc Daniæ & olim Norvagiæ, qui tot libellis supplicibus Islandorum, ad componendas istas de possessionibus controuersias, olim & nunc interpellati sæpè fuerant. Testis contra seipsum *Krantzius*, cuius verba distinction. i. huius, hæc fuerunt. *Ante susceptam Christi fidem* (Islandi) *lege naturali viuentes parum à lege nostra discrepabant, &c.* Si lege naturæ, certè lege illa iustitiæ, quæ tribuit vnicuique suum: Si lege iustitiæ, certè proprietatum & dominorum distinctiones in nostra gente locum habuisse oportet: Quanquam autem in hanc ipsam legem etiam in Ecclesia, & quidem satis atrociter, sæpè delinquitur: tamen & Ecclesia & Ethnici iustissimam & optimam esse semper fassi sunt.

SECTIO SEPTIMA.

Catulos suos & pueros æquo habent in precio: Nisi quòd à puerioribus facilius impetrabis filiam quàm catulum, &c.

QVamuis principio huius commentarioli censuerim, *Munsterum* & alios magni nominis viros, in ijs, quæ de Islandia scripta reliquerunt, esse à calumniæ nota liberandos: tamen id hîc, etiam à candidissimo & maximè sincero quocunque fieri possit, non satis video. Quid enim mouit tantos viros, vt Nautarum maleuolas nugas & mendacia secuti, tot atroci & contumelioso opprobrio gentem nostram diffamarent, commacularénque? Nisi profectò, nisi secura ridendi & contemnendi gentem pauperem & ignotam, licentia, & fides sunt huic vicia confinia.

Cæterum nôrint omnes non tam Islandis, quàm ipsis Authoribus, incommodare hoc mendacium. Cum enim illud, & plurima etiam alia in historiam suam accumulant, efficiunt vt alibi quoque suspectæ fidei habeantur. Illúdq; quod ait *Aristoteles*, lucrantur, *vt cum verum dixerint, illis sine suspitione non credatur.*

Sed age Lector, subsiste paulisper, mecúmq; grauitatem & sapientiam tantorum virorum experi-

expende: Ne tantum Islan
zius & Munsterus: Islandos
ralvixisse. Item: Islandos v
Vixisse eos in sancta simplicat
gis Germanorũ, sanctæ sim
depingant, perpende. Vna fi
voragine & radicibus circun
tera nota, quòd, cum Anaba
Sect. præced. Tertia eáque l
mor, cura, & animus tam pi
cij sint apud illos canes & fili
Christi, naturæ, Germanorum,
vellentem, quamuis nõ prorsi
ticum: O scientiam plusquàm

Nos verò Islandi, quamuis
notas requirimus. Nam & pr
Iam nemo est, puto, qui seipsi
esse debet proximi cuiuslibet
ros? Quorum arctissimum an
ciliauit, etiam Lex diuina cura
vt scilicet sint in sancto coniu
ercitia: Prout vates ille pulchr

Vult Ecclesiolam qua

Iten

Coniugium humanæ qu

Vt iam satis constet, apud C
Et, si qui non aliter curent, Ch
Sed & hic in prolem dulciss
tur: vt si quos hoc penitùs exue
Carthaginenses, cum tertio bel
terentur, quos illæ fletu & lame
orum complexibus ægrè diuul
lore stimulante, in subiectos flu
filij *Thesei*, cum velis atri coloris
proximis vndis finiuit. *Sabellic.*
similiter, ob rumores de morte
idem *Iocasta Creontis* filia, e *Au*
& alij numero innumero: De q
descendit, &c. Adeò, vt videas no
summo amore prosequi, quàm
Christianos scriptores nostri fas
uiti & repugnantes, adscribant:
hant, sed etiam infrà bruta & qu
arctissimo amore tenentur, depr

Non addam contra hoc impu
cebo leges nostras plagiarias ip
fiant in codice legum nostrarum
lis, nedum filium) extraneis venc

Iam verò si quis eò fortunæ de
poreſtati, vel fame vel extrema q
ficem inedia deficientem aspicer
ficendus est filium æquo aut inf
extranei quilibet.

Offenderant fortè Germanor
bos, quorũ hîc maximus est num
mihi aut vende hoc vel illud: C
medici. Habeo liberos 10. vel 14
colluuies istiusmodi scurriles dial
us vir, misertus stoliditatis & in

expende: Ne tantum Islandiæ Elogium in actum prætereamus. Docuerunt hactenus *Krantzius & Munsterus: Islandos esse Christianos. Item: Islandos ante susceptam Christi fidem lege naturali vixisse. Item: Islandos vixisse lege quadam non multum à lege Germanorum discrepante. Item: Vsisse eos in sancta simplicate.* Adeidum igitur Lector, & quas Christianismi, Legis naturalis, legis Germanorũ, sanctæ simplicitatis notas Authores illi requirant, & in Islandis monstrent ac depingant, perpende. Vna fuit supra, quòd infernum siue carcerem damnatorum montis Heclę voragine & radicibus circumscribant Islandi; de quo vide Sect. 1, huius: & sect. 7. prior. part, Al- 1
tera nota, quòd, cum Anabaptistis, proprietatum & dominio: um distinctiones tollant: de quo Sect. præced. Tertia eáque longè excellentissima hæc est: illi præclari affectus naturales, a- 2
mor, cura, & animus tam pius & paternus Islandorum in liberos, quòd videlicet eiusdem pre- 3
cij sint apud illos canes & filij, aut hi etiam vilioris. Siccine nobis *Munstere* & *Krantzi Legem Christi, naturæ, Germanorum, & sanctam simplicitatem* depingitis? O picturam præclaram & excellentem, quamuis nõ prorsus *Apellæam*: O Inuentum acutum & admirandum, si benè authenticum: O scientiam plusquàm humanam, etsi non prorsus diuinam.

Nos verò Islandi, quamuis vltimi & gelidam concluſi ad Arcton, longè alias Christianismi notas requirimus. Nam & præceptum Dei habemus, vt quilibet proximũ diligat velut seipsum. Iam nemo est, puto, qui seipsum non plus diligat, aut pluris faciat, quàm canem. Quod si tantus esse debet proximi cuiuslibet fauor, tanta æstimatio, tantus amor, quantus quæso erit in liberos? Quorum arctissimum amorem, præterquam quòd ipsa parens natura nobis firmissimè cõciliauit, etiam Lex diuina curam summam in enutriendo habere iussit. (Exo. 12, 24. Ephe. 6, 4.) vt scilicet sint in sancto coniugio, Ecclesiæ quædam seminaria, omnis pietatis & honestatis exercitia: Prout vates ille pulcherrimè cecinit.

Vult Ecclesiolam quamlibet esse domum.

Item:

Coniugium humana quædam est Academia vitæ.

Vt iam satis constet, apud Christianos longè pluris faciendos & curandos filios, quàm canes: Et, si qui non aliter curent, Christianos non esse.

Sed & hic in prolem dulcissimam affectus naturalis in Ethnicis etiam satis apertè conspicitur: vt si quos hoc penitùs exueris, eosdem etiam homines esse negaueris. Monstrant id matres Carthaginenses, cum tertio bello Punico adolescentes quíq; lectissimi obsides in Siciliam mitterentur, quos illæ fletu & lamentatione miserabili ad naues comitatæ, & ex his quædam à filiorum complexibus ægrè diuulsæ, cum ventis pandi vela cernerent, nauésq; è portu egredi, dolore stimulante, in subiectos fluctus dissiluere; *Sabellico authore*. Monstrat *Ægeus*, qui nauem filij *Thesei*, cum velis atri coloris, ex Creta redeuntem cerneret, perijsse filium ratus, vitam in proximis vndis finiuit. *Sabellic.* lib. 3. cap. 4. Monstrat *Gordianus* senior, Africæ proconsul, qui similiter, ob rumores de morte filij, vitam suspendio clausit. *Campofulgos* lib. 5. cap. 7. Monstrant idem *Iocasta Creontis* filia, *Auctolia Sinonis* F. *Anius* Tuscorum Rex, *Orodes* Rex Parthorum, & alij numero innumero: De quibus vide stat. lib. 2. *Plutarchum*, & alios, &c. Huc illud. *Amor descendit, &c.* Adeò, vt videas non minus esse homini proprium, sobolem intimè diligere, & summo amore prosequi, quàm aui volare; vt si iam aliquando homines esse Islandos, nedum Christianos scriptores nostri fassi sint, hunc amorem & affectum in filios ijsdem, quantumuis inuiti & repugnantes, adscribant: sin minus, non modò hominis titulum & dignitatem illis detrahant, sed etiam infrà bruta & quasuis bestias, quæ ipsæ, stimulante natura, maximo prolis suæ & sanctissimo amore tenentur, deprimant.

Non addam contra hoc impudens mendacium exempla etiam nostratium satis illustria: Tacebo leges nostras plagiarias ipsis Islandis antiquiores, quippe à Noruagis acceptas, quæ extant in codice legum nostrarum, titulo Pannhelge: cap. 5. Si quis hominem liberum (quamuis, nedum filium) extraneis vendat, &c.

Iam verò si quis eò fortunæ deueniat, vt proprium filium, siue incolæ, siue extranei alicuius potestati, vel fame vel extrema quacunq; vrgente necessitate, aut periculo, permittat, ne fame cum inedia deficientem aspicere cogatur, canem verò in proprias dapes reseruet, Is minimè vindicandus est filium æquo aut inferiore loco habere quàm canem, siue id faciant Islandi, siue extranei quilibet.

Offenderant fortè Germanorũ vel Danorum nautę apud nos mendicos quosdã, liberis onustos, quorũ hîc maximus est numerus, qui iocando, vt sunt nugis scurrilibus addicti, dixerint: Da mihi aut vende hoc vel illud: Cúmq; rogarint extranei: Quid tu mihi vicissim? Responderirit mendici. Habeo liberos 10. vel 14, dabo ex eis vnũ vel plures, &c. Solet enim ista mendicorum colluuies istiusmodi scurriles dialogismos cum extraneis instituere. Quod si tum quispiam bonus vir, misertus stoliditatis & inopię mendicorum, vno illos filio leuauerit, eique propter

Deum in alijs terris, aliquo tandem modo benè proſpexerit, num mendicus, qui aliquot cum filio, fame & paupertate moriturus, filium miſerenti permittit & committit, filium iſtum ſuum minoris facit quàm canem? Præſtitum eſt à multis tam Iſlandis quàm extraneis huiuſmodi beneuolentiæ & commiſerationis opus: ex quibus fuit vir nobiliſſimus *Aecilius Iulius* à ſereniſſimo rege *Daniæ* olim miſſus ad Iſlandos, Anno Domini 1552. Qui vt audiui, 15. pueros pauperculos aſſumpſit & ſecum in *Daniam* auexit: Vbi poſtea ipſius beneficio ſingulos ſuo vtæ generi addictos, in viros bonos & frugi euaſiſſe, mihi narratum eſt.

Quid ſi quis in extrema conſtitutus anguſtia, filium non modò vendat; ſed ſi emptorem nõ habet, ipſe mactet & comedat? Nota ſunt huius rei exempla: Parentum videlicet inuitæ crudelitatis in filios, ſtimulante nõ odio vel aſtorgia, ſed inexitabili neceſſitate compellente. Num quis inde vniuerſale gentis alicuius cõuicium extruxerit? Legimus, in obſidione Samariæ matres duas filios ſuos mactaſſe, & coctos comediſſe: 4. Reg. C. 6. Legimus in obſidione Ieroſolymitana, quam flebilis fuerit vox miſerrimæ matris, filium miſellum iam mactaturæ, *Infans, ait,* (referam enim *Euſebij* verba de hac re, etſi notiſſima, vt miſeræ matris affectus appareat,) *miſſele & infelix, cuinam in hoc belli, famis, & ſeditionis tumultu, te commodè reſeruem? Si Romanorum ſubijciamur imperio, illic ſeruitutis iugo preſſi, vitam infœliciter exigemus. Sed ſeruitutem credo fames antenertet. Accedit factioſorum prædonum turba, his vtriſq; miſerijs toleratu multò aſperior. Age igitur mi gnate, ſis matri cibus, ſis prædonibus furia, ſis communi hominum vitæ fabula, quæ rei tua ad Iudæorum calamitates deeſſe videtur. Quæ cum dixiſſet, natum trucidat, aſſatúm q; dimidium comedit, dimidium reſernat, &c.* Euſebius *libro 3. capite 6.* Iam quis eſt, qui non credat miſerrimam hanc matrem filium hunc ſuum, domini alicuius, ſi ſe obtuliſſet, apud quem credidiſſet ſeruatum iri, aut emptoris poſteſſioni fuiſſe permiſſuram? Nota eſt fames, Calaguium, Hiſpaniæ vrbem, olim à *Cneio Pompeio* obſeſſam opprimens (*Val.* libro ſeptimo cap. 7.) cuius ciuibus, vxores & liberi in vſum extremæ dapis conuerſi ſunt, quos profectò, pro cibarijs & alijs dapibus haud inuiti vendidiſſent. Nota eſt quoque fames, quæ Anno Domini 871. (*Vincent.* libro 25. cap. 36.) Germaniam attriuit, vt etiam pater filium ſuum deuorare voluerit. Notum etiam eſt, poſt mortem *Henrici* ſeptimi Imperat. fame per triennium continuata, quomodo parentes liberos, vel liberi parentes deuorarint, & præcipuè quidem in *Polonia* & *Bohemia*. Et ne exempla tantùm antiqua petamus, accipimus tantam annonæ ſæuitiam, Anno 1586. & 1587. in *Hungaria* graſſatam fuiſſe, vt quidam alimentorum inopia adacti immaniſſimo Chriſtianorum hoſti proprios liberos vendiderint, & in perpetuum ſeruitutis iugum manciparint: quidam paruulos ſuos, quos vlterius tolerare non ſuſtinebant, crudeli miſericordia in Danubium proieciſſe, & ſuffocaſſe dicantur. Sed, num hæc & ſimilia exempla quempiam eò inſaniæ adigent, vt dicat hanc vel illam nationem, liberos in eſcam propriam mactare conſueuiſſe, Turcis libenter vendere, aut aquis ſubmergere & ſuffocare ſolitã eſſe? Non opinor. Sic neq; quòd mendici apud Iſlandos, extrema vrgente neceſſitate, cuius duriſſimi ſunt morſus, filios ſuos libenter amittant, toti genti, & quidem probri loco, communiter adſcribendũ eſt à quoquam, niſi apud eundẽ omnis pudor, candor, humanitas, veritas exulent.

Cæterùm optarim ego, parcius Iſlandis canum curam exprobrare illos populos, quorum matronæ, & præcipuè nobiles, canes in maximis delicijs habent, vt eos vel in plateis, ne dicam in ſacris concionibus, ſinu geſtent, quem morem in peregrinis quibuſdam, quos Romæ catulos ſimiarum & canum in gremio circumferre *Ceſar* conſpexit, hac quæſtione reprehendit, dum q;æreret: Numquid apud ipſos mulieres liberos non parerent? Monens errare eos, qui à natura inditos ſibi affectus, quibus in amorem hominum ac præcipuè ſobolis incitarentur, in beſtias transferunt, quarum deliciarum voluptas, Iſlandorum gentem, nunquam cepit aut habuit. Quare iam *Munſtere & Krantzi*, alias nobis Chriſtianitatis, (vt ſic dicam) legis naturæ, legis item Germanorum, & ſanctæ ſimplicitatis notas quærite.

SECTIO OCTAVA.

Krantzius. Munſterus. *Epiſcopum ſuum colunt pro Rege: ad cuius nutum reſpicit totus populus. Quicquid ex lege ſcripturæ, & ex conſuetudine aliarum gentium conſtitunt, quàm ſanctè obſeruant.*

FVit equidem initio ferè ad repurgatam Euangelij doctrinam maxima Epiſcopi obſeruantia; ſed nunquam tanta vt exteris legibus aut conſuetudini cederent noſtræ leges politicæ, ex nutu Epiſcopi. Nec tempore *Alberti Krantzij*, multò minùs *Munſteri* (quorum ille 1517. hic 1552. poſt partum ſalutiferum deceſſit) Epiſcopi Iſlandorum regiam obtinuerunt authoritatem, cùm ſcilicet multi ex ijs, qui diuitijs paulò plus valebant, aduerſus ipſos conſurgere non dubitarint; quæ res apud noſtrates liquidò conſtat. Interim tamen Epiſcopi, anathematis fulmine terribiles, alios in ſuam poteſtatem redegerunt, alios furibunda fœuitia id temporis perſecuti ſunt.

Portò

Porrò etsi tum fuit magna, imò maxima Episcopi obseruantia, tamē nunc dispulsis tenebris Papisticis, alia ratione homines Satan aggreditur, eorumq; mentes contemptus libertate & refractaria contumacia, aduersus *Deum* & sacrum ministerium, etiam hīc armare non negligit.

SECTIO NONA.

Hic victitant plerumq; piscibus, propter magnam penuriam frumenti, quod aliunde à maritimis ciuitatibus infertur: & qui inde cum magno lucro pisces exportant. Item Munsterus. *Illic piscibus inueteratis vtuntur loco panis qui illic non crescit.* Munster.

VIde Lector, quàm *Munsterum* iuuet, eadem oberrare chorda: vt cum de gente ignota nihil scribere possit, quod coloris aliquid habeat, vel falsa afferre, vel eadem sæpius reuoluere. Verba ipsius superiùs etiam recitata, hæc sunt. *Islandos piscibus rumpastu & nunc captura piscium victitantes, &c.* Et vt cætera transeam in quibus leue quidam notari poterat; Illud sanè, *panem in Islandia non crescere*, perquam verum est. Quod etiam illicum Germania commune esse crediderim, quòd videlicet nec illic panis crescat, nisi fortè in *Munsteri* agro, vbi etiam acetum naturale optimè crescit. Sed hæc, troporum indulgentia, scilicet, salua erunt. Ad conuicia autem, quæ ex victu Islandorum petunt extranei, infrà pauca respondebitur, Sect. 15.

SECTIO DECIMA.

Incolæ res maiorum & sui temporis celebrant cantibus & insculpunt scopulis, atque promontorijs, vt nulla, nisi cum naturæ interitu, intercidant apud posteritatem. Munster. Krantzius.

Citharœdi, & qui testitudine ludunt, apud eos reperiuntur quàm plurimi, qui prædulci modulamine volucres & pisces irretiant & capiant. Frisius.

QVin veterum gesta aliquot cantibus & poëmatibus nostratium, vt & soluta oratione, apud nos conseruentur, non negamus. Quòd verò à nobis aut maioribus nostris eadem scopulis vel promontorijs insculpta sunt, eam non licet nobis, vt neque illam tantam Citharœdorum, aues aut pisces demulcentium, laudem accipere. Statuimus enim animi esse generosi ac veracis, vt crimina falsa refellere, ita laudem immeritam sibi haud vendicare, nec, etsi quis tribuat, agnoscere. Veterum gesta apud Islandos conseruata.

SECTIO VNDECIMA.

SEd cum scriptoribus iam dictis, viris alioqui spectatæ eruditionis & præclari nominis, qui tamen hæc ita inconsideratè scriptis suis interseruerunt, actionis finis esto.

Et iam magna mei pars est exhausta laboris:

Sed restat tamen fœtus ille vipereus Germanicus, quem idcircò anonymum secundo partu mater edi voluit, vt venenatis aculeis nomen Islandorum tantò liberiùs pungeret.

Porrò licet aduersus hanc bestiam in arenam descendere non dubitem, omnibus tamen constare volo, quonam hoc animo faciam, videlicet, non vt cum illius pestifera virulentia, conuicijs aut maledicentia certem. (Nam vt est in triuiali paroemia,

Hoc scio pro certo, quod si cum stercore certo,
Vinco, seu vincor, semper ego maculor:)

Sed vt bonis & cordatis omnibus, etiam extraneis, satisfaciam, qui maledicentiam istam Germanicam lecturi vel audituri sunt, aut olim audierint, ne & hi nos meritò calumniam tanquam sustinere credant: Tum etiam vt alios qui istis virulentis rhythmis Germanicis, in gentis Islandæ opprobrium vtuntur, & inde dicteria & contumeliosas subsannationes ad despiciendos Islandos petunt, ab illa mordendi licentia in posterum, si fieri possit, abducamus.

Ergò, ne longis ambagibus Lectori fastidium oratio nostra pariat, ad ea narranda accedam, quæ maledicus ille Germanus in suum pasquillum congessit: Quem etiam sua de Islandis carmina Encomiastica recitantem in his pagellis introducerem, nisi præuiderem fœtum illum prosum, tot & tam varijs maledictis turgidum, omnibus bonis nauseam mouere posse, ac sua peritiæ ab ijs legendis absterrere.

Referam igitur præcipua, (ijs scilicet omissis quæ cum alijs communia habet, atque hactenus audiata sunt) sed, quàm ille, longè mitius; ne, vt dixi, linguæ ipsius obscœna petulantia, aures pias & eruditæ offendantur: Qui ipsum videre aut audire volet, quærat apud propolas. Nobis enim, non est in animo putida ipsius calumnia & conuiciorum sentina, has chartas inquinare.

Primùm igitur objicit Germanicus hic noster, si Dijs placet, Historicus: *Multos expasto Islandia toto biennio sacram concionem ad populum nullam habere:* Vt in priore editione, 1. Obiectio seu conuicium.

huius pasquilli legitur, quod tamen posterior editio eiusdem refutat: Dicens, eosdem pastores integro anno tantũ quinquies concionari solitos: quæ duo quàm ritè sibi consentiant, videas bone Lector, cum constet Authorem mox à prima editione vix vidisse Islandiam. Ita scilicet plerumq; mendacium mendacio proditur, iuxta illud: *Verum vero consentit: Falsum nec vero, nec falso.*

Sed cum nostrum non sit veritatem vspiam dissimulare, nos haud negandum ducimus conciones sacras circa id tempus, quo iste Sycophanta in Islandia vixit, nempe anno 1554, aut circiter multò fuisse rariores, quàm sunt hodiè, tum scilicet tenebris Papisticis vix dum discussis. Quod etiam de Psalmis Dauidicis à vulgo latinè demurmuratis, vt idẽ nostratibus exprobrat, intelligere est: Papistæ enim totam spem salutis in sua Missa collocantes, de concione aut doctrina parùm fuere solliciti. Postquam verò caligine illa exempti sumus, aliter se res habere, Deo inprimis gratias agimus: Licet quorundã pastorum nostrorum tardam stupiditatem, segnitiem & curam præposteram non possimus omni modo excusare. Quod vtrum in nullos suorum popularium etiam competat, aliæ quoque nationes viderint.

SECTIO DVODECIMA.

2. Conuitium. *Secundò calumniatur vitilitigator: Adulteria & scortationes non modo publica esse & frequentia scelera inter Islandos: sed ab ijs pro scelere ne haberi quidem.*

ETsi autem fœdissimæ istæ turpitudines etiam in nostra repub. non prorsus inusitatæ sunt: tamen cum omnibus constet in alijs quoque nationibus longè etiam frequentiores esse, cum ibi quoque populi frequentia maior: immeritò & malignè hoc nomine magis Islandos, quàm populos & gentes reliquas, quarum, vt dixi, nomen etiam plus nostratibus hoc crimine malè audit, notauit.

Et licet ex animo optarim longè minus ad scelera, & turpitudines in nostra patria conniueri, quàm passim hic fieri videmus: tamen etiam innata illa mordendi libidine, hoc veterator in præsenti conuitio attexuit: videlicet, *quod scelera illa ab Islandis pro scelere non habeantur.* Nam in quà demum repub. id impudens ille asserere audet? Illáne; quæ in legem codicis II. tituli Wanthelge: cap. 28. iurauit; quę statuit, vt iterum adulterium qui cum coniuge alterius commiserit, confiscatis suis bonis, capite etiam plectatur? Illáne, quæ pro adulterio, à famulo cum vxore domini commisso, non ita dudum 80. thalerorum mulctam irrogauit? Illáne, quæ eundem, si ad statutum tempus non soluerit vel vades dederit, in exilium proscribendum decreuit? Illáne: cuius leges politicæ, quemuis in adulterio cum vxore, à viro legitimè deprehensum, si euaserit, homicidij mulctam expendere iubent? Illáne, cuius itidem leges politicæ, in complexu matris, filiæ aut sororis, à filio, patre, vel fratre deprehensum, vitam suam dimidio eius, quod quis si eundem insontem interfecisset, expendere teneretur, redimere iubent? Illáne, cuius leges politicæ adulterium sceleris infandi nomine notarunt & damnarunt? Et in eo tertiò deprehensum, capite plectendum seuerè mandant?

Cernis igitur, Lector benigne, quàm iniurium habeamus notarium, dicentem: Adulterium & scortationes in Islandia peccati aut sceleris nomen non mereri. Nam licet politici quidam hoc vel illud scelus impunitum omittant, non debet tota gens, non leges, non boni & pij omnes, eo nomine in ius vocari, aut malè audire.

SECTIO DECIMATERTIA.

3. Conuitium. TErtium conuicium est, *quo fraudis & perfidiæ erga Germanos Islandis notam inurit.* Fuit autem proculdubio famosi huius libelli author, cerdo & propola circumforaneus, multosq; Islandiæ angulos, sordidæ mercaturæ gratia, ostiatim adierat: quod ipse de se in præclaris illis suis rhythmis testatur, *maximã Islandiæ partem sibi peragratam esse.* Vnde cum ipse mala fide cũ multis egerit (plerumq; enim fraus & mendacia coniunguntur, & mendacem se fuisse, hac ingenui sui experientia satis probauit) etiam fortè à se deceptorum fraudem est expertus. Hinc illa in totam gentem criminatio extitit: Dissimulato interea, qua fide quidam Germanorum, quibus annua est nauigatio ad Islandos, cum nostris hominibus agant. Ea autem querela, cùm non aliis conuiciari, sed aliorum in gentem nostram immerita conuicia monstrare instituerim, consulto supersedeo.

SECTIO DECIMAQVARTA.

4. 5. 6. & 7. Conuitia. *Quarto: negat in conuiuijs quemquam discumbentium à mensa surgere: sed matres familias singulis conuiuijs quoties opus fuerit mactellas porrigere. Præterea varijam conuiuiorum edendi bibendi ineptitudinem notat.*

5 *Cubandi & prandendi ritus obijcit: quod decem plus minus in eodem lecto promiscuè viri cum*

mus permollent, inque lecto cibum capiant: atq; interea ſe non niſi alea aut latrunculo, non ludo exerceant.

Sexto. Calumniatur eoſdem faciem & os vrina prolnere.

Septimo. Nuptiarum, ſponſalium, natalitiorum celebritatem & funerum vitus contemptnoiè ex- 6
ternat. 7

HÆc & huiuſmodi plurima in gentem inſontem, imò de ſe & ſuis optimè meritam, impuſus dedignemur. Nam vt demus (quod tamen non damus) aliquid huiuſmodi apud homines ſordidos, & ex ipſa vulgi colluuie infimos, quibuſcũ longè ſæpius, quàm bonis & honeſtis conuerſabatur, animaduertiſſe præclarum hunc notarium Germanicũ (vixerat enim, vt eius rhythmi teſtantur, diuiuſculè in locis maritimis Iſlandiæ, quo ferè promiſcuum vulgus, tempore piſcaturę annuatim confluit, & tam extraneorũ nautarum, quàm ſua nequitia corruptum, ſæpius inhoneſtè mores & vitam inſtituit) Tamen manifeſtiorem etiam hoc loco iniuriam nobis facit, vnius nebulonis & deſperati Sycophantę turpitudine, totã gentẽ (vt ferè ſolent etiã alij) aſperſendo, quàm vt refutatione vlla indigeat. Cuius rei etiam ipſi extranei in noſtra Inſula non parum verſati, locupletiſſimi teſtes eſſe poſſunt.

Poſſem multas eius farinæ fœditates, ruſticitates & obſcœnitates, etiam in ipſius natione deprehenſas colligere. Sed odi facundiam caninam, nec in aliorum opprobriũ diſertũ eſſe iuuat: nec tamen tener eſſe volo, vt verbulis tranſuerberer. Id tantùm viderint boni & pij omnes, cuius ſit animi peſſima quæq; ab vno aut altero deſignata, toti genti obijcere. Si quis Germanię aut alterius nationes vrbes & pagos omnes peragret, & ſcelera ac mores peſſimos, furta, homicidia, parricidia, ſcortationes, adulteria, inceſtus, luxuriem, rapinas & reliquas impietates & obſcœnitates in vnum coactas, omnibus Germanis, aut alioqui alteri cuiuis toti nationi communes eſſe aſſerat, atq; hæc omnia inſigniter mentiendo, exaggeret, iſne optimæ rei ſtudioſus habebitur? Sed quid mirum, licet verbero, &, vt propriè notem, porcus impurus, iſte, inquam, Rhythmiſta, naturam & ingenium ſuum eiuſmodi ſordoria prodiderit?

Notum eſt enim porcos, cũ hortos amæniſſimos intrarint, nec lilia nec roſas aut flores aliquos pulcherrimos & ſuauiſſimos decerpere: Sed roſtro in cœnum prono, quicquid eſt luti & ſtercoris volutare, vertere & inuertere, donec impuriſſima, hoc eſt, ſuo genio apprimè congruentia eruant, vbi demum ſolida voluptate paſcuntur.

Ad iſtum igitur modum hic porcus Rhythmiſta, optima, & quæ in noſtra Repub. laudibilia eſſe poſſunt, ficco pede præterit, peſſima quæq;, atq; ea, vel à nullo, vel admodum paucis deſignata, hoc eſt, ſuæ naturæ, & ingenio aptiſſima, vt ſe eſſe, qui dicitur, re ipſa probaret, corraſit: vnde poſthac porci nomen ex moribus & ingenio ipſius factum, ſortitor.

SECTIO DECIMAQVINTA.

NOnum conuicium hic recenſebimus, quod à victu, ac præcipuè cibo ac potu Iſlandorum maledicus ille porcus, non vno aut paucis verbis, ſed prolixa inuectiua petiuit: Nempe *quod cibis vtantur vetuſtis, & inſuſis: idq; ſine panis vſu: Tum etiam quòd varia & incognita extraneis piſcium genera illis ſint eſui, & aquam ac ſerum lactis in potum miſceant.* Quæ omnia venenatus hic paſquillus diſerta contumelia, & ingenioſa calumnia, pulchrè amplificauit. 9. Conuicium.

Cæterum etſi illum prolixiore reſponſione non dignemur: tamen propter alios, qui hodie hanc rem partim mirantur, partim haud leuiter noſtrę genti obijciunt, pauca hoc loco addenda videbantur.

Primùm igitur totam hanc gentem bipartitò ſecabimus: In mendicos, & hos qui & ſe & eorum alijs etiam mendicos alunt. Mendicorum, & eorum qui ad hos proximè accedunt, omnia genera recenſere aut examinare haud facile eſt, nec quòd illos edere, aut ediſſe, extrema aliquã neceſſitas, reliquę genti cibariorũ genera aut numerũ præſcribere fas eſt. Nam & de ſuffocatis quidem non comedendis legem habemus inter canones, quorum ſeruantiſſima vigeat voluntas antiquitas.

Deinde etiam tempora diſtinguemus, vt nihil mirum ſit, graſſante annonæ ſæuitia, multa à mendicis ad explendam famem adhiberi aut adhibita fuiſſe, quæ aliàs vix canes paſcant. Vt nuperrimè de Pariſienſibus accepimus, Anno 1590. arctiſſima Henrici 4. Nauarræi obſidione preſſis, & famem Saguntinam, vt P. Lindebergius loquitur, perpeſſis; eos non modò equinam, ſed morticinam quoque carnem ex mortuorum oſſibus in mortario contuſis farinæ pugillo aut altero miſto, confectam, in ſuas dapes conuertiſſe; & de alijs quoque populis notum eſt, qui ſimili vrgente inopia, etiam murium, felium & canum eſu victitarint. Sic etiam Iſlandis aliquando vſu venit (quanquam à canina, murium & felium, vt & humana carne hactenus,

nobis

nobis quantum conſtat, abſtinuerint) licet non ab hoſte obſeſſis: Nam cùm ad victum neceſſaria ex terra marique petant, & ab extraneis nihil commeatus, aut parum admodum adueharur, quoties terræ marisque munera DEVS præcluſerit, horrendam annonæ caritatem ingruere & ingruiſſe, & dira fame vexari incolas, neceſſe eſt. Vnde fit, vt illos qui in diem viuere ſoliti fuerint, nec præcedentium annorum ſuperantes commeatus habuerint, extrema tentaſſe, quoties egeſtas vrſerit, credibile. Cæterum, vtrum hæc res publico & perpetuo opprobrio magis apud Iſlandos, quàm alias nationes, occaſionem meritò præbere debeat, candidis & bonis animis iudicandum relinquo.

Porrò quod de gentis noſtræ proprijs & conſuetis alimentis multi obijcere ſolent, potiſſimum de carne, piſcibus, buryro, abſque ſale inueteratis, Item de lacticinijs, frumenti inopia, potu aquæ, &c. & reliquis: id nos in plurimis Iſlandiæ locis (nam ſunt multi quoque noſtratium, qui Danorum & Germanorum more, quantum quidem caſtis & temperatis animis ad mediocritatem ſufficere debet, licet magna condimentorum varietate, vt & ipſis Pharmacopolijs, deſtituimur, menſam inſtruere & frugaliter viuere ſuſtineant) ita ſe habere haud multis refragabimur, videlicet prædicta victus genera, paſſim ſine ſalis condimento vſitata eſſe. Et inſuper addemus, hæc ipſa cibaria, quæ extranei quidam vel nominare horrent, ipſos tamen extraneos apud nos, non ſine voluptate, manducare ſolitos. Nam etſi frumenti aut farris penè nihil vulgò habeamus, nec ſal, gulæ irritamentum, ad cibaria condienda, omnibus ſuppetit: docuit tamen Deus, opt. max. etiam noſtros homines rationem tractandi & conſeruandi, quæ ad vitam ſuſtentandam ſpectant, vt appareat, Deum in alendis Iſlandis non eſſe ad panem vel ſalem alligatum. Quòd verò ſua omnia extranei iucundiora & ſaluberiora clamant; negamus tamen ſatis cauſæ eſſe, cur noſtra nobis exprobrent: Nec nos DEVM gulæ noſtræ debitorem reputamus; quin potius toto pectore gratias agimus, quod ſine opiparis illis delicijs & lautitijs, quæ tam iucundæ & ſalubres putantur, etiam noſtræ gentis hominibus, annos & ætatem bonam, tum valetudinem etiam firmiſſimã, robur ac vires validas (quæ omnia ſtatuimus boni & conuenientis alimenti, ἀγνῶς ἰσχυρίας eſſe indicia) concedere dignetur, cum ingenio etiam non prorſus tam craſſo ac ſterili, quàm huic noſtro aëri & alimentis aſſignare Philoſophi videntur, quod re libentius, quàm verbis multi fortaſſe noſtratium comprobare poterant,

Ratio conſeruandi cibos ſine ſale.

Ni nos (vt inquit ille) *paupertas innida deprimeret.*

Sed hîc vulgi iudicium, vt in alijs ſæpè, etiam eos qui ſapere volunt (iam omnes bonos & cordatos excipio) nimis apertè decipit: Videlicet hoc ipſo, quòd omnia, quæ illorum vſus non admittit, aut quæ non viderunt, aut experti ſunt antea, continuò damnent. Veluti, ſi quis, qui mare nunquam vidit, mare mediterraneum eſſe aliquod, non poſſit adduci vt credat: Sic illi ſenſu ſuæ experientiæ omnia metiuntur, vt nihil ſit bonum, nihil conducibile, niſi quo illi ſoli viuunt: At profectò nos, eò dementiæ non proceſimus, vt eos qui locuſtis veſcuntur, quod tum de alijs, tum Æthiopię quibuſdam populis, ideo (autore Diodoro) Acridophagis appellatis, & Indiæ gente, cui Mandrorum nomen Clytharcus & Mageſtanes dederunt, teſte Agatarchide, didicimus; aut ranis, aut cancris marinis, aut ſquillis gibbis, quæ res hodiè nota eſt, vulgi propterea ludibrijs exponere præſumamus, à quibus tamen edulijs, in totum noſtra conſuetudo abhorret.

SECTIO DECIMASEXTA.

16. Conuicium.

DEcimo. Hoſpitalitatem noſtris hominibus inhumaniſsimus porcus obijcit. *Mærſpicum* inquit, *non circumferunt, nec hoſpitiari aut conuiuari gratis pudor eſt. Nam ſi quis aliquid haberet, quod cum alijs communicaret, id faceret ſanè in primis ac libenter.* His quoq; annectamus, *quod templa, ſeu ſacras ædiculas domi propria à multis Iſlandorum extructas velut pudendũ quiddam commemorat: quodq, eas primùm omnium de manè oraturi petant, nec à quoquam prius interpellari patiantur.* Hæc ille velut inſigne quoddam dedecus in Iſlandis notauit.

Scilicet, quia nihil cum Amaricino, ſui:

Nec porci diuina vnquam amarunt: quod ſanè metuo ne nimis verè de hoc conuiciatore dicatur, id quod vel ex his vltimis duabus obiectionibus conſtare poterit.

Verùm enimuerò, cùm ipſe ſuarum virtutum ſit teſtis locupletiſsimus, nos Lectorem eius cupidum ad ipſius hoc opus Poëticum remittimus, quod is de Iſlandia compoſuit, & nos iam aliquot proximis diſtinctionibus examinauimus: cuius maledicentiæ & fœditatis nos hîc ipſo puduit; ita, vt quæ is Satyrica, at quid Satyrica? Sathanica, inquam, mordacitate & maledicentia in noſtram gentem ſcribere non erubuit, nos tamen referre pigeat: Tanta eius eſt & tam abominanda petulantia, tam atrox calumnia. DEVS BONE: Hoc conuiciorum plauſtrum (pauciſsima namq; attigimus; Nolui enim laterem lauare, & ſtulto, vt inquit ille ſapientiſsimus

ſecundũ

ſecundum ſtultitiam ſuam reſpondere, cum in ipſius Rhythmis verbum non ſit quod conuicio careat) qui viderit, nonne iudicabit paſquilli iſtius autorem hominem fuiſſe peſſimum, imò fæcem hominum, tum virtutis ac veritatis contemptorem, ſine pietate, ſine humanite?

Sed hîc meritò dubitauerim, peiuſne horum conuiciorum autor de Iſlandis meritus ſit, an verò Typographus ille Ioachimus Leo (& quicunq; ſunt alij, qui in ſuis editionibus, nec ſuum nec vrbis ſuæ nomen profiteri auſi ſunt) qui illa iam bis, ſi non ſæpius, typis ſuis Hamburgi euulgauit. Hoccine impunè fieri ſinitis, ô ſenatus populuſq; Hamburgenſis? Hanccine ſtatuiſtis gratiam deberi Iſlandiæ, quæ vrbi veſtræ iam plurimos annos, exportatis affatim noſtratium quibuſuis commodis, pecudum, pecorumq; carnibus, butyro & piſcium copia quotannis, penè immodica, quædam quaſi cella penuaria fuit? Senſere huius Inſulæ commoda etiam Hollandiæ olim & Angliæ vrbes aliquot: Præterea Danis, Bremenſibus, & Lubecenſibus cum Iſlandis commercia diu fuerunt. Sed a nullis vnquam tale encomium, talem gratiam reportarunt, qualis hęc eſt Gregoriana calumnia: In veſtrâ, veſtrâ inquam vrbe, nata, edita, iterata, ſi non rerata: quę alias nationes, quibus Iſlandia vix, ac ne vix quidem, nomine tenus, alioqui innotuerat, ad huius gentis opprobrium & contemptum armauit: quam à ciue veſtro acceptam iniuriam, iam 30. annos, & plus eò, Iſlandia ſuſtinet. Sed etiam, inſcio magiſtratu, eiuſmodi multa ſæpè fiunt: Neq; enim dubitamus, quin viri boni eiuſmodi ſcripta famoſa indignè ferant, & ne edantur, diligenter caueant: cum tales editiones pugnent cum iure naturali: *Ne alteri facias, quod tibi factum non velis: Et Cæſareo, de libellis famoſis: in quo irrogatur pœna grauiſſima ijs, qui tales libellos componunt, ſcribunt, proferunt, emi vendine curant, aut non ſtatim repertos diſcerpunt.*

Vrbes Angliæ commercia olim in Iſlandia exercentes.

Cæterum iam tandem receptui canamus: Noſq; ad te, Iſlandia parens cariſſima, quam nec paupertas, nec frigora, nec id genus incommoda alia, quamdiu Chriſto hoſpitia cupidè & libenter exhibere non deſiſtis, inuiſam facient, conuertamus: Vbi te primùm ad id quod modò diximus, nempè ſerium & ardens ſtudium ac amorem DEI, & diuinę ſcientiæ, nobis in Chriſto patefactæ, totis viribus hortamur: vt vni huic cunćta poſthabeas, doctrinæ & verbi cupiditateflagres: Sacrum miniſterium & miniſtros, non parum cures, non contemnas aut odio proſequare: ſed reuerearis, foueas, ames. Contra facientes, pro impijs & profanis habeas: vt omnia ad pietatis & honeſtatis præſcriptum geras, in vita priuata & communi, vt huic ſtatus & ordines Eccleſiaſtici & Politici, in vniuerſum obtemperent: In vtroque vitæ genere, ab illa amuſſi ſeu norma æqui & boni dependeas, & cæteros qui p[illegible]nacia ac impietate ab ea deflectunt, auerteris, quos æquum eſt pœnis condignis affici, id quod magiſtratui curæ futurum non diffidimus. In primis verò nullos niſi ſpectatæ fidei & probitatis viros, quique ad iſtas virtutes, reliquas huc pertinentes coniungant, ad gubernacula admittas, qua ratione reliquis incommodis itè occurritur. Res iſta enim, ſi probè curetur, vt videlicet, qui munus publicum gerunt, ex bonis omnibus optimi quique deligantur, improbi & huic rei inepti, procul inde arceantur; ſubditorum conditio, longè erit optatiſſima: vita & mores tantò magis laudabiles ſequentur: pietas & honeſtas tantò erunt illuſtriores. At verò ſi ſecus fiat, ſi Paſtores Eccleſiarum ſuo muneri, vel vita vel doctrina non reſpõdeant, ſi ad adminiſtrationẽ politicam promiſcuè admittantur, quicunq; eò propria leuitate, ambitione vel auaritia & contentione honoris, ruunt: ſi ijdem criminum aut improbitatis, vel ſuſpecti vel conuicti ſint, aut ſuſpectorum & conuictorum protectores, vel ijſdem illicitè indulgentes, quis tuus quæſo demum futurus eſt ſtatus? quæ facies? quæ conditio? Certè longè omnium miſerrima. Nec enim alio pacto citius ad ruinam & interitum tuum appropinquabis, quàm ſi iſtis te regendam commiſeris, qui quod in ijs eſt, licet ſint ipſi ex tuis, iugulum tuum, propter emolumenta priuata, & odia latentia, quotidiè petere cõdant. Quamobrem (ne iſta pluribus agam) quanti interſit, vt hæc probè curentur, facilè, ô patria, intelligis.

Sed dum hæc tuis auribus à me occinuntur, utinam gemitus meos altiſſimos, qui ſub hac ad Apoſtrophe latent, Sereniſſimæ Regiæ Maieſtatis aures exaudiant, apud quam ego pro te ita ploro damna publica, quæ ea de cauſa exoriuntur maximè, quòd patria noſtra à regia ſede, conſpectu, tantò interuallo ſit remota, vt multi propterea tantò ſibi maiorem ſumant licentiam & impunitatem ſecurius promittant. Cæterum iſta numini iuſtiſſimo, quod æquis omnia oculis aſpicit, committenda ducimus.

Reliquum eſt, ô patria, vt ſtudium in te noſtrum, eo quo ſperamus animo, i. comi & benigno, accipias: quod quamuis minimè tale eſt, quale optaremus, tamen cum VELLE SIT INAR OMNIVM, nolui idcirco deſiſtere, quod pro tuo nomine, tua dignitate, tua innocentia pugnare me ſatis ſtrenuè diffiderem. Quin potius, quicquid ideſt (ſi modò quicquam eſt) & quantulumcunque tandem, quod ad tui patrocinium, pro mea tenui parte afferre poſſem, quaquam ſupprimendum putaui, nec enim illos laudare ſoleo,

Qui

Qui, quòd deſperent inuicti membra Glyconis,
Nodoſa nolunt corpus probibere Chiragra.

Me ſanè, ſi hæc commentatiuncula non erit tibi aut mihi dedecori, operæ nequaquã pœnitebit. Quòd ſi ad laudem vel aliquale patrocinium tui aliquid faciat, operam perdidiſſe haud videbor. Sin verò alios alumnos tuos, meos conterraneos, arte & induſtria ſuperiores, ad cauſam tuam, vel nunc, vel in poſterum ſuſcipiendam, hoc conatu tenello excitauero, quid eſt cur operæ precium non feciſſe dicar? quibus ſcribentibus, licet mea fama in obſcuro futura eſt, tamen præſtantia illorum, qui nomini officient meo, me conſolabor: Nam etſi famæ & nominis cura ſumma eſſe debet, maior tamen patriæ; cuius dignitate ſalua & incolumni, nos quoq; ſaluos & incolumes reputabimus.

Scripſi Holis Hialtædalenſium in Iſlandia, Æræ Chriſtianæ Anno 1592. 17. Kalendas Maias.

A BRIEFE COMMENTARIE

of *Iſland*: wherin the errors of ſuch as haue written concerning this Iſland, are detected, and the ſlanders, and reproches of certaine ſtrangers, which they haue vſed ouer-boldly againſt the people of *Island*, are confuted.

By *Arngrimus Ionas*, of *Iſland*.

To the moſt mighty Prince and Lord, Lord *Chriſtian* the 4. of Denmarke, *Norway*, and of the *Vandals* and *Gothes*, King elect: of *Sleſwic*, *Holſte*, *Stormar*, and *Dithmarſe* Duke: Earle of *Oldenburg*, and *Delmenhorſt*: His moſt gratious Lord.

THat heroical attempt of Anchurus, ſonne of King Midas (moſt gratious prince) and that pietie towards his countrey in maner peereleſſe, deſerueth highly to be renowmed in hiſtories: in that freely and courageouſly he offered his owne perſon, for the ſtopping vp of an huge gulfe of earth, about Celœna, a towne in Phrigia, which dayly ſwallowed multitudes of men, and whatſoeuer elſe came neere vnto it. For when his father Midas was aduertiſed by the Oracle, that the ſaid gulfe ſhould not be ſhut vp, before things moſt precious were caſt into it: Anchurus deeming nothing to be more inualuable then life, plunged himſelfe aliue downe headlong into that bottomeles hole; and that with ſo great vehemencie of mind, that neither by his fathers requeſt, nor by the allurements and teares of his moſt amiable wife, he ſuffered himſelfe to be drawne backe from this his enterpriſe.

Sperthius alſo and Bulis, two Lacedemonians, were not much inferiour to the former, who to turne away the reuenge of Xerxes that moſt puiſſant King of the Perſians, entended againſt the Lacedemonians, for killing the ambaſſadors of his father Darius, hyed them vnto the ſayd king, and that he might auenge the ambaſſadours death vpon them, not vpon their countrey, with hardy, and conſtant mindes preſented themſelues before him.

The very ſame thing (moſt gracious prince) which moued them, and many others being enflamed with the loue of their countrey, to refuſe for the benefite thereof, no danger, no trouble, no nor death ſelfe, the ſame thing (I ſay) hath alſo enforced me, not indeed to vndergoe voluntarie death, or freely offer my ſelfe vnto the ſlaughter, but yet to aſſay that which I am able for the good of my countrey namely, that I may gather together and refute the errors, and vaine reports of writers, concerning the ſame: and ſo take vpon me a thing very dangerous, and perhaps ſubiect to the ſiniſter indgement of many.

In this purpoſe the example of Cneius Pompeius hath likewiſe confirmed me: who being choſe procurator for corne among the Romanes, and in an extreme ſcarcetie and dearth of the citie, hauing taken vp ſome ſtore of graine in Sicilia, Sardinia, and Africa, is reported to haue had greater regard of his countrey, then of himſelfe. For when he made haſte towards Rome, and a mighty and dangerous tempeſt ariſing, he perceiued the Pilots to tremble, and to be vnwilling to commit themſelues to the rigor of the ſtormie ſea, himſelfe firſt going on boord, and commanding the anchors to be weighed, brake foorth into theſe words: That we ſhould ſayle neceſſitie vrgeth: but that we ſhould liue, vrgeth not. In which words he ſeemeth wiſely to inferre, that greater care is to be had of our countrey lying in danger, then of our owne priuate ſafetie.

This man doe I thus imitate, { If ſmall with great as equals may agree :
And Flie with Elephant compared bee.

Namely that gathering together and laying vp in ſtore thoſe things which might be applied to ſuccour the fame and credite of our nation, hauing now this long time bene oppreſſed with ſtrangers, through the enuie of certeine malicious perſons, I boldly aduenture to preſent theſe fewe meditations of mine vnto the viewe of the world, and ſo hoyſing vp ſailes to commit my ſelfe vnto a troubleſome ſea, and to breake foorth into the like ſpeeches with him: That I ſhould write neceſſitie vrgeth: but that my writings in all places ſhould ſatisfie euery delicate taſte, or eſcape all peeuiſhnes of carpers it vrgeth not. *I doubt not but many will allow this my enterpriſe: the ſucceſſe perhaps all men will not approue. Neuerthels I thought that there was greater regard to be had of my countrey, ſtaining ſo many mens mocks and reproches, then of mine owne praiſe or diſpraiſe, redounding perhaps vnto me vpon this occaſion. For what cauſe ſhould moue me to ſhunne the enuie and hate of ſome men, being ioyned with an indeuour to beneſite and gratifie my countrey?*

But if I ſhall ſeeme ſomewhat too bold in cenſuring the errors of writers, or too ſeuere in reprehending the ſlanders of ſome men: yet I hope all they will iudge indifferently of me, who ſhall ſeriouſly conſider, how intolerable the errors of writers are, concerning our nation: how many alſo and how grieuous be the reproches of ſome, againſt vs, wherewith they haue ſundry wayes prouoked our nation, and as yet will not ceaſe to prouoke. They ought alſo to haue me excuſed in regard of that in-bred affection rooted in the hearts of all men, towards their native ſoile, and to pardon my iuſt griefe for theſe iniuries offered vnto my countrey. And I in very deed, ſo much as lay in me, haue in all places moderated my ſelfe, and haue bene deſirous to abſtaine from reproches: but if any man thinke, we ſhould haue vſed more temperance in our ſtile, I truſt, the former reaſon will content him.

The errors of the writers of Iſland intolerable.

Sithens therefore, I am to vndergoe the ſame hazard, which I ſee is commonly incident to all men, that publiſh any writings: I muſt now haue eſpeciall regarde of this one thing: namely, of ſeeking out ſome patron, and Mecœnas for this my briefe commentary, vnder whoſe name and protection it may more ſafely paſſe through the hands of all men.

But for this purpoſe I could not finde out, nor wiſh for any man more fit then your royal Maieſtie, moſt gracious prince. For vnto him, who hath receiued vnder his power & tuition our liues and goods, vnto him (I ſay) doe we make humble ſute, that he would haue reſpect alſo vnto the credit of our nation, ſo iniuriouſly diſgraced.

Teuerily (moſt gracious King) we are conſtreined to craue your Maieſties merciſull aide, not only in this matter, but in many other things alſo which are wanting in our countrey, or which otherwiſe belong to the publique commoditie and welfare thereof: which not by me, but by the letters ſupplicatory of the chiefe men of our nation, are at this time declared, or will ſhortly be declared. For we doubt not but that your ſacred Maieſtie, after the example of your Chriſtian predeceſſors, will vouchſafe vnto our countrey alſo, amongſt other Iſlands of your Maieſties dominion, your kingly care and protection. For as the neceſſitie of ſueing for redreſſe vnto your ſacred Maieſtie, is ours: ſo the glory of relieuing, regarding, and protecting vs, ſhal wholy redound vnto your ſacred Maieſtie: as alſo, there is layd vp for you, in reſpect of your foſtering and preſerning of Gods church, vpon the extreme northerly parts almoſt of the whole earth, and in the vttermoſt bounds of your Maieſties dominion (which by the ſingular goodnes of God, enioyeth at this preſent tranquillitie and quiet ſafetie) a reward and crowne of immortall life in the heauens.

But conſidering theſe things are not proper to this place, I will leaue them, and returne to my purpoſe which I haue in hand: moſt humbly beſeeching your S. M. that you would of your clemencie vouchſafe to become a fauourer and patron vnto theſe my labours and ſtudies, for the behalfe of my countrey.

It now remaineth (moſt gracious and merciſull ſouereigne) for vs to make our humble prayers vnto almighty God, that king of kings, and diſpoſer of all humane affaires, that it would pleaſe him of his infinite goodnes, to aduance your Maieſtie (yearely growing vp in wiſedome & experience, and all other heroicall vertues) to the higheſt pitch of ſouereignitie: and being aduanced, continually to bleſſe with moſt proſperous ſucceſſe in all your affaires: and being bleſſed, long to preſerue you, as the chief defence and ſafegarde of theſe kingdomes, and as the ſhield and for treſſe of his church: and after in the life to come, to make you ſhine glorious like a ſtarre, amongſt the principall nurcing fathers of Gods Church, in the perfect ioy of his heauenly kingdome. The ſame moſt merciſull father grant, that theſe praiers, the oftener they be daily repeated and multiplied in euery corner of your Maieſties moſt ample territories & Iſlands, ſo much the more ſure and certain they may remaine, Amen. At Haffnia, *or* Copen Hagen 1593. *in the moneth of* March.

T. S. M.

moſt humble ſubiect,

Arngrimus Ionas, *Iſlander.*

To

To the courteous and Christian reader *Gudbrandus Thorlacius*, *Bishop of* Holen *in* Island, *wisheth health.*

THere came to light about the yeare of Christ 1561, a very deformed impe, begotten by a certain Pedlar of *Germany:* namely a booke of German rimes, of al that euer were read the most filthy and most slanderous against the nation of *Island*. Neither did it suffice the base printer once to send abroad that base brat, but he must publish it also thrise or foure times ouer: that he might thereby, what lay in him, more deepely disgrace our innocent nation among the Germans, & Danes, and other neighbour countries, with shamefull, and euerlasting ignominie. So great was the malice of this printer, & his desire so greedy to get lucre, by a thing vnlawfull. And this he did without controlment, euen in that citie, which these many yeres hath trafficked with Island to the great gaine, and commodity of the citizens. His name is *Ioachimus Leo*, a man worthy to become lions foode.

Great errors grow vpon mariners fabulous reports.

Moreouer, there are many other writers found, who when they would seeme to describe the miracles of nature, which are thought to be very many in this Island, & the maners, & customs of the Islanders, haue altogether swarued from the matter and truth it selfe, following mariners fables more trifling then old wiues tales, & the most vain opinions of the common sort. These writers, although they haue not left behind them such filthy & reprochful stuffe as that base rimer: yet there are many things in their writings that wil not suffer them to be excused, & altogether acquited from causing an innocent nation to be had in derision by others. Wherefore marking, reading, & weighing these things with my selfe, & considering that there dayly spring vp new writers, which offer iniury to the fame & reputatiō of the Islanders, being such men also as do shamelesly filch out of other mens labours, deluding their readers w feined descriptions, & a new rehearsal of monsters, I often wished that some one man would come forth, to make answere to the errors of historiographers & other vniust censurers: and by some writing, if not to free our innocent nation from so many reproches, yet at least wise, in some sort to defend it, among christian & friendly readers. And for this cause I haue now procured an honest and learned young man one *Arngrimus Fitz-Ionas*, to peruse the works of authors, that haue written any thing concerning Island, and by sound reasons to detect their errors, & falshoods. And albeit at the first he was very loth, yet at length my friendly admonition, & the common loue of his countrey preuailed with him so farre, that he compiled this briefe commentary, taking his proofes, not out of the vaine fables of the people, but from his owne experience, and many other mens also of sufficient credit.

Now, he that vndertooke this matter at my procurement, did againe as it were by his owne authority chalēge at my hands, that I should in two or three words at least, make a preface vnto his booke; thinking it might gaine some credit, and authority thereby. Wherfore to speake my minde in a word: for my part, I iudge him to haue taken both honest & necessary paines, who hath done his indeuour not onely to weigh the diuers opinions of wrighters concerning things vnknowen, and to examine them by the censure of trueth, and experience, but also to defend his countrey from the venemous bitings of certaine sycophants. It is thy part therefore (gentle reader) to accept this small treatise of his, being as it were guarded with the sacred loue of truth, and of his countrey, against the peruersnes of carpers. Farewel, *Ann.* 1592. *Iulij* 29.

Here beginneth the Commentary of *Island.*

WEn as in war, dayly experience teacheth vs, that some vpon no iust & lawful ground (being egged on by ambition, enuie, and couetise) are induced to follow the armie, and on the contrary side, that others arme themselues vpon iust and necessary cause: namely such as go to battell for the defence and propagation of the Gospel, or (as being any way prouoked thereunto, doe withstand present violence and wrong, or at least (being prouoked) by reason of the enemie approching are constrained to be vp in armes: right they that fight vnder Apolloes banner. Amongst whom, a great part, not vpon any honest, philosophical, or indeede Christian intention, and zelle themselues to wright: especially such as desire of glory, for enuy and spight, or vpon malicious and affected ignorance, carpe at others and, that they may be accompted superiours, sometimes whette their stiles against the person name and fame of this or that particular man, sometimes inueighing against a whole country and by shamelesse vntrueths disquieting innocent nations and people. Againe, others of an ingenuous minde, doe by great industry, search and bring to light things profitable

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namely, they that write of Diuinity, Philoſophy, Hiſtory and ſuch like: and they who (taking vſe and experience for their guides) in the ſaid Sciences haue brought things obſcure to light, things maimed to perfection, and things confuſed to order: and they that haue faithfully commended to euerlaſting poſteritie, the ſtories of the whole world: that by their infinite labours haue aduanced the knowledge of tongues: to be ſhort, that endeuour themſelues to repelle the inſolencie, confute the ſlanders, and withſtand the vniuſt violence of others, againſt themſelues, their Nation or their Countrey.

And I for my part, hauing ſcarce attained the light of good letters, and being the meaneſt of all the followers of Minerua (that I may freely acknowledge mine owne wants) can do no leſſe then become one of their number, who haue applied themſelues to ridde their countrey from diſhonor, to auouch the trueth, and to ſhake off the yoke of railers & reuilers. My eſtate enabled me onely to write; howbeit the excellencie of trueth, and the in-bred affection I beare to my countrey enforceth me to do the beſt I can: ſithens it hath pleaſed ſome ſtrangers by falſe rumours to deface, and by manifolde reproches to iniurie my ſayd countrey, making it a by-word, and a laughing-ſtocke to all other nations. To meet with whoſe inſolencie and falſe accuſations, as alſo to detect the errours of certeine writers concerning this Iland, vnto good and well affected men (for the common people will be alwayes like themſelues, ſtubburnly mainteining that which is falſe and fooliſh, neither can I hope to remooue them from this accuſtomed and ſtale opinion) I haue penned the treatiſe following.

And albeit Iſland is not deſtitute of many excellent men, who, both in age, wit, and learning, are by many degrees my ſuperiors, and therefore more fit to take the defence of the countrey into their hands: notwithſtanding, being earneſtly perſwaded thereunto, by that godly & famous man Gudbrandus Thorlacius Biſhop of Hola in Iſland, I thought good (to the vtmoſt of mine abilitie) to be no whit wanting vnto the common cauſe: both that I might obey his moſt reaſonable requeſt, and alſo that I might encourage other of my countreymen, who haue bene better trained vp in good learning, and indued with a greater meaſure of knowledge then I my ſelfe, to the defence of this our nation: ſo farre am I from hindering any man to vndertake the like enterpriſe.

But to returne to the matter, becauſe they (whatſoeuer they be) that reproch and maligne our nation, make their boaſt that they vſe the teſtimonies of writers: we are ſeriouſly to conſider, what things, and how true, writers haue reported of Iſland, to the end that if they haue giuen (perhaps) any occaſion to others of inueying againſt vs, their errours being layd open (for I will not ſpeake more ſharpely) all the world may ſee how iuſtly they do reproch vs. And albeit I nothing doubt to examine ſome ancient writers of this Iland, by the rule of trueth and experience: yet (otherwiſe) their memory is precious in our eyes, their dignitie reuerend, their learning to be had in honour, and their zeale and affection towards the whole common wealth of learned men, highly to be commended: but as for nouices (if there be any ſuch writers or rather paſquilles) when they ſhall heare and know truer matters concerning Iſland, then they themſelues haue written, they ſhall ſeeme by their inconſtancie and peruerſe wit to haue gained nought elſe but a blacke marke of mirth and reproch.

And that this commentarie of mine may haue ſome order, it ſhall be diuided into two generall parts: the firſt of the Iland, the ſecond of the inhabitants: and of theſe two but ſo far-forth as thoſe writers which are come to our hands haue left recorded: becauſe I am not determined to meddle out of theſe limits, or to handle more then theſe things and ſome other which pertaine vnto them. For I profeſſe not my ſelfe an Hiſtoriographer, or Geographer, but onely a Diſputer. Wherefore omitting a longer Preface, let vs come to the firſt part concerning the ſituation, the name, miracles, and certaine other adiuncts of this Iland.

The firſt ſection.

The Ile of *Iſland* being ſeuered from other countreys an infinite diſtance, ſtandeth farre into the Ocean, and is ſcarſe knowen vnto Sailers. Munſterus lib. 4. cosmographiæ.

ALbeit a diſcourſe of thoſe things which concerne the land, and the adiuncts or properties thereof be of little moment to defend the nation or inhabitants from the biting of ſlanderers, it ſeemeth it in no caſe to be omitted, but to be intreated of in the firſt place, that the friendly reader perceiuing how truely thoſe writers of Iſland haue reported in this reſpect, may thereby eaſily iudge what credit is to be giuen vnto them in other matters which they haue left written concerning the inhabitants, and which others haue receiued from them as oracles, from whence (as they ſay) they haue borrowed ſcoffes and taunts againſt our nation.

Firſt therefore, that the diſtance of Iſland from other countreys is not infinite, nor indeed ſo

great as men commonly imagine, it might easily be prooued, if one did but in some sort know the true longitude & latitude of the said Iland. For I am of opinion that it cannot exactly be knowen any other way then this, whenas it is manifest how the Mariners course (be it neuer so direct, as they suppose) both at all times swerue. In ỳ meane while therfore I will set downe diuers opinions of authors, concerning ỳ situation of Island, that from hence euery man may gather that of the distance which seemeth most probable; vntil perhaps my selfe being one day taught by mine owne experience, may, if not intrude, yet at least adioin, what I shall thinke true as touching this matter.

	Longit. deg.	min.	Latitud. deg.	min.
Munster placeth Island almost in	20		68	
Gerardus Mercator	325		68	
Gemma Frisius placeth the midst of Island	7	0	65	30
Hersee	7	40	60	42
Thirtes	5	50	64	44
Nadar	6	40	57	10
Iacobus Zieglerus.				
The West shore of Island	20	0	63	0
The promontorie of Chos	22	46	63	0
The East shore is extended Northward, and hath bounds of extension in	30	0	68	0
The North shore is extended Westward, and hath bounds of extension in	28	0	69	0
The description of ỳ West side.				

	Longit. deg.	min.	Latitud. deg.	min.
The promontorie of Heckelfell	25	0	67	0
The promontorie of Madher	21	20	65	10
The inland cities of Island				
Holen the seat of a bishop	28	0	67	50
Schalholten the seat of a bishop	22		63	30
Reinholdus.				
By Holen in Island			68	
Iohannes Miritius.				
By Mid-Island			69	
Neander.				
Island stretcheth it selfe 3 degrees within the circle arctic from the equinoctial, insomuch that ỳ said circle arctic doeth almost deuide it in the midst &c.				

There be others also, who either in their maps, or writings haue noted the situation of Island: notwithstanding it is to no purpole to set downe any more of their opinions, because the more you haue, the more contrary shall you finde them. For my part, albeit I haue probable coniectures perswading me not to beleeue any of the former opinions, concerning the situation of Island, but to dissent from them all: yet had I rather leaue the matter in suspense then affirme an vncertainty, vntill (as I haue sayd) I may be able perhappes one day not to gesse at the matter, but to bring forth mine owne obseruation, and experience.

A certeine writer hath put downe the distance betweene the mouth of Elbe & Barzende in the South part of Island to be 400 leagues: from whence if you shall account the difference of longitude to the meridian of Hamburg, Island must haue none of the forenamed longitudes in that place. I am able to prooue by three sundry voyages of certaine Hamburgers, that it is but seuen dayes sailing from Island to Hamburg. Besides all those Islands, which by reason of the abundance of sheepe, are called Fareyiar, or more rightly Faareyiar, as likewise the desert shores of Norway, are distant from vs but two dayes sailing. We haue foure dayes sailing into habitable Gronland: and almost in the same quantitie of time we passe ouer to the prouince of Norway, called Stad, lying betweene the townes of Nidrosia or Trondon, and Bergen, as we finde in the ancient records of these nations.

Seuen dayes sailing from Island to Hamburg.

Island but two dayes sailing distant from Faar-Islands, & from the desert shores of Norway.

The second section.

Munsterus, Olaus Magnus and others.

In this Iland, at the Summer *solstitium*, the Sun passing thorow the signe of *Cancer*, there is no night, and therefore at the Winter *solstitium* there is no day. Also: *Vadianus*. But in that Iland, which farre within the arctic circle is seated in the maine Ocean, at this day called *Island*, and next vnto the lands of the frozen sea, which they call *Engrontland*, there be many moneths in the yere without nights.

At the solstitium of winter, that there is no day (that is to say, no time, wherein the Sunne is seene aboue the horizon) we confesse to be true onely in that angle of Island (if there be any such angle) where the pole is eleuated full 67 degrees. But at Holen (which is the bishops see for the North part of Island, and lieth in a most deepe valley) the latitude is about 65 degrees and 44 minutes, as I am enformed by the reuerend father, Gudbrand, bishop of that place: and by there, the shortest day in all the yere is at least two houres long, and in South-Island longer, as appeareth by the tables of Mathematicians. Heerehence it is manifest, first that Island is not situ-

situate beyond the arctic circle: secondly, that in Island there are not wanting in Summer solstitium many nights, nor in Winter solstitium many dayes. Island is not within the circle arctic.

The third section.

It is named of the ice which continually cleaueth vnto the North part thereof. Another writeth: From the West part of *Norway* there lieth an Iland which is named of the ice, enuironed with an huge sea, and being a countrey of ancient habitation, &c. *Zieglerus.* This is *Thyle*, whereof most of the ancient writers haue made mention. Munsterus. Saxo.

IT is named of ice, &c. Island hath beene called by three names, one after another. For one Naddocus a Norwagian borne, who is thought to be the first Discouerer of the same, as he was sailing towards the Faar-Ilands, through a violent tempest did by chance arriue at the East shore of Island; where staying with his whole company certaine weeks, he beheld abundance of snow couering the tops of the mountaines, and thereupon, in regard of the snow, called this Iland Sneland. After him one Gardarus, being mooued thereunto by the report which Naddocus gaue out concerning Island, went to seeke the said Iland; who, when he had found it, called it after his owne name Gardarsholme, that is to say, Gardars Isle. There were more also desirous to visit this new land. For after the two former, a certaine third Norwagian, called Flok, went into Island, and named it of the ice, wherewith he saw it enuironed. Island first discouered by Naddocus in a tempest. Sneland. Gardarsholme.

Of ancient habitation, &c. I gather not this opinion out of these words of Saxo (as some men do) that Island hath bene inhabited from the beginning, or (to speake in one word) that the people of Island were autochthones, that is, earth-bred, or bred out of their owne soile like vnto trees and herbs; sithens it is euident, that this Iland first began to be inhabited no longer agoe then about 718 yeres since. Island.

This is *Thyle*, &c. Grammarians wrangle about this name, and as yet the controuersie is not ended. Which notwithstanding, I thinke might easily grow to composition, if men would vnderstand that this Iland was first inhabited about the yeere of our Lord 874. Unlesse some man will say that Thule King of Aegypt (who, as it is thought, gaue this name thereunto) passed so farre vnto an Iland, which was at that time vntilled, and destitute of inhabitants. Againe, if any man will denie this, he may for all me, that it may seeme to be but a dreame, while they are distracted into so many contrary opinions. One affirmes that it is Island: another, that it is a certaine Iland, where trees beare fruit twise in a yeere: the third, that it is one of the Orcades, or the last Iland of the Scotish dominion, as Iohannes Myritius and others, calling it by the name of Thylensey, which Virgil also seemeth to haue meant by his vltima Thyle. If beyond the Britans (by which name the English men and Scots onely at this day are called) he imagined none other nation to inhabit. Which is euident out of that verse of Virgil in his first Eclogue:

And Britans whole from all the world diuided.

The fourth writeth, that it is one of the Faar-Ilands: the fift, that it is Telemark in Norway: the first, that it is Schrichfinnia.

Which continually cleaueth to the North part of the Iland. That clause that ice continually cleaueth &c. or as Munster affirmeth a little after, that it cleaueth for the space of eight whole moneths, are neither of them both true, when as for the most part the ice is thawed in the moneth of April or May, and is driuen towards the West: neither doth it returne before Januarie or Februarie, nay often times it commeth later. What if a man should recken vp many yeeres, wherein ice (the sharpe scourge of this our nation) hath not at all bene seene about Island? which is found to be true this present yeere 1592. Heereupon it is manifest how truely Frisius hath written that nauigation to this Iland lieth open onely for foure moneths in a yeere, and no longer, by reason of the ice and colde, whereby the passage is shut vp, when as English ships many yeere, sometimes in March, sometimes in April, and some of them in May; the Germans Danes, in May and June, doe vsually returne vnto vs, and some of them depart not againe hence till August. But the last yere, being 1591, there lay a certeine shippe of Germanie with Copper within the hauen of Vopnafiord in the coast of Island about fourteene dayes in the moneth of Nouember, which time being expired, she fortunately set saile. Wherefore, seeing ice, neither continually, nor yet eight moneths cleaueth vnto Island, Munster and Frisius much deceiued. The ice of Island set alwaies to the West. No ice at all some yeres in Island. Nauigation open to Island from March till the midst of Nouember.

The fourth section.

Island is so great that it conteineth many people. Item *Zieglerus* sayth: The situation of Island is extended betweene the South and the North almost 200 leagues in length. Kranzius. Munsterus.
great, &c. One Wilstenius schoolemaster of Oldenburg, in the yere 1591, sent vnto mine vncle in West-Island, a short treatise which he had gathered out of the fragments of sundrie

writers, concerning Island. Where we found thus written: *Island* is twise as great as *Sicilie*, &c. But Sicilie, according to Munster, hath 150 Germaine miles in compasse. As for the circuit of our Iland, although it be not exactly knowen vnto vs, yet the ancient, constant, and receiued opinion of the inhabitants accounteth it 144 leagues; namely by the 12 promontories of Island, which are commonly knowen, being distant one from another 12 leagues or thereabout, which two numbers being multiplied, produce the whole summe.

Island 144 Germaine miles in compasse.

Many people. &c. One Gysserus about the yere of our Lord 1090, being bishop of Schalholten in Island, caused all the husbandmen, or countreymen of the Iland, who, in regard of their possessions were bound to pay tribute to the king, to be numbred (omitting the poorer sort with women, and the meaner sort of the communalty) and he found in the East part of Island 700, in the South part 1000, in the West part 1100, in the North part 1200, to the number of 4000 inhabitants paying tribute. Now if any man will trie, he shall finde that more then halfe the Iland was at that time vnpeopled.

The fifth section.

Munster. Frisius. Zieglerus.

The Iland, most part thereof, is mountainous and vntilled. But that part which is plaine doth greatly abound with fodder, which is so ranke, that they are faine to driue their cattell from the pasture, least they surfet or be choaked.

That danger of surfetting or choaking was neuer heard tell of, in our fathers, grandfathers, great-grandfathers or any of our predecessours dayes, be they neuer so ancient.

The sixth section.

Munsterus. Frisius.

There be in this Iland mountaines lift vp to the skies, whose tops being white with perpetuall snowe, their roots boile with euerlasting fire. The first is towards the West, called *Hecla*: the other the mountaine of the crosse: and the third *Helga*. Item: *Zieglerus*. The rocke or promontorie of *Hecla* boileth with continuall fire. Item: *Saxo*. There is in this Iland also a mountaine, which resembling the starrie firmament, with perpetuall flashings of fire, continueth alwayes burning, by vncessant belching out of flames.

Munster and Frisius being about to report the woonders of Island doe presently stumble, as it were, vpon the threshold, to the great inconuenience of them both. For that which they heere affirme of mount Hecla, although it hath some shew of trueth: notwithstanding concerning the other two mountaines, that they should burne with perpetuall fire, it is a manifest errour. For there are no such mountaines to be found in Island, nor yet any thing els (so farre foorth as wee can imagine) which might minister occasion of so great an errour vnto writers. Howbeit there was seene (yet very lately) in the yeere 1581 out of a certaine mountaine of South Island lying neere the Sea, and couered ouer with continuall snow and frost, a marueilous eruption of smoake and fire, casting vp abundance of stones and ashes. But this mountaine is farre from the other three, which the sayd authours doe mention. Howbeit, suppose that these things be true which they report of fiue mountaines: is it possible therefore that they should seeme strange, or monstrous, whenas they proceed from naturall causes? What? Doe they whit preuaile to establish that opinion concerning the hell of Island, which followeth next in Munster, Ziegler, and Frisius? For my part, I thinke it no way tollerable, that men should abuse these, and the like miracles of nature, to amuch absurdities, or, that they should wonder kinde of impietie woonder at them, as at matters impossible. As though in these kindes of inflammations, there did not concurre causes of sufficient force for the same purpose. There in the roottes of these mountaines a matter most apt to be set on fire, comming so neere doeth to the nature of brimstone and pitch. There is aper also, which insinuating it selfe by sages, and holes, into the very bowels of the earth, doeth puffe vp the nourishment of the a fire, together with Salt-peter, by which puffing (as it were with certeine bellowes) an ardent flame is kindled. For, all these thus concurring, fire hath those three things, which necessarily make it burne, that is to say, matter, motion, and force of making passage: water which is fattie and moyst, and therefore nourisheth lasting flames: motion which aper doeth performe, being admitted into the caues of the earth: force of making passage and that the inuincible might of fire it selfe (which can not be without inspiration of ayre, can not but breake foorth with an incredible strength) doeth bring to passe: and so (even in vndermining trenches, and engines or great warrelike ordinance, huge pyon bullets cast foorth with monstrous roaring, and cracking, by the force of kindled Brimstone, Salt-peter, whereof Gunne-powder is compounded) chingle and great stones being shot

Three naturall causes of fiery mountaines.

in that fiery gulfe, as it were in a furnace, together with abundance of sande and ashes, are vomited vp and discharged, and that for the most part not without an earthquake: which, if it commeth from the depth of the earth, (being called by Possidonius, Succussio) it must either be an opening or a quaking. Opening causeth the earth in some places to gape, and fall a sunder. By quaking the earth is heaued vp and swelleth, and sometimes (as Plinie saith) casteth out huge heaps: but [illegible]arth-quake was the same which I euen now mentioned, which in the yere 1581 did so sore trouble the South shore of Island. And this kinde of earth-quake is most clearkely described by Pontanus in these verses: Lib. 10. cap. 10.

The stirring breath runnes on with stealing steppes,
vrged now vp, and now enforced downe:
For freedome eke tries all, it skips, it leaps,
to ridde it selfe from vncouth dungeon.
Then quakes the earth as it would burst anon,
The earth y quakes, and walled cities quiuer,
Strong quarries cracke, and stones from hilles doe shiuer,

I thought good to adde these things, not that I suppose any man to be ignorant thereof: but least other men should thinke that we are ignorant, and therefore that we will runne after their fables, which they do from hence establish. But yet there is somewhat more in these three fained mountaines of Island, which causeth the sayd writers not a little to woonder, namely whereas they say that their foundations are alwayes burning, and yet for all that, their toppes be neuer destitute of snowe. Howbeit, it becometh not the authority and learning of such great clearks to marueile at this, who can not but well know the flames of mount Aetna, which (according to Plinie) bring full of snowe all Winter, notwithstanding (as the same man witnesseth) it doth alwayes burne. Wherefore, if we will giue credit vnto them, euen this mountaine also, sithens it is couered with snowe, and yet burneth, must be a prison of vncleane soules: which thing they haue not doubted to ascribe vnto Hecla, in regard of the frozen top, and the firie bottome. And truely it is no marueile that fire lurking so deepe in the roots of a mountaine, and neuer breaking forth except it be very seldome, should not be able continually to melt the snowe couering the toppe of the sayd mountaine. For in Caira (or Capira) also, the highest toppes of the mountaine are sayd continually to be white with snowe: and those in Veragua likewise, which are fiue miles high, and neuer without snowe, being distant notwithstanding but onely 10 degrees from the equinoctiall. We haue heard that either of the forsayd Prouinces standeth neere vnto Paria. What, if in Teneriffa (which is one of the Canarie or fortunate Ilands) the Pike so called, arising into the aire, according to Munster, eight or nine Germaine miles in height, and continually flaming like Aetna: yet (as Benzo an Italian, and Pi[illegible]nographer of the West Indies witnesseth) is it not able to melt the girdle of snowe embracing the middest thereof. Which thing, what reason haue we more to admire in the mountaine of Hecla? And thus much briefly concerning firie mountaines. Cardanus.

Now that also is to be amended, whereas they write that these mountaines are lifted vp euen vnto the skies. For they haue no extraordinarie height beyond the other mountaines of Island, but especially that third mountaine, called by Munster Helga, and by vs Helgafel, that is the holy mount, standing tuft by a monastery of the same name, being couered with snowe, vpon no part thereof in Summer time, neither deserueth it the name of an high mountaine, but rather of a humble hillocke, neuer yet (as I sayd in the beginning of this section) so much as once suspected of burning. Neither yet ought perpetuall snowe to be ascribed to Hecla onely, or to a few others; for Island hath very many such snowy mountaines, all which the Cosmographer (who hath so enrolled and admired these three) should not easily finde out, and reckon vp in a whole number. And that also is not to be omitted, that mount Hecla standeth not towards the West, as Olaus and Ziegler haue noted, but betweene the South and the East: neither is it an head-land, but rather a mid-land hill.

Continueth alwayes burning &c. whosoeuer they be that haue ascribed vnto Hecla perpetuall belching out of flames, they are farre beside the marke: insomuch that as often as it hath been inflamed, our countreymen haue recorded it in their yerely Chronicles for a rare accident: in deede in the yeeres of Christ 1104, 1157, 1222, 1300, 1341, 1362, and 1389: For from this yeere we neuer heard of the burning of this mountaine vntill the yeere 1558, which was the last breaking forth of fire in that mountaine. In the meane time I say not that is impossible, but that the bottome of the hill may inwardly breed and nourish flames, which at certaine seasons (as hath bene heretofore obserued) haue burst out, and perhaps may do the like hereafter. The chronicles of Island.

The ſeuenth ſection.

The flame of mount *Hecla* will not burne towe (which is moſt apt for the wieke of a candle) neither is it quenched with water: and by the ſame force that bullets are diſcharged out of warlike engines with vs, from thence are great ſtones caſt foorth into the aire, by reaſon of the mixture of colde, and fire, and brimſtone. This place is thought of ſome to be the priſon of vncleane ſoules. Item: *Zieglerus.* This place is the priſon of vncleane ſoules.

Friſius. Munſterus.

WIll not burne towe. Where theſe writers ſhould finde ſuch matters, it is not eaſie to coniecture. For our people are altogether ignorant of them, neither had they euer beene heard of heere among vs, if they had not brought them to light. For there is no man with vs ſo raſhly and fondly curious, that dareth for his life, the hill being on fire, trie any ſuch concluſions, or (to our knowledge) that euer durſt: which notwithſtanding Munſter affirmeth, ſaying: They that are deſirous to contemplate the nature of ſo huge a fire, & for the ſame purpoſe approch vnto the mountaine, are by ſome gulfe ſwallowed vp aliue, &c. which thing (as I ſayd) is altogether vnknowen vnto our nation. Yet there is a booke extant, written in the ancient language of the Nouagians, wherein you may finde ſome miracles of earth, water, fire, and aire, &c. confuſedly written, few of them true, and the moſt part vaine and falſe. Whereupon it eaſily appeareth that it was written long ſince by ſome that were imagined to be great wiſe men in the time of Popery. They called it a royall looking glaſſe: howbeit, in regard of the fond fables, wherewith (but for the moſt part vnder the ſhew of religion and pietie, whereby it is more diſſemuled to finde out the couſinage) it doeth all ouer ſwarme, it deſerueth not the name of a looking glaſſe royall, but rather of a popular, and olde wiues looking glaſſe. In this glaſſe there are founde certaine figments of the burning of Hecla, not much vnlike theſe which we now entreat of, nay any whit more grounded vpon experience, and for that cauſe to be reiected.

Speculum regale written in the Nouagian tongue.

Whence the fables of Iſland grew.

But that I may not ſeeme ſomewhat fooliſhardy, for accuſing this royall looking glaſſe of falſhood (not to mention any of thoſe things which it reporteth as leſſe credible) loe heere a few things (friendly reader) which I ſuppoſe deſerue no credit at all.

1 Of a certaine Iſle in Ireland, having a church and a pariſh in it, the inhabitants whereof deceaſing are not buried in the earth, but like liuing men, do continually, againſt ſome banke or wall in the Churchyard, ſtand bolt-vpright: neither are they ſubiect to any corruption or downefall: inſomuch that any of the poſteritie may there ſeeke for, and beholde their anceſtors.

2 Of another Iſle of Ireland, where men are not mortall.

3 Of all the earth and trees of Ireland, being of force to reſiſt all poiſons, and to kill ſerpents, and other venimous things, in any countrey whatſoeuer, by the onely vertue and preſence thereof, yea euen without touching.

4 Of a third Iſle of Ireland, that the one halfe thereof became an habitation of deuils, but that the ſayd deuils haue no iuriſdiction ouer the other halfe, by reaſon of a Church there built, although, as the whole Iſle is without inhabitants, ſo this part is continually deſtitute of a paſtor, and of diuine ſeruice: and that it is ſo by nature.

5 Of a fourth Iſle of Ireland floating vp and downe in an huge lake, the graſſe whereof is moſt preſent remedy for all kinde of diſeaſes, and that the Iland, at certeine ſeaſons, eſpecially on Sundayes, commeth to the banke of the lake, ſo that any man may then eaſily enter into it, as if were into a ſhippe: which notwithſtanding (ſayth he) deſtiny will not ſuffer any more then one to enter at a time. Furthermore, he reporteth that this Iland euery ſeuenth yere groweth faſt to the banke, ſo that you cannot diſcerne it from firme land: but that into the place thereof there ſucceedeth another, altogether like the former, in nature, quantitie, and vertue: which, from what place it commeth, no man can tell: and that all this happeneth with a kinde of thundering.

6 Of the hunters of Norway who are ſo expert to tame wood (for ſo he ſpeaketh very vnproperly, whereas vnto wood neither life nor taming can be aſcribed) that wooden pattens of eight elnes long being bound to the ſoles of their feet do carry them with ſo great celeritie euen vpon the mountaines, that they cannot be outrun, either by the ſwiftnes of hounds and deere, or yet by the flying of birds. And that they will kill nine roes or more at one courſe & with one ſtroke of a dart.

These and ſuch like, concerning Ireland, Norway, Iſland, Gronland, of the miracles of water, and aire, this maſter of fragments hath gathered together into his looking glaſſe: wherein although he hath made his owne followers woonder, and the common people to be aſtoniſhed, hath he miniſtred vnto vs nothing but occaſion of laughter.

But let vs heare Friſius. The flame of mount *Hecla* (ſayth he) will not burne towe (which is more apt matter for the wieke of a candle) neither is it quenched with water. But I ſay this ſtrange opinion may be confirmed by many reaſons borrowed out of your ſchoole of Phi-

ſoph-

sophy. For the naturall Philosophers doe teach, That it is common to all forcible flames to be quenched with dry things, and nourished with moiste: whereupon, euen blacksmithes, by sprinckling on of water, vse to quicken and strengthen their fire. For (say they) when fire is more vehement, it is stirred vp by colde, and nourished by moisture, both which qualities doe concurre in water. Item, water is wont to kindle skorching fires: because the moisture it selfe, which ariseth, doth proue more fattie and grosse, neither is it consumed by the smoke enclosing it, but the fire it selfe feedeth vpon the whole substance thereof, whereby being made purer, and gathering round together, it becommeth then more vehement by reason of colde. And therefore also wild-fires cannot be quenched with water. Item, There be places abounding with brimstone and pitch, which burne of their owne accord, the flame wherof cannot be quenched with water. The graund Philosopher also hath affirmed, that fire is nourished by water. Arist. 3. de anim. And Plinie, in the second booke of his naturall historie cap. 110. And Strabo in his 7. booke. In Nympheum there proceedeth a flame out of a rocke, which is kindled with water. The same author sayth: The ashe continually flourisheth, couering a burning fountaine. And moreouer that there are sudden fires at some times, euen vpon waters, as namely that the lake of Thrasumenus in the field of Perugi, was all on fire, as the same Strabo witnesseth. And in the yeares 1226, and 1236, not farre from the promontorie of Island called Reykians, a flame of fire brake forth out of the sea. Yea euen vpon mens bodies sudden fires haue glittered: as namely, there sprang a flame from the head of Seruius Tullius lying a sleepe: and also Lucius Martius in Spaine after the death of the Scipions, making an oration to his souldiers, and exhorting them to reuenge, was all in a flame, as Valerius Antias doth report. Plinie in like sort maketh mention of a flame in a certaine mountaine, which, as it is kindled with water, so is it quenched with earth or haye: also of another field which burneth not the leaues of shadie trees that growe directly ouer it. These things being thus, it is strange that men should accompt that a wonder in Hecla onely (for I will graunt it to be, for disputation sake, when indeede there is no such matter so farre forth as euer I could learne of any man) which is common to manie other parts or places in the world, both hilly and plaine, as well as to this.

And by the same force that bullets, &c. Munster saith the like also. This mountaine when it rageth, it soundeth like dreadfull thunder, casteth forth huge stones, disgorgeth brimstone, and with the cinders that are blowen abroad, it couereth so much ground round about it, that no man can inhabite within 20. miles thereof, &c. Howbeit, they ought to haue compared it with Aetna, or with other fierie mountaines, whereof I will presently make mention, seeing there is to be found in them, not onely a like accident, but in a manner the very same. Unlesse perhaps this be the difference, that flames brake seldomer out of Hecla, then out of other mountaines of the same kinde. For it hath now rested these 34. yeares full out, the last fierie breach being made in the yeare 1558. as we haue before noted. And there can no such wonders be affirmed of our Hecla, but the same or greater are to be ascribed vnto other burning mountaines, as it shall by and by appeare. Fritsius.

But that brimstone should be sent forth it is a meere fable, and neuer knowen vnto our nation, by any experiment.

This place is the prison of vncleane soules. Here I am constrained to vse a preface, and to craue pardon of the Reader, because, whereas in the beginning I propounded vnto my selfe to handle certaine matters in this first part, which do properly belong vnto the second. This is come to passe through the fault of these writers, who haue confounded this part of the inhabitants relating concerning the opinion of hell, or of the infernall prison, with the situation & miracles of the same people. For the common sort of strangers, and the off-skowring of mariners (here I do except them of better iudgement as well mariners as others) hearing of this rare miracle of nature, and vnlearned and naturall blockishnesse are carried to this imagination of the prison of soules: and because they see no wood nor any such fewell laied vpon this fire as they haue in their owne countreys at home. And by this perswasion of the grosse multitude, the report grew strong, especially (as they are too much accustomed to banning and cursing) while one would wish to another the fierie torments of this mountaine. As though elementarie, materiall, and visible fire could consume mens soules being spirituall, bodilesse, and inuisible substances. And to be short, who can but woonder, why they should not faine the same prison of damned soules, as well in mount Aetna, being no lesse famous for fires and inflamations then this? But you will say, that Pope Gregorie fained it so to be. Therefore it is purgatorie. I am content it should be so: then there

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is the same trueth of this prison that there is of purgatorie. But before I proceede any further I thinke it not amisse to tell a merie tale, which was the originall and ground of this hellish opinion: namely that a ship of certaine strangers departing from Island, under full saile, a most swift pace, going directly on her course, met with another ship sailing against winde & weather, and the force of the tempest as swiftly as themselues, who hailing them of whence they were, answere was giuen by their gouernour, *De Bischop van Bremen:* being the second time asked whether they were bound: he answered, *I hom Heckelfeld tho, Thom Heckelfeld tho.* I am afraid lest the ... at the sight of these things should call for a bason: for it is such an abominable ... to make a man cast his gorge to heare it. Away with it therefore to crump frogs, for we ... heere no more of it, then of their croaking coar coar. Nay, it is so palpable that it is not worthy to be ... much lesse to be refuted. But I will not trifle any longer with the fond Papists: let vs rather come vnto our owne writers.

And first of all I cannot here omit a saying of that most worthie man Doctor Caspar Peucer. There is in Islande (quoth he) mount Hecla, being of as dreadfull a depth as any vale gulfe, or as hell it selfe, which resoundeth with lamentable, & miserable yellings, that the noise of the cryers may be heard for the space of a great league round about. Great swarmes of vgly blacke Rauens and Vultures lie houering about this place which are thought of the inhabitantes to nestle there. The common people of that countrey are verily perswaded, that there is a descent downe into hell by this gulfe: and therefore when any battailes are fought elsewhere, in whatsoeuer part of the whole world, or any bloudie slaughters are committed, they haue learned by long experience, what horrible tumults and out-cryes, what monstrous skritches are heard round about this mountaine. Who durst be so bold (most learned Sir) to bring such an incredible report to your eares? Neither hath Island any Vultures, but the second kinde of Eagles, which Plinie noted by their white tayles, and called them Pygargi: neither are there any with vs, that can beare witnesse of the foresaid spectacle: nor yet is it likely that Rauens and Eagles would nestle in that place, when as they should rather be driuen from thence with fire and smoke, being things most contrarie to their nature. And yet notwithstanding for proofe of this matter, as also of a strange tumult heard within the hollow of the mountaine, they allege the experience of the inhabitants, which indeede testifieth all things to the contrarie. But whereabout should that hole or windowe of the mountaine be, by the which we may heare outcries, noyse and tumults done among them, who inhabite the most contrarie, distant, and remote places of the earth from vs? Concerning which thing I would aske the author of this fable many questions, if I might but come to the knowledge of him: in the meane time I could wish that from hencefoorth he would learne to tell troth, & not presume with so impudent a face to enfoyme excellent Peucer, or others, of such vnknowen and incredible matters.

But to returne to Munster, who endeuouring to search out the causes of the great and strange fire of that famous hill Aetna, is it not monstrous that the very same thing which he there maketh natural, he should here imagine to be preternaturall, yea infernal? But why do I speake of Aetna? Let vs rather consider what Munster in another place thinketh of the burning of Hecla,

Munsterus Cosmograph. vniuersalis lib. 1. cap. 7.

It is without doubt (saith he) that some mountaines and fields burned in old time throughout the whole world: and in this our age do burne. As for example: mount Hecla in Island at certaine seasons casteth abroad great stones, spitteth out brimstone, and disperseth ashes, for such a distance round about, that the land cannot be inhabited within 20. miles thereof. But where mountaines do continually burne we vnderstand that there is no stopping of the passages, whereby they poure forth abundance of fire sometime flaming, & sometime smoaking as it were a streaming flood. But if betweene times the fire encreaseth, all secret passages being shut vp, the inner parts of the mountaine are notwithstanding enflamed. The fire in the vpper part for want of matter, somewhat abateth for the time. But when a more vehement spirit (the same, or other passages being set open again) doth with great violence breake prison, it casteth forth ashes, sand, brimstone, pumistones, lumpes resembling ... great stones, & much other matter, not without the domage of the whole region adioyning. ... Munster. ... consider (good Reader) how he cutteth his throat with his ... (I say) that this place there is the very same opinion of the burning of Hecla, & the burning of Aetna, which notwithstanding in his 4. booke is very diuerse, for there he is faine to run to infernall causes, certaine fierie mountaine of West India hath farre more friendly censurers, & historiographers then our Hecla, who make not an infernall gulfe therof. The History of which mountain (because ... is short & sweete) I will set downe, being written by Hieronimus Benzo an Italian, in his ... of the new world, lib. 2. These be the words. About 35. miles distant from Leon there ... which at a great hole belcheth out such mightie balles of flames, that in the night ...

they shine farre and nea... gold ministring continu... frier, determining to ma... afterward ascending to ... & the kettle 140. eines in ... of the chaine melted. The... made the chaine far more ... ther of more substance & ... lets downe the chaine & ... did the caldrō only vanish ... a flame of fire, which had a ... so astonished, that they had ... ference is there betweene t... but in mount Hecla of Islan... too new, & altogether vnkno... the same prison of soules to b... day and night) that is in mou... the mountaines of Ephesus, ... so much fire, that the very sto... (a staffe being burnt vpon the ... of fire, as Plinie testifieth: Wh... the night: Why not in the Isle ... like wise burning for certe... burning in the day season: Wh... night: Why not in the hill of ... Aetna (which recordeth) whereunto it is ... hils and the noyse of rattles, w... hill of Naples, neare vnto Put... Aetna continually burning and ... Why not in that Aethiopian hil... to conclude, why not in the moun... morning, & to the vtter destructi... ming out flames as high as the ... ches, & with palpable darknesse t... I will speake, & yet speake no moy... yeeld no credite to those things as ... haue beene the flames of hell: but ... more slowly to their eares) to be fet... poure from is found out: leaue off fo... in mount Hecla. For nature hath ta... her operations in these fire workes, ... fables of Cimō people, which have ...

Neare vnto the mountaines (the 3. ... whereof, especially at mount Hec... sighed: but there appeare to the ... & as yet drawing their breath, wh... to returne home) that they must ... nish away.

TO confirme the former lie, of an ... in writing these things did not en... matters) certaine idle companions ... lesse reprochfull then false, and more ... writers (being otherwise men of ... followed with an ouer hastie iudg... But it were to be wished, that mon... noueltie & strange things, that t... ones eares, & so to defile pure gold wit... be swimming in the infernal lake, & p...

they shine farre and neare, aboue 100. miles. Some were of opinion that within it was molten gold ministring continuall matter & nourishment for the fire. Hereupon a certain Dominican Frier, determining to make trial of the matter, caused a brasse kettle, & an iró chain to be made: & the kettle 14. eines into the fornace: there, by extreme heate of the fire, the kettle, & part of the chaine melted. The monke in a rage ran back to Leon, & chid the smith, because he had made the chaine far more slender then himselfe had cõmanded. The smith hammers out another of more substance & strength then the former. The Monke returne[s] to the mountains, and lets downe the chaine & the cauldron: but with the like successe that he had before. Neither did the caldrõ only vanish & melt away: but also, vpon the sudden there came out of the depth a flame of fire, which had almost cõsumed the Frier, & his companions. Then they all returned so astonished, that they had small list afterward to prosecute that attempt, &c. What great difference is there betweene these two censures? In a steep hill of West India they search for golde: but in mount Hecla of Ffland they seeke for hel. Howbeit they will perhaps reiect this as a thing too new, & altogether vnknowen to ancient writers. Why therefore haue not writers imagined the same prison of soules to be in Chimæra an hill in Lycia (which, by report, flameth continually day and night) that is in mount Hecla of Ffland? Why haue they not imagined the same to be in the mountaines of Ephesus, which being touched with a burning torch, are reported to conceiue so much fire, that the very stones & sand lying in the water are caused to burne, & from the which (a staffe being burnt vpon them, & trailed after a man on the ground) there proceede whole riuers of fire, as Plinie testifieth? Why not in Cophantrus a mountaine of Bactria, alwayes burning in the night? Why not in the Ille of Hiera, flaming in the midst of the sea? Why not in Acolia in like manner like wise burning for certaine daies in the midst of the sea? Why not in Acolia in olympus burning in the day season? Why not in the fields of Aethiopia glittering alwaies like stars in the night? Why not in the hill of Lipara opening with a wide and bottomlesse gulfe (as Aristotle beareth record) whereunto it is dangerous to approch in the night: for whence the sound of Symbals and the noyse of rattles, with vnwonted and vncouth laughters are heard? Why not in the Ile of Naples, neare vnto Puteoli? Why not in the Pike of Teneriffa before mentioned, like Aetna continually burning and casting vp stones into the aier, as Munster himselfe witnesseth? Why not in that Aethiopian hill, which Plinie affirmeth to burne more then all the former? And to conclude, why not in the mountaine of Vesuuius, which (to the great damage of al the countrey adioyning, & to the vtter destruction of Caius Plinius pyping into ỹ causes of so strange a fire) vomiting out flames as high as the clouds, filling the aire with great abundance of pumistones, and ashes, & with palpable darknesse intercepting the light of the sunne from al the region therabout? I wil speake, & yet speake no more then the truth: because in deede they foresaw, that men would perish no credite to those things as being too well knowen, though they should haue feined them to haue beene the flames of hell: but they thought the burning of Hecla (the rumor whereof came more slowly to their eares) to be fitter for the establishing of this fond fable. But get ye packing, your fraud is found out: leaue off for shame hereafter to perswade any simple man, ỹ there is a hel in mount Hecla. For nature hath taught both vs & others (maugre your opinion) to acknowledge her operations in these fire workes, not the fury of hell. But now let vs examine a few more such fables of ỹ cõmõ people, which haue so vnhappily misled our historiographers & cosmographers.

The eight section.

Neare vnto the mountaines (the 3. fornamed Hecla &c.) there be three vaste holes, the depth whereof, especially at mount Hecla, cannot be discerned by any man, be he neuer so sharpe sighted: but there appeare to the beholders thereof certaine men at that instant plunged in, & as yet drawing their breath, who answere their friends (exhorting them with deepe sighs to returne home) that they must depart to mount Hecla: and with that, they suddenly vanish away. Frisius. Zieglerus. Olaus magnus.

TO confirme the former lie, of an earthly & visible hell (albeit I will easily grant that Frisius in writing these things did not entend to reproch any, but only to blaze abroad new & sincere matters) certaine idle companions knowing neither hell nor heauen haue inuented this fable, full reprochfull then false, and more vaine & detestable then Sicilian scoffes. Which fellowes the writers (being other wise men of excellent parts, and to whom learning is much indebted) haue followed with an ouer hastie iudgement.

But it were to be wished, that none would write Histories with so great a desire of setting forth nouelties & strange things, that they feare not, in that regard to broch any fabulous & old-wiues tales, & so to defile pure gold with filthy mire. But I pray you, how might those drowned be swimming in the infernal lake, & yet for al that, parleing with their acquaintance & friends?

What?

What? Will you coniure, & raise vp vnto vs from death to life old Orpheus conferring with his wife Euridice (drawen backe againe down to the Stigian flood) & in these parts of the world, as it were by the bankes of snowey Tanais, & Hebrus descanting vpon his harpe? But in very deed although others will not acknowledge the falshood, & vanity of these trifles, yet Cardane being a diligent considerer of all things in his 18. booke de subtilitate, doth acknowledge & find them out. Whose words be these. There is *Hecla* a mountaine in Island, which burneth like vnto *Ætna* at certain seasons, & hereupon the cõmon people haue conceiued an opinion this long time, that soules are there purged: some, least they should seeme liars, heape vp more vanities to this fable, that it may appeare to be probable, & agreeable to reasõ. But what be those vanities? namely, they feine certaine ghosts answering thẽ, that they are going to mount *Hecla*: as the same Cardane saith. And further he addeth. Neither in Island only, but euery where (albeit seldome) such things come to passe. And then he tels this storie following of a man-killing spright. There was (saith he) solemnized this last yeare the funerall of a cõmon citizen, in the gate neare vnto the great Church, by that marketplace, which in regard of the abundãce of herbs, in our toong hath the name of the herbmarket. There meets with me one of mine acquaintance: I (according to the custome of Phisitians) presently aske of what disease the man died? he giueth me answere that this man vsed to come home from his labour 3. houres within night: one night amõg the rest he espied an hobgoblin pursuing him: which to auoid, he ran away with al speed: but being caught by the spright, he was throwne down vpon the ground. He would faine haue made a shout, & was not able. At length (when the spright & he had struggled together vpon the ground a good while) he was found by certain passengers, & carried home halfe dead. And when he was come to himselfe againe, being asked what was the matter, he vp and tolde this strange relation. Hereupon (being vtterly daunted, & discouraged, when neither by his friends, nor by Phisitians, nor by Priests, he could be perswaded, that these things were but his owne conceits, & that there was no such matter) 8. daies after he died. I heard also afterward of others which were his neighbors, that no man could more cõstantly affirme himselfe to be wounded of his enemy, then this man did, that he was cast vpon the ground by a ghost. And when some demanded what he did, after he was tumbled on the earth? The dead man (quoth he) laying his hands to my throat, went about to strãgle me: neither was there any remedy, but by defending my selfe with mine own hands. When others doubted least he might suffer these things of a liuing man, they asked him how he could discerne a dead man frõ a liuing? To this, he rendered a very probable reason, saying that he seemed in handling to be like Cottum, & that he had no weight, but held him down by maine force. And presently after he addeth. In like manner as in Island, so in the desert sands of *Ægypt*, *Æthiopia*, and *India*, where the sunne is hoat, the very same apparitions, the same sprights are wont to delude wayfaring men. Thus much Cardane. Yet from hence (I trow) no man will conclude as our writers of Island do, that in the places of Ægypt, Æthiopia, and India, there is a prison of damned soules.

I thought good to write these things out of Cardane, that I may bring euen the testimony of strangers on our sides, against such monstrous fables. This place of Cardane implieth these two things, namely ỳ apparitions of sprights are not proper to Island alone (which thing al mẽ know, if they do not malitiously feigne themselues to be ignorant) And secondly that that conference of the dead with the liuing in ỳ gulfe of Hecla is not grounded vpon any certainty, but only vpon fables coined by some idle persons, being more vaine then any bubble, which the brutish cõmon sort haue vsed, to confirme their opinion of the tormenting of soules. And is there any man so fantasticall, that wilbe induced to beleeue these gulfes, mẽtioned by writers, to be any where extant, although they be neuer so ful of dead mens miracles? yea doubtlesse. For frõ hence also they say, ỳ reproches are iustly vsed against our nation: namely, ỳ there is nothing in all the world more base, & worthlesse then it, which conteineth hell within the bounds therof. This verely is the good that we haue gotten by those historiographers, who haue bin so greedy to publish nouelties. But this opinion, bred by the sottishnes of the cõmon people hath hitherto (as I hope) bene sufficiently ouerthrowen as a thing foolish & vaine, and as being deuised for the vphraiding of our nation. Wherefore, proceede (friendly Reader) and be farther instructed in this philosophy of infernall secrets.

The ninth section.

Prisius and Munster.

But round about the Iland, for the space of 7. or 8. moneths in a yere there floateth ise, making a miserable kind of mone, and not vnlike to mans voice, by reason of the clashing together. The inhabitants are of opinion that in mount *Hecla* and in the ise, there are places where the soules of their countreymen are tormented.

NO doubt, a worthy augmentation of the history, concerning the hel of Island, shut vp within the botome of one mountaine, & that no great one: yea, at some times (by fits and seasons) changing

changing places: namely, when it is weary of lurking at home by the fires of ye within ye mountaine, it delighteth to be ranging abroad, & to venter to sea, but without a ship, & to gather it selfe round into mozsels of yce. Come forth, & giue eare all ye ỹ wonder at this secret. Lo, I will afford these hystoriographers another addition of history very notable. Let them write therfore, that ỹ Islanders haue not only hel within their iurisdiction, but also ỹ they enter into it willingly & wittingly, & come forth againe vntouched ỹ very same day. How can that be? Why: it is an ancient custome of the Island that they which inhabite neare the sea shoare do vsually go betimes in a morning to catch Seales, euen vpon the very same ile which the hystoriographers make to be hel, & in the euening returne home safe and sound. Set downe also (if ye please) that the prison of the damned is kept in store by the Islanders in coffers and vessels, as we shall anon heare out of Frisius.

Taking of Seales on the ice.

But you had need wisely to foresee, lest ỹ Islanders beguile all your countries of the cõmendation of courage & constãcy: namely, as they (for so it pleaseth your writers to report) who both can & will endure the torments of hell, & who are able to breake through & escape them, without any further hurt: which thing is necessarily to be collected out of that, that hath bin before mentioned. And I am able to reckon vp a great many of our countrimen, who in ỹ very act of hunting, wandring some what farre from the shoare (the ice being dispersed by westerne winds) & for the space of many leagues resting vpon the ice, being chased with the violence of the tempest, & some whole dayes & nights being tossed vp & downe in the waues of ỹ raging sea, & so (for it followeth by good consequence out of this probleme of the hystoriographers) haue had experience of the torments, & paines of this hell of ice. Who at the last, the weather being changed, & the winds blowing at the North, being transported again to the shoare, in this their ship of ice, haue returned home in safety: some of which number are aliue at this day. Wherefore let such as be desirous of newes snatch vp this, & (if they please) let them frame a whole volume hereof, & adde it to their history. Neither these vaine phantasies deserue other wise to be handled & cõfuted, then with such like merimẽts, & spuntings. But to lay aside all iesting, let vs returne to the matter from whence we are digressed. Full of all therfore it is euident enough out of the second section, ỹ ice floateth not about this Island, neither 8. nor 7. moneths in a yere: then, that this ice (although at some times by shuffling together it maketh mountrous soundings & cracklings, & againe at some times with the beating of the water, it sendeth forth an hoarse kind of murmuring) doth any thing at all resound or lament, like vnto mans voice, we may in no case confesse. But whereas they say that, both in the Ile, and in mount Hecla we appoint certaine places, wherin the soules of our countrimen are tormented, we vtterly stand to the deniall of that: and we thanke God & our Lord Iesus Christ from the bottome of our hearts (who hath deliuered vs from death & hell, & opened vnto vs the gate of the kingdome of heauen) because he hath instructed vs more truely, concerning the place, whether the soules of our deceased countrimen depart, then these hystoriographers doe tell vs. We know and maintain that the soules of ỹ godly are transported immediatly out of their bodily prisons, not into the Papists purgatory, nor into the Elysian fields, but into Abrahams bosome, into the hand of God, & into the heauenly paradise. We know & maintaine concerning the soules of the wicked, that they wander not into the fires & ashes of mountaines, or into visible ice, but immediatly are carried away into vtter darkenesse, where is weeping & gnashing of teeth, where there is cold also, & fire not cõmon, but far beyond our knowledge & curious disputation. Where not onely bodies, but soules also, ỹ is spirituall substances are tormented. And we do also hold, ỹ the Islanders are no whit nearer vnto this extreame & darke prison, in regard of the situation of place, then the Germans, Danes, Frenchmen, Italians, or any other nation what soeuer. Neither is it any thing to the purpose, at all to dispute of the place or situation of this dungeon. It is sufficient for vs, that by the grace and assistance of our Lord Iesus Christ, with whose precious blood we are redeemed, we shall neuer see that vtter darkenesse, nor feele the rest of the torments that be there. Now is here that ỹ the disputation concerning the hell of Island.

Ice floateth not 7. or 8. moneths about Island.

The tenth section.

Any man shall take a great quantity of this ice, & shall keepe it neuer so warily enclosed in a coffer or vessel, it wil at that time when the ice thaweth about the Island, vtterly vanish away, so that not the least part thereof, no not a drop of water is to be found. Vtterly, this was of necessity to be added: namely, ỹ this ice, which according to hystoriographers doctrine, consist of ỹ matter of some element. For whereas it seemeth to be a body, when indeed it is not (which may directly be gathered out of Frisius absurd opinion) wherein also it perceiueth hard & solide bodies, no other wise then spirits & ghosts: therfore it remaineth, seeing it is of an elementary nature, ỹ it must haue either a spirituall, or a celestial, or an infernal matter. If it should be infernall, we can not be perswaded, because we haue heard that infernall cold is

Frisius. Zieglerus. Saxo.

farre

farre more vnsufferable then this ile, which vseth to be put into a bore with mens hands, & is not of force any whit to hurt euen naked flesh, by touching therof. Nor yet will we grant it to be spirituall: for we haue learned in naturall Philosophy, that spirituall substances can neither be seene nor felt, & cannot haue any thing taken from them: all which things do notwithstanding most manifestly agree to this ile of the Historiographers, howsoeuer according to them it be supernatural. Besides also, it is most true, that the very same yce being melted with the heat of the sunne, & resolued into water, vpon the vpper part therof, standeth fishermen in as good stead to quench their thirst, as any land-riuer would do, which thing can no way be ascribed to a spirituall substance. It is not therefore spirituall, nor yet infernall. Now none wilbe so bold to affirme, that it hath celestiall matter, least some man perhaps might hereupon imagine, y this ile hath brought hell (which the historiographers annexe vnto it) downe from heauen, together with it selfe: or that the same thing should be common vnto heauen, being of one & the same matter with ile, & so that the pytion of the damned may be thought to haue changed places with the heauenly paradise, & all by the ouersight of these Historiographers. Wherfore seeing the matter of this historicall ile is neither elementarie (as we haue so often proued by this place of Frisius) neither spirituall, nor infernall, both which we haue concluded euidently, in short, yet sound and substantiall reasons: nor yet celestiall matter, which, religion forbiddeth a man once to imagine: it is altogether manifest, y according to the said historiographers, there is no such thing at all, which notwithstanding they blaze abroad with such astonishing admiration, & which we thinke to be an ordinary matter commonly seene and felt. Therefore it is, and it is not: which proposition when it shall fall out true, in the same respect, in the same part, and at the same time, then will we giue credite to these frozen miracles. Now therefore the Reader may easily iudge, that we need none other helpe to refute these things, but onely to shew how they disagree one with another. But it is no maruell that he, which hath once enclined himselfe to the fabulous reports of the common people, should oftentimes fall into error. There was a like strange thing inuented by another concerning the sympathy or consenting of this ile: namely, that it followeth the departure of that huge lumpe, whereof it is a part, so narrowly, & so swiftly, that a man by no diligence can obserue it, by reason of the vnchangeable necessitie of following. But we haue oftentimes seene such a solitarie lumpe of ise remaining (after the other parts thereof were driuen away) and lying vpon the shore for many weekes together, without any polls or engines at all to stay it. Therefore it is plaine that these miracles of ise are grounded vpon a more slipperie foundation then ise it selfe.

The eleuenth section.

Frisius. Not farre from these mountaines (the three forenamed) declining to the sea shoare, there be foure fountaines of a most contrary nature betweene themselues. The first, by reason of his continuall heat conuerteth into a stone any body cast into it, the former shape only still remaining. The second is extremely cold. The third is sweeter then hony, and most pleasant to quench thirst. The fourth is altogether deadly, pestilent, and full of ranke poison.

EVen this description of fountaines doth sufficiently declare how impure that fountaine was, out of which the geographer drew all these miraculous stories. For he seemeth to affirme, that the three foresaid mountaines doe almost touch one another: for he attributeth foure fountaines indifferently vnto them all. Otherwise, if he had not made them stand neare together, he would haue placed next vnto some one of these, two of the foresaide fountaines. But neither doe these mountaines touch (being distant so many leagues a sunder) neither are there any such foure fountaines neare vnto them, which he that will not beleeue, let him go try. But to confute these things, the very contrariety of writers is sufficient. For another concerning two fountaines gainsayth Frisius in these words. There do burst out of the same hill *Hecla* two fountraines, the one whereof, by reason of the cold streames, the other with intollerable heat exceedeth al the force of elements. These be Frisius his two first fountaines, sauing that here is omitted the miracle of hardening bodies, being by him attributed to one of the said fountaines. But they cannot at one time breath forth, both out of the mountaine it selfe, and neare vnto the mountaine.

But here I would willingly demaund, by what reason any of the Peripateticks can affirme that there is some thing in nature colder then the element of water, or hotter then the element of fire. From whence (I pray you, learned writers) proceedeth this coldnesse? From whence proceedeth this heate? Haue we not learned out of your schole that water is an element most colde and somewhat moist: and in such sort most cold, that for the making of fecundatie qualities, it would necessitie be remitted, & being simple, that it cannot be applyed to the vses of mankind? To be deliuer these Oracles of the naturall Philosophers, not knowing whether they be true or false. M. Iohn Fernelius, lib. 2. Phys. cap. 4. may stand for one witnesse amongst all the rest, & in stead of all. So excessiue (saith he) be these foure first qualities in the foure elements, that as not

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fountaine strange. Plinie maketh a
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is hotter the pure fire, & nothing lighter: so nothing is drier then earth, & nothing heauier: and as for pure water, there is no qualitie of any medicine whatsoeuer exceedeth the coldnes thereof, nor the moisture of aire. Moreouer, the said qualities be so extreme & surpassing in the, that they cannot be any whit encreased, but remitted they may be. I will not heare heape vp the reasons or arguments of the naturall Philosophers. These writers had need be warie of one thing, lest while they too much magnifie the miracles of the fountains, they exempt them out of the number of things created, alwel as they did the ice of the Islanders. We wil prosecute in order the properties of these fountains set downe by the foresaid writers. The first by reason of his continuall heat. There be very many Baths or hote fountains in Island, but fewer vehemently hote, which we thinke ought not to make any man wonder, when as I haue learned out of authors, that Germanie, mainie euery where aboundeth with such hote Baths, especially neere the foot of the Alpes. The hot Baths of Baden, Gebarsuil, Calben in the duchy of Wittenberg and many other be very famous: all which Fuchsius doeth mention in his booke *de Arte medendi*. And not onely Germanie, but also France, & beyond all the rest Italy that mother of all commodities, saith Cardan. And Aristotle reporteth, that about Epyrus these hote waters doe much abound, whereupon the place is called Pyriplegethon. And I say, these things should therefore be y lesse admired, because the seruants of nature haue as wel found out causes of the heate in waters, as of the fire in mountaines: namely, that water runneth within the earth through certaine veines of Brimstone & Allom, and from thence taketh not onely heat, but taste also, & other strange qualities. Aristotle in his booke *de Mundo* hath taught this. The earth (saith he) conteineth within it fountains not only of water, but also of spirite & fire: some of them flowing like riuers, doe cast foorth red hote iron: from whence also doeth flow, somtimes luke-warme water, somtimes skalding hote, and somtimes temperate. And Seneca. *Empedocles* thought that Baths were made hote by fire, which the earth secretly conteineth in many places, especially if the said fire bee vnder that ground where the water passeth. And Pontanus writeth very learnedly concerning the Baian Baths.

Many hote Baths in Island.

The causes of hote Baths.

Lib. 3. nat. quæst.

No maruell though from banke of *Baian* shore
hote Baths, or veines of skalding licour flow:
For *Vulcans* forge incensed euermore
doeth teach vs plaine, that heart of earth below
And bowels burne, and fire enraged glow,
From hence the flitting flood sends smokie streames,
And Baths doe boile with secret burning gleames.

I thought good in this place to touch that which Saxo Grammaticus the most famous historiographer of the Danes reporteth. That certaine fountains of Island do somtime encrease & flow vp to the brinke: somtimes againe they fall so lowe that you can skarse discerne them to be fountains. Which kind of fountains, albeit they bee very seldome found with vs, yet I will make mention of some like vnto them, produced by nature in other countries, lest any man should think somwhat strange. Plinie maketh a great recitall of these. There is one (saieth he) in the Ile of Tenedos, which at the *Solstitium* of sommer doth alwaies flow from the third houre of the night, to the first. In the field of Pitinas beyond the Apennine mountaine, there is a riuer which in the foot of sommer alwaies encreaseth, and in winter is dried vp. He maketh mention also of a verie large fountaine, which euery houre doeth encrease and fall. Neither is it to be omitted, that some riuers run vnder the ground, and after that fall againe into an open chanel: as Lycus in Asia, Erasinus in Argolica, Tigris in Mesopotamia, vnto which Cardan adeeth Tanais in Moscouia: and of things which were throwen into Aesculapius fountaine at Athens, were cast vp againe in Salerico. And Seneca writeth that there are certaine riuers which being let downe into some greater ground, are withdrawen out of sight, seeming for the time to be vtterly perished and taken away, and that after some distance the very same riuers returne, enioying their former name and their course. And againe Plinie reporteth that there is a riuer receiued vnder ground in the lake of Atinas that ilueth out twentie miles from that place. All which examples and the like, doe teach vs that the fountaines of Island are not to be made greater wonders then the rest. Doth forth with conuert into a stone any body cast into it. By these two properties, namely with or most vehement heat, & a vertue of hardening bodies doth Frisius describe his first fountaine. And I haue heard reported (though I neuer had experience thereof my selfe) that there is a fountain in Island not far frō the bishops seat of Schalholt, in a village called Haukadal. Sebastian reporteth of the like, saying: That there is a certain fountain which conuerteth wood into stone, hardening the bowels of those men which drinke thereof. And addeth further, that such

fountains are to bee found in certaine places of Italy: which thing Ouid in the 15. booke of his Metamor. ascribeth vnto the riuer of the Cicones,

Water drunke out of *Ciconian* flood
flesthy bowels to flintie stone doeth change:
Ought else therewith besprinckt, as earth or wood
becommeth marble streight a thing most strange,

And Cardane. *Georgius Agricola* affirmeth, that in the territorie of *Elbogan*, about the town which is named of Falcons, that the whole bodies of Pine trees are conuerted into stone, and which is more wonderfull, that they containe, within certaine rifts, the stone called *Pyrites*, or the Flint. And *Domitius Brusonius* reporteth, that in the riuer of *Solar* (running by the foote of that mountain which standeth in the field of the citie in old time called *Vrsence*, but now *Contursia*) leaues and boughs of trees change into stones, & that, not vpon other mens credite, but vpon his own experience, being borne & brought vp in that country: which thing *Plinie* also auoucheth, saying, that the said stones doe shew the number of their yeeres, by the number of their Barks, or stony husks. So (if we may giue credite to authors) drops of the Gothes fountain being dispersed abroad, become stones. And in Hungary, the water of Cepusius being poured into pitchers, is conuerted to stone. And Plinie reporteth, that wood being cast into the riuer of the Cicones, and into the Velinelake in the field of Pice, is enclosed in a barke of stone growing ouer it.

Riuers of Island in some season luke-warme.

The second is extremely cold. As for the second fountaine, here is none to any mens knowledge so extremely cold: In deed there be very many that bee indifferently coole, insomuch that (our common riuers in the Sommer time being luke-warme) wee take delight to fetch water from those coole springs. It may be that there are some farre colder in other countries: for Cardane maketh mention of a riuer (streaming from the top of an hill in the field of Corinth) colder then snow: and within a mile of Culma, the riuer called Insana seeming to be very hote is most extremely cold, &c.

The third is sweeter then honie. Neither is this altogether true. For there is not any fountaine with vs, which may in the least respect be compared with the sweetnesse of honie. And therefore Saxo wrote more truly, saying, that certaine fountains (for there be very many) yeelding taste as good as beere: and also in the same place there are fountains & riuers not onely of diuers tastes, but of diuers colours.

And albeit naturall Philosophers teach, that water naturally of it selfe hath neither taste nor smel, yet it is likely (as we haue touched before, which other call *per accidens*) that oftentimes it representeth the qualities of that earth wherein it is engendred, and through the veins whereof it hath passage and issue: and from hence proceed the diuers & sundry smels, colours and sauours of all waters. Of such waters doeth Seneca make mention, whereof some prouoke hunger, others make men drunken, some hurt the memory, & some helpe it, & some resemble the very qualitie and taste of wine, as that fountaine which Plinie speaketh of in the Ile of Andros, within the temple of Bachus, which in the Nones of January vsed to flow ouer with wine. And Aristotle reporteth, that in the field of Carthage there is a fountain which yeeldeth oile, & certaine drops smelling like Cedar. Also Orcus a riuer of Thessalie flowing into Peneus, swimmeth aloft like oile. Cardane reporteth, that there is in Saxonie, neere vnto the town of Brunswic, a fountaine mixed with oile and another in Sueuia neere vnto the Abbey called Tergensch. Also in the valley of the mountaine Iurassus. He supposeth the cause of this thing to bee very fattie pitch, which cannot but contain oile in it. The same author saieth: It is reported that in Cardia neere to the place of Daschyle in the white field, there is water sweeter then milke. Another also neere vnto the bridge which we passe ouer going to the towne of Valdeburg. Propertius likewise in the third booke of his Elegies mentioneth certaine waters representing the sauour of wine in these words.

In lib. de mirab. auscult.

Amidst the Isle of *Naxus* loe, with fragrant smels and fine
A fresh et runs; ye *Naxians* goe fill cups, carouse, there's wine.

This Naxus is one of the Ilands called Cyclades lying in the Ægæan sea. Cardane giueth reason hereof, namely, because Hydromel or water-hony, in long continuance will become wine. Aristotle nameth a fountaine in Sicilia, which the inhabitants vse in stead of vineger. The same author maketh the cause of sauours in water to be heate, because the earth being hote changeth and giueth sauour vnto the water.

Now concerning the colours of water so saieth Cardane. There is the same reason (saith he) of the colours of water, that there is of the sauours thereof, for both haue their originall from the earth. For there is white water within two miles of *Glauca* a town in *Misena*: red water in *Ridera* a riuer of *Misena* not farre from *Radeburg*: & in old time neere vnto *Ioppa* in *Iudea*: green water in the mountaine of *Carpathus* by *Menfola*: skie-coloured or blue water betweene the mountai

mountains of *Feltrius & Tarnisius*: & it is reported that there was water of that colour in *Thermopilis*: cole-blacke water in *Alera* a riuer of *Saxonie*, at that place where it dischargeth it self into the *Weser*. The causes of these colours are the colours of the soile. Also Aristotle saieth, that about the promontorie of Iapigia, there is a fountaine which streameth blood: adding moreouer, that Mariners are driuen farre from that place of the sea, by reason of the extreme stench thereof. Furthermore, they say that in Idumæa there is a fountaine which changeth colour foure times in a yeere: for sometimes it is greene, sometime white, sometime bloodie, & sometimes muddy coloured, in smels. But for the most part the streames of waters bee vnpleasant, because the earth doeth seldome times smel well. The water of the riuer *Anigris* in *Aelis* stanke, to the destruction, not onely of fishes, but also of men. About *Meton* in *Messania*, out of a certaine pond there hath bene drawen most sweet smelling, and odoriferous water. I doe recite all these examples to the end that no man should make a greater wonder at the colours, smels, and sauours of waters that be in Island, then at those which are in other countreis.

The fourth is altogether deadly. Isidore affirmeth, that there is a certaine fountaine whose water being drunke, extinguisheth life. And Plinie saieth, That about *Nonaris* in *Arcadia*, the riuer of *Styx* (neere the mountaine of *Cillene*, saieth *Cardane*: it would be contained in nothing but an horse-hoofe: and it is reported that *Alexander* the great was poisoned therewithal) not differing from other water, neither in smell nor colour, being drunke, is present death. In *Beroe* an hill of the people called *Tauri*, there are three fountains, euery one of them deadly without remedy, & yet without griefe. And (which is the strangest thing of all the rest) Seneca maketh mention of a poole, into which whosoeuer looke, do presently die. But, as for this fourth fountaine of Frisius, which Saxo doeth likewise mention, we Islanders, as alwayes heretofore, so euen at this day do testifie that it is vtterly vnknowen vnto vs: and therefore in this regard, we render vnto God immortall thanks, because he hath vouchsafed to preserue our nation from such fountaines, from serpents and venemous wormes, & from al other pestiferous & contagious creatures.

The same Author saieth.

Iseland free from snakes and other venemous beasts

Furthermore about the foresaid mountains there is such abundance of brimstone. The three mountains called by Munster and Frisius, Fierie mountains, do all of them stand an huge distance from our Pines. Wherefore, when as neere vnto these hils they haue found out a place for foure fountains, which they doe so mightily extoll for wonders, they must needs haue some Brimstone Pines also, standing a like distance from the said fountaines. And assuredly, neither about mount Hecla, as Munster would haue it, nor by Frisius his fountaines (the report whereof how true it is, hath bene hitherto declared) is Brimstone digged vp at this day: nor I thinke euer was within the remembrance of our fathers. Neither is it true that Munster reporteth concerning the abundance of Brimstone: namely, that it is almost the onely merchandize and tribute of the Iland. For whereas the Iland is deuided into foure parties, the fourth part onely towards the North (nay, but euen the halfe thereof) doeth vse it for merchandize, and there is not one crumme of Brimstone paied for tribute of the Iland.

Brimstone Pines onely in the North part of Island.

The twelfth Section.

There are so great store of fishes in this Iland, that they are laid foorth on piles to be sold in the open aire, as high as the tops of houses.

Munster.

IN the open aire. In deed we haue seen other country merchants doe so, vntil they had vnladen their ships of outlandish wares, & filled the same againe with fishes & with other of our country merchandize. But whether our men haue done the like at any time, it is not manifest. Certainly, that plentifull and ancient abundance of fish is now decaied, and the Islanders now begin to be pinched with the want of these and other good things, the Lord laying the iust scourge of our impietie vpon vs, which I pray God we may duely acknowledge.

Abundance of fish about Island diminished.

The thirteenth Section.

They haue most swift horses, which wil run without ceasing a continual course for the space of 30. leagues.

Frisius.

A Certaine Cosmographer in his Map of Island reporteth concerning the horses of one Parish, that they will run 30. leagues at once in a continued race. But we account both to bee impossible. For Munster writeth that those beasts which excell all other in swiftnesse & strength of body, called Rangiferi, cannot run about 30. leagues in 24. houres.

Raine deere.

The fourteenth Section.

There be seen sometimes neere vnto *Island* huge Whales like vnto mountains, which ouerturne ships, vnlesse they be terrified away with the sound of trumpets, or beguiled with round

Munster.

and emptie vessels, which they delight to tosse vp and downe. It sometimes falleth out that Mariners thinking these Whales to be Ilands, and casting out ankers vpon their backs, are often in danger of drowning. They are called in their tongue Trollwal Tuffelwalen, that is to say, the deuillish Whale.

Like vnto mountains. Loe here once againe (gentle Reader) Munsters fallifying eccho, and (as the prouerbe saieth) his blind dreame. Such a false and senceleſſe ouer-reaching doeth exceedingly disgrace an historie, and that by so much the more, by how much the lesse necessary it is. For to what purpose should an Historiographer make leasings, if history be a report of plaine trueth? Why should he vse such strange surmountings? What is it that he would perswade, or whither would he rauish the Reader, if he propoundeth vnto himselfe nothing but the simple declaration of things?

Poets and Painters had leaue of old,
To feigne, to blaze, in all things to be bold.
But not Historiographers.

The backs of Whales which they thinke to be Ilands. This fable, like all the rest, was bred of an old, ridiculous and vaine tale, the credite and trueth whereof is not worth a strawe. And it is this that foloweth, namely, that the bishop of Breme (called by the ancient Norwaies Brandan, and by Kranzius, if I be not deceiued, Alebrandus) in old time sent certaine Legates with a Couen of Friers to preach and publish in the North the popish faith, which was then thought to bee Christian: and when they had spent a long iourney in sailing towards the North, they came vnto an Iland, and there calling their anker they went a shore, and kindled fiers, (for it is very likely that the Mariners were not a little vexed with the nipping cold which they felt at sea) and sp̃ouided victuals for the rest of their iourny. But when their fires grew very hote, this Iland sanke, and suddenly vanished away, and the Mariners escaped drowning very narowly with the boate that was prẽsent. This is the foundation of the matter, but how incredible it is, I appeale to the Reader. But what ailed these Mariners, or what meant they to doe, who in a tempestuous sea, seeing a rocke before their eyes, or (as Munster saieth) a little Iland, would not rather with all diligence haue auoided it for feare of running a shore and shipwracke, then to rest in such a dangerous harbour? But in what ground should the anker be fastened? for Mariners for the most part are destitute of such long cables, whereby they may let downe an anker to the bottom of the maine sea, therefore vpon the backs of Whales, saith Munster, But then they had need first to bore a hole for the flouke to take hold in. O silly Mariners, that in digging cannot discerne Whales fleshy from lumps of earth, nor know the slipperie skin of a Whale from the vpper part of the ground: without doubt they are worthy to haue Munster for a Pilot. Verily in this place (as like wise before treating of the land-miracles of Island) he gathereth fruits as they say, out of Tantalus his garden, and foloweth hard after those things which will neuer and no where be found, while he endeuoureth to proule here and there for miracles, perusing sea and land to stuffe vp his history: where notwithstanding he cannot hunt out ought but feigned things.

Certain letters sent by Brandan bishop of Breme, to preach Christian faith in the North.

But they are called in their language Trollwal. Go not farther then your skil, Munster, for I take it you cannot skill of our tongue: and therefore it may be a shame for a learned man to teach others that which he knoweth not himselfe: for such an attempt is subiect to manifold errours, as we will shew by this your example. For while you take in hand to schoole others, & to teach them by what name a Whale-fish is to be called in our tongue, leauing out through ignorance the letter H. which almost alone maketh vp the signification of the worde, you deliuer that which is not true: for *val* in our language signifieth not a Whale, but chusing or choise of the verbe *Eg velge* that is to say, I chuse, or I make choise, from whence *val* is deriued, &c. But a Whale is called *Hual* with vs, & therefore you ought to haue written *Trollhualur*. Neither doeth *Troll* signifie the deuill, as you interprete it, but certaine Giants that liue in mountaines. You see therefore (and no maruel) how you erre in the whole worde. It is no great iniurie to our language being in one word onely: because (doubtlesse) you knew not more then one.

Others also do offend in the same fault, for it is not to be allowed that a certaine man being about to publish a Map of Island receiued from Islanders themselues, had rather marre the fashion of all, or in very deed of the most names of Capes, Baies, mountaines, springs, riuers, homocks, valleis, hils & townes (because that being ignorant of our language, he was not able to read those things aright, which he receiued from our countreymen) he had rather (I say) depraue & corrupt them all, then learne of the Islanders themselues, which at that time, namely in the yeere 158[illegible] ued in the vniuersitie of Hafnia, or Copen Hagen, how euery thing ought to be read and written. And we esteeme him for this his wilfull marring of our native names and words, (whereupon i

came

came to passe that we reading the same, could acknowledge very few to be our owne) that he is no slight offender against our tongue, otherwise retaining the pure and the ancient propertie.

But now we haue after some sort examined most of the myracles of Island, which our writers haue mentioned. Notwithstanding before we enter into any further matter, we thinke it good in this section to touch that which the last forenamed mā (in this Map of Island, that he caused to be put forth in ꝑ foresaid yeere vnder his own name) hath giuen out concerning two other fountains besides the former: whereof the one should die white wooll black, & the other blacke wooll white. Which thing where he receiued it, or whence he had it, we can by no means imagine: for it is not to be found in our own writers, nor in ꝑ writers of other countries. But whence soeuer it be, it is but a tale, & hath not one iote of trueth in it. And although it be incredible That black wooll may be died of a white colour, seeing it is affirmed by Plinie, that blacke wooll (of all other) will receiue no colour: notwithstanding there is some such thing reported by Theophrastus: namely, that there is a riuer in Macedonia which maketh blacke sheepe white. Also, that Norway pamphlet called the Roiall looking-glasse, which I mentioned before, doth attribute these fountains to Ireland, which is also called *Hybernia*, and not to Island. Which peraduenture deceiued the Reader, reading in a strange language S in stead of R.

Who be the Islandish writers?

Speculum regale.

That like wise deserueth no better credite which another Author writeth: That there is a certaine great stone in *Island* which runneth vp and downe the crags and cliffs of mountaines by no outward force, but by the owne proper and naturall motion. Hee that will beleeue this, what will he not beleeue? For it is such a rare deuise that the Epicures themselues (who yet seemed to Lucian to haue fained many incredible things) I am sure neuer inuented the like: vnlesse perhaps the sayd Author doeth imagine, that a man (who is called of the Islanders by the proper name of Stein) should compasse about, and clime vp certaine rockes: which although it be ridiculous to put into a story of wonders, namely, that a man should moue or walke, yet is it so to bee supposed to saue the credite of the Author, that we may not more seuerely condemne that fable, which is so senceleslie of it selfe and not worthy to be read.

They are guiltie of the same crime also who haue found out rauens, pies, hares and vultures, all white in Island: for it is wel knowen that vultures come very seldome, together with the Ice of the sea, vnto vs, as beares also (but they seldomer then vultures) and a certaine kind of crowes called by the Islanders *Isakrakur*. But as for white pies, hares, and rauens, Island neuer had any.

Vultures, beares and crowes come vpon the drift Ice vnto Island.

And these in a maner be the things which, in regard of our daily busines, we were able at this present to affoord, as touching the former part of our treatise, which were penned by me for this purpose (as in the beginning I did protest) that the errors of Authors concerning an vnknowen land, and the affected vanitie also of some men might be disclosed, for I am not desirous to diminish any mans good name: but because I consecrated these my labours to trueth and to my country, I could not chuse but shew, that those things which hitherto haue bene reported by many concerning our Iland deserue very little credite: and so to addresse my selfe vnto the matters following concerning the Inhabitants.

Here endeth the first part of the Commentarie.

Of Island the second part, concerning the Inhabitants.

HAuing hitherto finished the miracles of Island with certaine other particulars belonging to the first part, the which while writers doe wonder at, and diuerslie extoll as it were the fountains of Agamemnon, yea, as things besides and against all nature, they haue bene very careleslie both of trueth it selfe, & of their owne credite. Now the course of the present speach doeth admonish mee to make haste vnto the other part of the treatise concerning the Inhabitants: wherein what I should first say, or where I should begin, I am altogether ignorant. For there be such monstrous, and so many mocks, reproches, skoffes, and taunts of certaine men against vs poore Islanders dwelling in the vtmost parts of the world (and amongst these also, some things of theirs who take vpon them to professe most simple trueth, namely Historiographers) insomuch, that to reckon vp the particulars were nothing els but to tell the drops of the Ionian sea. But as I said in the beginning, we will not deale alike seuerely with all. For although Krantius, Munsterus, Pitseus & others haue written many things too boldly of our nation: yet hauing otherwise deserued well of learning by their monuments, they shalbe still in ꝑ same reputation wt vs that they are worthy of. Howbeit in the meane time, although a man would free thē selues from the marke of slanderers, yet is it no small matter that they should broch certaine senceleslie,

impossible & ridiculous things, such as those are which we haue hitherto laid downe: as also that they should record in histories prophane and horrible vntruethes, some of which kind shal now immediately be discussed. As for others, what soeuer they be, who vpbraid the nation of Islanders with daily reproches, they are to haue that answere in a readinesse which such men deserue. In the number of whom, that scoffer is to be accounted, who by a company of rimes published in the Germane tongue, to the disgrace of our countrey, hath brought his name into euerlasting ignominie.

Wherefore as our present businesse requireth, while we are in hand with the writings of Authors concerning this matter, although we meet with some things containing litle reproch, notwithstanding we will examine most of them, noting the errors as hitherto wee haue done: in the meane time also when they shall alleage any trueth, we will in no case dissemble it. And after this maner, first we will heare Munster, Krantzius and Frisius, and others also, if there be any more, what they haue to say, reiecting that Parot and his Dutch rimes infected with fell slander, as he is worthy, vnto the last place. First therefore the said Authors write concerning the faith or religion of the Islanders: and secondly, of their Manners, Customes, and course of life in maner following.

The first Section.

Krantzius in præfatione sua Norwegiæ.

Adalbert Metropolitane of Hamburg in the yeere of Christ 1070. saw the Islanders conuerted vnto Christianitie: albeit, before the receiuing of Christian faith, they liued according to the lawe of nature, and did not much differ from our lawes: therefore at their humble request, he appointed a certaine holy man named *Isleef* to be their first Bishop.

KRantzius in these words, and Munster other where, doe seeme to attribute vnto the Islanders the prerogatiue of Christian faith: and they should deale both beseeming themselues and the trueth, if they did not in other places depriue vs of the same. For (to speake of Krantzius aboue) that which Munster before reported concerning our faith or opinion about the place and situation of hell, is very farre from Christian pietie: namely, to be desirous to prie into those secrets which God hath kept close vnto himselfe alone, and which his pleasure is, should exceed our capacities: for there is not any thing found in the holy Scriptures of this matter, where the place and situation of hell, or of eternall fire prepared for the deuill and his angels, and so for all damned soules, is bounded or compassed about. The holy Bible (I say) assigneth no locall or bodily situation beneath the earth, or vpon the earth, or in any other place of this world, to that prison of the damned: but it affirmeth that this earth shall perish, and that a new earth, and new heauens shall be created for the habitation of iust and holy men, Reuel. 2. 2. Pet. 3. and Esay 65. wherefore a Christian man willingly giueth ouer to search into such hidden secrets: and he accounteth it vnlawful to receiue or deliuer vnto others, opinions (grounded vpon no plaine and manifest places of Scripture) for certainties and trueths. Deut. 4. and 12. Esay 8. Matth. 27. 2. Tim. 3.

Further also that commendation wherewith Munster and Krantzius doe grace the Islanders, is meerly contrary to Christian religion: namely, that they make al one reckoning of their whelps and of their children. But more of this matter anone in the 7. section. So therefore Munster disagreeth with himselfe, whereas those whom he affirmeth to be Christians, afterward he maketh to be maister-builders of hell. Also Krantzius and Munster both together, when as these whom they affirme to be engraffed by faith into Christ, they exempt from all sense of pietie and honestie, in that they write that their sonnes are not dearer vnto them then their whelpes.

But to returne to the matter: In very deed we haue no great thing to say concerning our religion, what, or of what sort it was when Gentilisme was first put to flight. Also more (I thinke) haue other Northern nations neere vnto vs to say concerning ỳ beginning of their faith. For (alas) we must needs confesse & bewaile with deepe sighes, that vntill that day which shined vnto vs like the beginning of immortalitie, & brought vnto vs the pure doctrine of the gospel, our countrymen, as likewise other churches of the North, were ouer-spred with more then Cimmerian darknesse. But we may iustly and religiously thinke thus much, that among vs and our neighbours of Norway (for I wil not range out of my bounds, nor affirme any thing of vnknowen people) after heathenish idolatry was rooted out, Christian faith & religion did flourish far more sincere and simple, as being lesse infected with the poison of poperie at that time, then afterward, when as the pestiferous leauen of the see of Rome being augmented, & the contagious mischiefe growing ripe, the poison thereof was dispersed through ỳ whole world: for, as it shal afterward appeare, Island embraced Christ many yeeres before the new idolatry of the papists began to preuaile, and it is found sooth nothing but faith in God the Father, the Sonne & the holy Ghost, like vnto those two most renoumed kings of Norway, who as they had one common name, so had they one common ca-

care and profession to aduance the gospel of Christ. I meane Olaus the sonne of Thryggo, who was borne in the yeere of Christ 968. attaining to the kingdome of Norway in the 27. yeere of his age, and was the first, as we haue heard, that offred Christ vnto the Norwegians, ouer whom hee reigned fiue yeeres: and another of that name called Olaus Sanctus the sonne of Harald, who in the yeere of Christ 1013. or thereabout, gouerned with more seueritie, & for the space of 17. yeeres ⁊ boldly deliuer the doctrine of Christ. In the yere of Christ 1030. being vniustly slaine by wicked murtherers, he shed his blood for ꝑ name of Christ in a town of Norway called *Stiesta Stodum*.

The first christian king of Norway.

Our countrey also had, among many other, one man of excellent pietie whose name was Nialus, who about the yeere of Christ 1000. liued in the village of *Berthorshnol* situate in the parish of Iseland called *Landehum*: who also for his experience in humane affaires, for his great wisedome and sage counsell was accompted famous. For whereas in his time Iseland was turmoiled with many fierce mutinies, the inhabitants being in subiection to no superiour magistrate, he interme- died not in any quarels, sauing that by his discreet vertue & diligence, he set through and brought to composition a great number: hee neuer did nor suffered violence, but onely vpon the last day of his life. So carefully auoyded he al seditions and strifes: and gaue good assistance to others, who were desirous also to auoyd and escape them: neither did any man euer put in practise his counsel, but it turned to his especiall good: nor euer any did swerue therefrom, but with the danger of his life and possessions. The wordes or rather the oracles that came from him were so certaine, that it was wonderful from whence any man should haue so great and so sure foresight and counsell of things to come, as was found to be in him. Whereupon his discreet and prouident wisedome ioyned with counsell became a prouerbe amongst vs *Nials bytaraden*: That is to say, the counsel of Nialus: or, the thing is done, or succeedeth by Nialus his counsel: when any businesse was atchieued prudently, and with admirable discretion. This man, when, for a slaughter committed by his sonne without his knowledge, he was in his owne house beset with a 100. men, who had conspired his death, and when his enemies began on all sides to set his house on fire, seeing his ende approch, at length he brake into these words. Doubtlesse these things happen by fate, that is, by the will of God. Howbeit, I put my hope and confidence in Christ, that we (meaning his wife, and himselfe) although this our fraile body shal vndergoe the corruption of death, in the fire of our enemies, yet, that it shalbe deliuered from eternal flames. And so in the midst of these voyces, and in the fury of the flames, he with his wife and the manslayer his sonne, in the yere of Christ 1010. ended his life. I hope vndoubtedly full well beseeming the sonnes of God, arguing the notable comfort of his soule amidst the very pangs of death.

Nialus the first knowne professour of Christian faith in Island.

Therefore added those things to shew by what reason I was moued to thinke, that in the very beginning of Christianitie receiued amongst vs, mens minds were not so beguiled and ouerwhelmed in the darkenes of errors, as of late, a little before these our times, they haue bene.

But after the Lord God by Luther, and Luthers fellow-labourers in the vineyard of the Lord, and by his godly successours, did make the doctrine of saluation more manifest, and shaking off the heauie slothe, and thicke mistie of our minds by the finger of his right hand, that is by his holy Spirit (Matth. 12. v. 28.) did plucke the eares of our hearts, and opened our eyes, that we might behold his sauing health: We all, and euery of vs ꝑ beleeue and confesse, that God is a spirit (Iohn 4. v. 24.) eternal (Esay 40. v. 28.) infinite (Iere. 23. v. 24. Psal. 139. v. 7. 8. 9.) most good (Matth. 19. v. 17.) almighty (Gen. 17. 1. Reuel. 1. 8.) one in being, and nature: one in prouidence: one in the maiesty and gouerning of all things (Deut. 6. 5. Ephe. 4. 5.) But distinguished by the persons of the Godhead and their properties, the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghost (Matth. 28. 19. & 3. 17.) God the Father the first person of the Godhead creator of heauen and earth, and all other things (Gen. 1. v. 1. and in those that follow) the vpholder & gouernor of all (Psa. 115. 3. Heb. 1. 3.) Father of our Lord Iesus Christ (Psal. 2. 7. and verses following) and our Father through him (Rom. 8. 15.) keeper of our soules and bodies (Luke 12. 12.) And that Iesus Christ the second person of the Godhead is the sonne of God the Father (Iohn 1. 18. &c.) onely begotten (Iohn 1. 29. Heb. 1. 2.) equal to his Father (1. Chro. 17. 13. Ioh. 1. 1.) true God (Iohn 1. 2. &c.) for appointed before the creation of all things (1. Pet. 1. 20. Reuel. 13. 8. &c.) and presently after mans fall promised to be the Messias (Gene. 3. 15. &c.) published eftsoones vnto the holy Patriarches, as vnto Abraham (Gen. 12. 3. &c.) vnto Isaac (Gen 26. 4.) vnto Iacob (Gene. 28. 14.) and confirmed by promises (Gen. 49. 9. Esa. 11. 1. 10.) prefigured by ꝑ sacrifices of Moses (Leu. 1. 2. &c.) and by other types, namely by the offering of Isaac (Gen. 22.) by the lifting vp of the brasen serpent (Num. 21.) by Ionas (Ionas 2. &c.) proclaimed by the testimony of the Prophets (Esa. 7. 14.) and at length in the fulnesse of time truely exhibited: true man (Iohn 1. 14. &c. Gal. 4.) that he died for our sinnes, and was raised againe for our iustification (Rom. 4. 25. &c.) Ascending into heauen (Acts 1. 9. &c.) and making intercession for vs at the right hand of his Father without ceasing (1. Iohn 2. 1. &c.)

A summe of the Islanders Religion.

by

by his holy Spirit (which is the thirde person of the Godhead, coequall, and consubstantial to the Father and the Sonne, Acts.5.4.) gathering the Church to himselfe by the Word, and Sacraments (Matth.16.18.Rom.10.14.&c. and sanctifying it to eternal life, Acts.9.31.&c. And that one day at the end of the world he will come from heauen (Acts.1.11.) to iudge the quicke and the dead (1.Thessal.4.15.) that he will render vnto the wicked according to their workes, and that he wil iudge them to eternal paines (Matth.13.42.& 25.4.) but that he wil reward them with eternal life, who beleeue in his Name (Matth.25.34.) This Iesus Christ (I say) wee acknowledge to be our redeemer (Matth.1.21.) our head (1.Corinth.12.27.) and our Lord (Ephe.4.5.) And that wee in our holy baptisme do giue, and haue giuen our names vnto him (Acts.2.38.) and that we are engraffed into him by baptisme (1.Corin.12.13.) And this we do plainely, ingenuously, freely, and willingly confesse, and witnesse: And as for all others who inuent any other name in heauen giuen vnto men by which they may be saued, we doe earnestly detest, curse, and condemne them (Acts.4.12.) We holde his most holy Word to be the onely rule of our saluation: And that alone (all mans deuises being cast away and contemned) we propound vnto our selues as an infallible rule, and leuel of our faith (Galat.1.8.Esai 29.13.Ezech.20.) which we conteine vnder the name of the olde and newe Testament (Hebr.8.) deliuered by the Prophets and Apostles (Ephe.2.20.) by the singular and infinite goodnesse of God, preserued euer vnto this day and to be preserued hereafter alwayes in the Church (Matth.28. last verse. Psal.71.18.1.Cor.11.26.)

Therefore we render thankes vnto our most gracious and Almighty God from our soule, and from our whole heart, because that euen vnto vs being separated an huge distance from the rest of the body of his Church, and inhabiting the farthest parts of the world, hee would that this light graunted for the reuelation of the Gentiles, and prepared before the face of all people, and in olde time fauourably shewed to holy Simeon (for in Christ are all the treasures of wisedome hidden) which now doeth enlighten and cherish with the saluing beames thereof our whole nation, that hee would (I say) this light should come vnto vs. This in briefe (running ouer the very summe) is our faith, and our Religion, which by the direction of the holy Spirit, and of his Ministers in the vineyard of Christ, we haue drawen and that out of the fountaines of Israel.

Krantzius. In the yeere of our Lord 1070. saw the Islanders conuerted vnto Christ, &c.

IT is doubtful vnto vs whether in these words Krantzius would haue said, that the Islanders were first conuerted vnto Christ in the yeere of our Lord 1070: or whether he doth not deny that they were indeed before conuerted, but saith that it was knowne first vnto Adalbert that yeere. But whether soeuer of these he affirmeth: notwithstanding the yerely records, and most auncient Chronicles of our nation testifying the contrary do make his credite to be suspected in this place, vnto which records and Chronicles, whether you had rather giue assent concerning our owne proper and domestical affaires, done within the bounds of our Island, or to Krantzius or any other being ignorant in the story of our countrey, I appeale (friendly reader) vnto your owne discretion. For my part I am enforced by many reasons to agree rather vnto our owne writers. For our countreymen affirme those things onely that be knowen, and in a manner domestical: he writeth matters forreine and vnknowen: they haue compiled their histories without the diffaming, disgracing or reprehending of any other nations, onely that they might assigne vnto their owne acts and exploits the true time or age thereof: he hath intermedled in his history certaine things contrary to the truth, and that to the vpbraiding of our nation being most vnknowen vnto him, as it shall immediatly appeare: they describe the names, peres, order, succession of all the Bishops of Island: he mentioneth onely one, & that farre otherwise then the truth. Furthermore, that I may make good the credite of our Countreymen, I wil impart with strangers a fewe things which I found in our most ancient records of the conuersion of Island vnto Christ, and of the succession of Bishops in our Churches. Which although they be of litle moment, and not altogether worthy to be written, yet must they of necessitie bee set downe for the defence of the trueth of our affaires against Krantzius and others: Thus therefore standeth the certeintie thereof.

The most ancient Chronicles of Island.

Island first inhabited. In the yeere of Christ 874. Island (being indeed discouered before that time, as is aboue mentioned) was then first of all inhabited by certaine Norwagians. Their chiefetaine was one Ingulphus from whose name the East cape of Island is called *Ingulffs hoffdi*. These planters are reckoned vp by name in our records more then to the number of 400. together with those of their blood and kinred, and great families besides: neither onely is their number described, but it is also plainely set downe, what coasts, what shores, and what in-land places eche of them did occupie and inhabite, and what names the first inhabitants did giue vnto streights, bayes, harbouroughs, necklands, creekes, caues, rockes, craggs, mountaines, hilles, valleys, homockes, springs, floods, riuers. And to be short, what names they gaue vnto their graunges or houses, whereof many at this day are reteined and vsed. Therefore the Norwayes with their company peopled all the habitable

habitable parts of Island now occupied by them for the space of 60. yeeres or thereabout [illegible] they remayned Ethnickes almost a 100. yeres, except a very few which were baptised in [illegible] vaic. But scarce a 100. yeres from their first entrance being past, presently Christian Religi[illegible] began to be considered vpon, namely about the yeere of our Lord 974. Which thing aboue 20. [illegible]res together, was diuerslie attempted of many not without notable rebellion: amongst the r[illegible] are mentioned two outlandish Bishops, who with others diligently laboured in conuerting the Island to Christian faith: the former was one Fridericus a Saxon borne, who in the yeere 981. came in to Island, and behaued himselfe couragiously in the office of preaching, and preuailed so much, that in the yeere 984. Churches were vsed in Island.

Fridericus Saxo the first preacher of the Christian faith in Island. Anno Domini 981.

But the other outlandish Bishop or preacher whom they called *Thangbrandt* came first into Island in the yeere 997.

And then after 26. yeeres consulting about Religion, at length in the yeere 1000. it was decreed in a generall assembly of all the inhabitants by their whole consent, that the worship of heathenish Idoles being abandoned, they should embrace Christian Religion.

Anno Domini 1000.

Againe, in the yeere 1050. it was decreed in a solemne assembly of the inhabitantes, that temporall or politique lawes (the constitutions whereof being brought out of Norwaie were communicated vnto the Islanders by one *Vffiot* in the yeere 926.) should euery where giue place to the Canon or diuine Lawe.

In the yere 1056. one *Isleif* went beyond the seas out of Island to be cõsecrated bishop of Island. He came home consecrated into Island, and entred into the bishoprieke of *Schalholt* in the yeere 1057. He died 1080. in the yeere of his age 74. The 4. of the Kalends of July.

These things perhaps will seeme trifling, short and base, nor sufficiently worthy to be mentioned, together with many other matters which follow: but neither doe wee compile the Romane history, neither yet shall these things be so trifling, but that they may be of sufficient force to conuince the errours of Krantzius and others, according to our purpose. And vndoubtedly as touching the trueth of our histories, it is euident that Saxo Grammaticus attributeth very much vnto them: whose words in his preface of Denmarke be these: Neither is the diligence of the *Thylen*-*sis* (so he calleth Islanders) to be smothered in silence: who when as by reason of the natiue barrennes of their soile, wanting nourishments of riot, they do exercise the duties of continuall sobrietie, and vse to bestow all the time of their life in the knowledge of other mens exploits, they supply their want by their wit. For they esteeme it a pleasure to know, and commit vnto memory the famous acts of other nations, reckoning it no lesse praiseworthy to discourse of other mens vertues, then to practise their owne. Whose treasuries replenished with the monuments of historical matters, I more curiously searching into, haue compiled no smal part of this present worke by following of their relation: neither despised I to haue those men for my iudges, whom I knew to be skilfull in so great knowledge of antiquitie. Thus farre Saxo.

A notable testimonie of Saxo concerning the Islanders.

Wherefore I thinke it not amisse to proceede in the recitall of the Bishops of Island, that the order and descent of them all, being so farre forth as is possible, diligently put together out of our yeerely records, may make good that which we haue alleged against Krantzius concerning *Isleif* the first Bishop of Island.

In the yeere of CHRIST.	The Bishops of *Schalholt*.	The Bishops of *Holen*.	In the yeere of CHRIST.
	I. Isleif.	I. Ionas sonne of Augmundus.	
1056.	Consecrated beyond the seas.	Isleif his disciple.	
1057.	Returneth and entereth the Bishops sea of Schalholt.	Consecrated beyonde the seas in the yeere of his age 64. his surname was Sanctus, vnto whose memorie the 3. of March was by the inhabitants in old time dedicated.	1106.
1080.	Dieth in the yere of his age 74. the 4. of the Kalends of July.	Dieth the 11. of the Kalends of May.	1121.
	II. Gysserus.	II. Ketillus or Catullus.	
1082.	Consecrated beyond the sea.	Consecrated.	
1083.	Returneth into Island with his Bishoprieke.	Dieth.	1122.
1118.	Dieth the 5. of the Kal. of May being tuesday.		1145.
	III. Thorlacus sonne of Runulphus.	III. Biorno.	
	Consecrated the same yeere, wherein his	Being consecrated came into Island.	1147.
		Dieth	

In the yeare of CHRIST.	The Bishops of *Schalholt.*	The Bishops of *Holen.*	In the yeare of CHRIST.
	his predecessor Gyslerus deceased, but	Dieth.	1161.
1133.	yet 30. dayes before his death. Dieth.	IIII.	
	IIII.	Brandus.	
	Magnus.	Consecrated.	1163.
1134.	Consecrated.	Entreth to Episcopall see.	1167.
1148.	On the morrowe after the feast of all	Dieth.	1201.
	Saints, in his parish towne of *Hitardal*, the house being striken with light-	V.	
	ning, hee, and 70. men with him were	Gudmundus sirnamed Bonus,	
	consumed with fire.	Elected and consecrated.	1203.
	V.	Dieth.	1237.
	Klaingus.	VI.	
1151.	Chosen.	Botolphus.	
1152.	Entreth the see.	Returneth consecrated.	1239.
1176.	Dieth.	Dieth.	1246.
	VI.	VII.	
	Thorlacus.	Henricus.	
	Chosen two yeres before the death of	Entreth the see.	1247.
	his predecessour.	Dieth.	1260.
1178.	Consecrated.	VIII.	
1193.	Dieth.	Brandus an Abbat,	
	VII.	Goeth beyond the sea.	1261.
	Paulus.	Entreth the Bishoppicke.	1263.
1195.	Consecrated.	Dieth.	1264.
1211.	Dieth.	IX.	
	VIII.	Ierundus.	
	Magnus.	Entreth his see.	1267.
1216.	Consecrated.	Dieth.	1313.
	IX.	X.	
	Siguardus.	Audunnus.	
1239.	Entreth his see.	Entreth his see.	1314.
1268.	Dieth.	Dieth.	1322.
	X.	XI.	
	Arnerus.	Laurentius.	
1269.	Entreth his see.	Elected and consecrated.	1324.
1298.	Dieth.	Dieth in the Ides of Aprill.	1331.
	XI.	XII.	
	Arnerus sonne of Helgo.	Egillus.	
1304.	Consecrated.	Entreth his see.	1332.
1305.	Entereth the see.	Dieth.	1341.
1309.	Sailleth into Norwaie, to craue tim-	XIII.	
	ber of the king of Norway, wherewith	Ormus.	
	the Church of Schalholt might be re-	Entreth his see.	1343.
	edified, which the same yere being touche	Dieth vpon the feast of all Saints.	1355.
	with lightning, was burnt downe.	XIIII.	
1310.	Returneth home.	Ionas sonne of Ericus,	
1320.	Dieth.	sirnamed *Skalle.*	
	XII.	Being to enter his sea of Holen came	1358.
	Ionas Haldorus.	into Island. This Ionas being before	
1321.	Elected.	time consecrated bishop of Gronland,	11 Bishops of Gronland.
1322.	Consecrated the first of August.	obteined licence of the bishop of Rome	1356.
1323.	Entereth his see.	to enter the See of Holen, which was	
1338.	Dieth.	at that time vacant. Whereupon com-	
	XIII.	ming and not bringing with him the	
	Ionas sonne of Indrid a Norwagian	confirmation of this dignitie and func-	
1339.	borne. Entreth his see.	tion, receiued from the Pope, hee be-	
1341.	Dieth.	gan to be suspected among the priests	
	XIIII.	of the diocesse of Holen. Wherefore he	
		was	

In the yeere of Christ.	The Bishops of Schalholt.	In the yeere of Christ.	The Bishops of Holen.
	XIIII. Ionas sonne of Siguardus.		was sent backe vp thether into Norway, that the matter might bee set through by the iudgement of the king. The king therefore fauouring his part, he obteined the bishoppricke of Holen.
1343.	Entreth his see.		He dieth.
1348.	Dieth on S. Magnus euen.		XV. Peter.
	XV. Gyrdus,	1391.	Consecrated the same yere wherein his predecessour departed out of this present life.
1349.	Consecrated at Asloin Norway by Solomon bishop of Asloe.		Entreth the see of Holen.
1356.	Going beyond the seas he was drowned.	1392.	Dieth.
	XVI. Thorarinnus.		XVI. Ionas Wilhelmus English, Either borne or sir-named.
1362.	Entreth his see.		Entred the see.
1364.	Dieth.	1432.	An English man Bishop in Island.
	XVII. Oddgeirus.		XVII. Godschalcus.
1366.	Entreth his see.		Died.
1381.	Dieth vpon the Assumption of the blessed Virgin, in the port of Bergen in Norway, falling downe from a packe of wares into the botome of the ship. He was buried at Bergen in the Church of our Sauiour.	1457.	XVIII. Olaus son of Rogwaldus nephew to the forenamed Godschalcus by the sisters side, both of them being Norwayes.
	XVIII. Michael a Dane.		He was established.
1385	Entreth his see.		He dieth.
1389.	Resigneth, and sailleth into Denmarke.	1458.	
	XIX. William a Dane.	1497.	
1394.	Entereth the Bishoppricke.		XIX. Godschalchus
	Dieth.		The nephewe of Olaus deceased, by the brothers side: also hee being a Norwagian was elected the same peere wherein his vncle deceased.
	XX. Arnerus sirnamed *Mildur*, that is to say, Liberall. He was at one time Lord President of all Island, bishop of Schalholt, and vicebishop of Holen. He died.	1500.	He entreth the see. And for the space of 20. whole yeres is reported, cruelly to haue entreated many of the subiects. In the yeere 1520. whē he was in the midst of his cups, and banqueting dishes, & heard that Ionas Sigismundus was departed out of this life (whom with his wife and children, he had for many yeres most cruelly oppressed) he presently fell into a sudden disease, and so not long after changed that violence for miserable death, which in his whole life he had vsed against his distressed subiects.
1430.			
	XXI. Ionas Gerickson Sueden, either sirnamed or borne, is made Bishop ouer the		XX. Ionas Aræsonius.
1432.	Church of Schalholt: and afterward for certaine bolde attempts being taken by one Thorualdus de Modruuollum (as it is reported) and a great stone being bound to his necke, hee was cast aliue into the riuer of Schalholt, (which taketh name of the bridge) and was there strangled.		Entreth the see.
	XXII.	1525.	This man was the last & most earnest mainteiner of Popish superstitions. Who stoutely withstanding Gysserus and Martinus bishops of Schalholt, was commanded by the most
1445.	Goswinus bishop of Schalholt.		
	XXIII.		
1472.	Sueno called his wife, bishop of Schalholt.		
	XXIIII.		
1489.	Magnus sonne of Eiolphus, Bishop, &c.		
	XXV. Stephen.		
1494.	Entreth the see. Then (liuing at one time with Godschalchus bishop of Holen, who seemed worthy to be sirnamed cruel) he had the same commendations for mercy and iustice, that Godschalchus had.		
	He		

In the yeere of Christ.	The Bishops of *Schalholt*.	The Bishops of *Holen*.	In the yeere of Christ.
1519.	He died or thereabout.	most religious king Christian the 3. vnder paine of banishment to come with all speed into Denmarke. But neglecting the kings commaundement, hee tooke Martine bishop of Schalholt, and committed him to ward. At length he himselfe also being taken by a man of great name (whom before that time, it is saide, he had prouoked) and being brought to Schalholt, was, together with his two sonnes, by the authoritie of the kings Lieutenant beheaded. In reuenge whereof not long after, the saide Lieu-tenant with some of his company, was villanously slaine by certaine roysters, which were once seruants to the parties beheaded.	
	XXVI.		
	Augmundus.		
	Chosen in the yeere wherein Stephen deceased. Entreth the see.		
1522.	While he was Bishop, the kings Lieu-tenant with some of his followers being inuited to Schalholt, in the time of the banquet, was slaine by certaine conspirators: because hee had in all places wickedly wasted the inhabitants and their goods. But Augmundus as the author of that murther (although he purged himselfe with an othe) being transported into Denmarke, there ended his life.		
	XXVII.		
	Gysserus.		
1540.	Elected, Augmundus yet liuing.		
1541.	Entred the see.		
	He was the abolisher of Popish traditions about Priests marriages: his owne marriage being solemnized at Schalholt.		
1544.			1551.
	XXVIII.		
	Martinus.		
1547.	Bishop, &c. And the yeeres following.		
	XXIX.		
	Gisslaus Ionas.		
	This man presently, in the time of bishop Augmund began in his youth to be enflamed with ỳ loue of true pietie, & of the pure doctrine of the Gospel, & being pastour of the Church of Selardal, diligently to aduaunce the same, by which meanes he did so procure vnto himselfe ỳ hatred of Papists, as being costreined to giue place vnto their craft & crueltie, he departed ouer to Hamburg, from whence coming to Copen Hagen in Denmarke, & painefully proceeding in his former study of diuinitie, he liued in the familiaritie, and fauour of many, but specially of D.D. Peter Palladius: who was at that time bishop there. Afterward returning into his countrey, Martine gaue place vnto him of his owne accord. This		1552.
			1553.
1556.			
1587.	man died also, hauing for the space of 31. yeres or there abouts, professed the Gospel of Iesus Christ: neither did he helpe & further the Church of God by the sound of his voice onely, but by all other meanes to the vtmost of his abilitie, by teaching, preaching, writing, by his wealth & his counsel.		
	XXX.		
	Otto Enerus, a graue, godly, and learned man.		
1588.	Being chosen he departeth his		
1589.	countrey. Hee is consecrated, returneth, and entreth the sea, endeuouring himselfe in the labours of his function.		
			1568.
		XXII.	
		Gudbrandus Thorlacius.	
		The ornament, not onely of his age but of posteritie also: who besides that, by the direction of the holy spirit, he hath most notably brought the worke begunne, and left vnto him by his predecessour Olaus to that perfection which it hath pleased God to vouchsafe: (namely his labours and diligence in maintayning the trueth of the Gospel, and in abolishing of Popish superstitions) euen in this his countrey hee is the first that hath established a Printing house. For which cause his countrey (besides, for many other bookes translated into our mother tongue) shalbe eternally bounden vnto him, that the sacred Bible also, by his meanes, is fairely printed in the language of Island. Hee (I say) being at this present, Bishop, when he was about to take his charge:	
		Departed his countrey.	1570.
		Returned and entred the see of Holen.	1571.

In

In these times therefore light is restored vnto our soules from heauen, and the gate of the kingdome of heauen is opened vnto vs by the sincere preaching of Christian doctrine. For in either of the Bishops seats there is a free schoole founded by the liberality and pietie of that most renowned King of Denmarke Christian the third: and afterward the same following the godly steppes of his most Christian father, the said Free schooles by Lord Friderick the second, our most religious King, being called vp to his heauenly countrey in the yeare 1588, haue beene encreased and furthered: which at this day also doe prosper and flourish by the fauour and authoritie of the most gracious King and our Prince, Christian the fourth, wherein the youth of our Islande being instructed in the rudiments of liberall artes, and sacred diuinitie, are trained vp to knowledge and true godlinesse, that from hence ministers of Churches may proceede.

We are come at length in the register of the Bishops of Island downe to this present day, wherein the forenamed excellent men Gudbrandus Thorlacius, and Otto Enerus, the one at Holen, and the other at Schalholt are Bishops of our Cathedrall Churches: both of which men, that it would please God long to preserue vnto his Church in health and life, for the glorie of this most holy name, we all doe earnestly and with feruent prayers beseech him.

The second section.

They inhabite for the most part in caues, or hollowe places within the sides of mountaines. And againe, They haue many houses and Churches built with the bones of fishes, and Whales. Againe. Many of them also to auoide the extremitie of colde, doe keepe themselues close in their caues, euen as the people of Africa doe to auoyde the heate of the sunne. Also *Munster* sayth: Many in Island at this day build their houses with the ribbes and bones of Whales. Munsterus. Krantzius. Frisius.

Here the second member taketh his beginning concerning the course of life, and the manners of the inhabitants. And first of all what buildings or houses they doe vse: namely according to Munster, Krantzius, Frisius &c. Holes and caues of mountaines. But although in gorgeous buildings, and such other worldly braueries there is very litle helpe to the attayning of a life truely happie: notwithstanding, wee can not in this place conceale the truth: and we plainely affirme that Cosmographers and Historiographers also doe erre in this point. For such habitations as they write to be common vnto the whole nation, are but in very fewe places, and are either sheepe-cots for shepheards, or cottages and receptacles for fishermen at that time of the yeere onely when they goe a fishing, and the others stande in neede to watch their flocke. But for their houses themselues, and the very dwelling places of men, the Islanders haue had them built from auncient time stately and sumptuously enough, according to the condition of the Countrey, with timber, stones, and turfes, vntill such time as traffique and exchange of wares beganne to cease betweene them and the Norwagians, who were wont to supply them with timber, and for that cause nowe our houses beginne to decay: whereas neither we haue woods conuenient for building, nor yet there are nowe a dayes, as there were in olde time, trees cast vpon our shores by the benefite of the sea, which may in any sort relieue vs: neither doe outlandish Merchants succour our necessities: whereupon many of our ancient countrey villages are much decayed from their auncient integritie, some whereof be fallen to the ground, and others bee very ruinous. Notwithstanding there be many farmes and villages which I cannot easily reckon vp, the buildings whereof doe resemble that auncient excellencie, the houses being very large, both in breadth and length, and for the most part of eight also. As for example: farmes or granges which conteine chambers in them, more then fiftie cubites in length, tenne in breadth, and twentie in height. And so other roomes, as the parler, a sloue, a butterie, &c. answering in proportion vnto the former. I could here name many of our countrie buildings both large and wide, neither illfauoured in shewe, nor base in regarde of their workemanship and costly firmenesse or strength, with certaine Churches also, and religious houses built of timber onely, according to auncient and artificiall seemelinesse and order: as the Cathedrall Church of Holen hauing a bodie the fiue pillars whereof on both sides are fiue elnes high, and about fiue elnes thicke, as also beames and weather-bourdes, and the rest of the roofe proportionally answering to this lower building. Our most gracious King Lord Friderick, whose memory is most sacred vnto vs, in the yere 1588. did most liberally bestow timber for the reedifying of this body being cast downe in the yere 1584. by an horrible tempest. But the Church it selfe doth manifestly exceed the body thereof in all quantity: also the inner part of the Church, which is commonly called the quier is somwhat lesse, both then the middle part of the Church and also then the bodie.

Traffike with the people of Norway ceaseth.

Drift wood not so plentifull now, as in times past.

The Church of Schalholt was farre greater as I haue heard in olde time, then this our

Cathedrall, which hauing now beene twiſe burnt, is brought to a leſſer ſcantling. Likewiſe there be ſome other Churches of our Iland, although not matching, yet reſembling the auncient magnificence of theſe. But here the matter ſeemeth not to require that I ſhould runne into a long deſcription of theſe things. For as wee doe not greatly extoll our houſes and buildings, ſo are we nothing aſhamed of them: becauſe being content with our pouertie, we render vnto Chriſt immortall prayſe who deſpiſeth not to be receiued of vs vnder a baſe roofe, and contemneth not our temples and houſes, (which Munſter, Krantzius and Friſius doe not truely affirme to be built of fiſhes and Whales bones) more then the marble vaults, the painted walles, the ſquare pauementes, and ſuch like ornamentes of Churches and houſes in other countries.

The third ſection.

Krantzius. Munſterus. They and their cattell vſe all one houſe, all one foode or victuals, all one ſtate (here *Krantzius* hath it lodging.) Alſo. They liue onely by feeding of cattell, and ſometimes by taking of fiſhes.

THeſe be the things together with thoſe that followe, which Krantzius hath champed, and put into Munſters mouth, ſo that Munſter ſhall not neede ſo much as once to chewe them, which may appeare by comparing them both together. For Munſter, as hee ſwallowed theſe reproches, taking them out of Krantzius his preface vpon Norway, ſo he caſteth vp the verie ſame morſels vndigeſted and rawe againſt our nation, in his fourth booke of Cosmographie cap. 8. Thoſe things which haue beene hitherto, although they haue ſufficiently grieued vs, yet will we let them ſeeme more tollerable: but this moſt malitious deuiſe, and thoſe which follow we cannot eaſily brooke. It is our part therefore in this place alſo to auouch the truerth, and to turne the leaſing vpon the authors owne head.

Houſe, &c. Firſt, that which they ſay concerning the ſame common houſe (as alſo liuing, and ſtate) with our cattell, we plainely affirme to be falſe and erronious, not onely the truth it ſelfe being our witneſſe, if any man would make triall, but alſo the experience of meane ſtrangers, that haue liued ſome yeeres amongſt vs, and haue more minde to ſpeake the truerth then to reuile our nation: who haue ſeene our houſes and habitations with their owne eyes, and knewe that in euery particular farme or graunge there were many ſeuerall roomes: namely, in thoſe that were moſt ſimple and baſe, ſeuen or eight: In others which were greater, ſometimes tenne, and ſometimes twentie. In the greateſt ſometimes fortie, and ſometimes fifitie. Which for the moſt part being ſeuered, both by roofes and walles, doe ſerue for the daylie and houſhold affaires of one owner or maſter, ſeldome of two or three, but almoſt euer of more whereupon the Reader may eaſily iudge, howe true it is that the Iſlanders and their cattell haue all one houſe to lie in, when euery husbandman in this varietie of roomes hath ſeuerall ore-ſtalles, ſheepe-cotes, ſtables, lambes-cots ſeparated indifferent ſpaces one from another, which the ſeruants goe vnto ſo oft as neede requireth, and from thence returne backe to their dwelling houſes.

But whereas one noted in his Mappe of Iſland, concerning the prouince of *Skageford* that vnder the ſame roofe, men, dogges, ſwine and ſheepe liue all together, it is partly falſe and partly no maruell: for ſheepe, as it hath beene ſayde, and ſpecially for ſwine (when as the prouince hath no ſwine at all) it is vtterly falſe: for dogges it is no maruell, when as not kings courts were euer, or at this day are deſtitute of them, as it is well knowen to all men. But touching dogges afterward in the ſeuenth ſection.

Victuals, &c. Whither beaſts meate may fitly be termed by the name of Victus, a man muſt iuſtly doubt: when Doletus interpreting a peece of Tullie, ſaith: As for Victus (ſayth he) will ſo expound it with the Ciuilians, namely that we comprehend vnder the word of Victus things neceſſarie for the life of man, as meate, drinke, attire of the bodie, &c. And Vlpianus verborum ſignificatione defineth Victus in the very ſame words. But in this place the ſaide thoſe call beaſts meate by the name of Victus.

But let vs ſee what trueth and plaine dealing is to be found in theſe men. We haue no beuring cattell beſides horſes and oxen: theſe haue graſſe and hay (except where haye is wanting) for their fodder, and water to drinke. Now, the very ſame writers confeſſe, that the Iſlanders liue by fiſh, butter, fleſh both beefe, and mutton, and corne alſo, though it be ſcarce, and brought out of other countries. Therefore they haue not the ſame foode with their beaſts, which notwithſtanding the ſayde writers affirme in theſe words:

Th

They and their cattell vse all one victuals or food. What Munsters meaning is in this clause, he himselfe a little before hath plainely taught.

Island (saith he) conteineth many people liuing onely with the food of cattell, and sometimes by taking of fishes. But what else is the food of cattell, but the meat of cattell, saith Doletus? Unlesse perhaps Munster calleth the food of cattell, but the meat of cattell, saith Doctor of men: whom, as I thinke, the vse of the latine tongue doth gainesay, which hath taught vs that as men doe eate, so beasts do feede, and hath termed the victuals of men, and the food or fodder of cattel. But may I thinke that Munster and Krantzius were so mad as to imagine that the Islanders liue vpon grasse and hay? To this passe of miserie was Nabuchodonozor brought vndergoing the yoke of Gods vengeance: Daniel 4. vers. 30. We will easily graunt that beasts, and cattell will not perhaps refuse many things, which men not onely of our countrey but of yours also eate, if the saide beasts be destitute of their vsuall food: as horses are feede with corne and barley loaues: they will drinke milke also (like vnto calues and lambes) and ale, if it be proffered them, and that greedily. And dogges in like manner will deuour any deinty dishes whatsoeuer. May any man therefore say that men vse the same common victuals with dogges and horses?

Now, whatsoeuer things haue happened in the time of grieuous famine ought not to be recorded in history for the generall custome of any countrey. As it is not lawfull for vs to write concerning other nations, that the people of this or that countrie, doe vsually liue by eating of dogs, mice, rats, although perhaps in the time of famine or seige or dearth of corne, they haue often bene constrained so to doe.

But that the same drinke is some times common to many men with beasts, we will not greatly gainesay: namely most pure water, that naturall drinke created by God for all liuing creatures: which also in some respect Phillicians doe commende, yea, neither the Patriarkes themselues, nor our sauiour Christ despised it.

As touching apparell (for we comprehend apparell also vnder the name of Victus) it is no wise common to vs with beasts. For nature hath clad them with haires & pricles (as I dare say Munster and Krantzius cannot be ignorant) men, being otherwise naked, stande in neede of clothes to couer their bodies. But I had not thought it might therefore haue properly beene sayde, that sheepe and we haue all one apparell. Men of other countries also weare cloth of sheepes woolle, although it be more finely wrought. But no more concerning the attire of the bodie. For it is a meere folly to seeke for praise, and ambitious reputation by that, which argueth the infirmitie of our nature.

State, &c. Now, it remaineth that we should speake of that state, which we are sayd to haue common with beasts: but of what kinde or maner it should be, or our writers would haue it to be, I cannot easily discerne. State (sayth Doletus) is either of the body, or of causes, or of order and condition. Doubtlesse, that there is another state of our bodies then of beasts (for besides our two feet, we haue hands also, and go with our bodies, and countenances lift vpright) and that we be of another order and condition from them, we are verily perswaded. As for these good fellowes, if they know any such matter by themselues or others, let them disclose it. We doe altogether scorne thyle, being so vaine things, and hreeding so great contempt against the Maiesty of God our creator, neither do we vouchsafe them any larger discourse.

But because it is our duety not so highly to regard either the loue of our countrey, or of any other thing whatsoeuer, but that we may be ready at all times, and in all places, to giue trueth the preheminence: I will say in a word what that was which perhaps might minister occasion to this infamous reproch of writers.

There be nere vnto Schalholt, vpon the South shore of Island, three small parishes standing betweene two most swift riuers Thiorsaa, and Olfwis Aa, being in a maner destitute both of wood and turfe, which is the accustomed fewell of the countrey. And although most of the inhabitants of these parishes, and some of their neighbours, as they doe in time of peace prouide all things necessary for houshold, so especially those things which belong to fires and bathes: notwithstanding there be certaine among them of the basest sort of people, who, because they want these things at home, and are not able to prouide them from other places, are constrained to vse cow dung for the dressing of their meat. But when the sharpe rigor of snowy Winter commeth on, these poore people betake them to their ore stalles, & there setting vp sheds, & doing their necessary businesse in the day time, when they are not able to make fires, they borrow heat from their oxen, as hath beene reported to me by others: And so they onely, being verie fewe in number, doe willingly enioye, but are constrayned to vse the same common house with their oxen. But their likelihoode and state it is farre otherwise with them then with their oxen, of which thing I haue entreated before. This is the lot, & pouertie of certaine men in those petie parishes,

the condition whereof is therefore made a common by-worde of the people amongst vs, though somewhat iniuriously. Where I would willingly demaund with what honestie men can impute that vnto the whole nation, which is hard and skantly true of these fewe poore men? I am wearie to stay any longer in this matter: onely, because I haue to doe with Diuines, let that of Salomon suffice, Prouerbs 17. verse 5. Hee that mocketh the poore, reprocheth him that made him.

And in very deede, because this our nation is poore, and heretofore hath beene poore and needie, and as it were a begger amongest many rich men, it hath sustained so many taunts and scoffes of strangers. But let them take heede whom they vpbraide. Verely if there were nothing else common vnto vs with them, yet we both consist of the same elements, and haue all one father and God.

The fourth section.

Krantzius. Munsterus. They leade their liues in holy simplicitie, not seeking any more then nature doeth afforde. A happie Nation, whose pouertie no man doth enuie. But the English and Danish merchants suffer not the nation to be at rest, who frequenting that countrey to transport fishing, haue conueighed thither our vices, together with their manifolde wares. For nowe, they haue learned to brew their water with corne, and beginne to despise, and loath the drinking of faire water. Now they couet golde and siluer like vnto our men.

SImplicitie, &c. I am exceedingly glad, that the commendation of holy simplicitie is giuen vnto vs. But it grieueth vs that there is found so great a decay of iustice, and good lawes, and so great want of gouernement amongst vs, which is the cause of many thousande haynous offences: which all honest and godly men doe continually bewayle. This inconuenience doth not happen through the negligence of the highest Magistrate, that is, of our most gracious King, but rather by our owne fault: who doe not present these thinges vnto his Maiestie, which are disorderly committed without his knowledge, and which are wanting in the inferiour Magistrate.

Merchants. Moreouer, Merchants, not onely of England and Denmarke, but especially of Germanie, as at this time, so heretofore frequenting our countrey, not to transport fishing, but fishes, taught not Islanders the arte of brewing corne with water. For þ Norwegians themselues, the first, to our knowledge, that inhabited this Iland, frō whom þ Islanders are lineally descended, brought with them out of Norway that arte, as also golde and siluer coine, so that in old time there was no lesse vse of siluer and golde with vs, then there is at this day.

And it is certaine that before the often nauigations of Danes, Germans, and English men vnto vs, our land was much more fertile then nowe it is (feeling the inconueniences of the ages and decayed worke, both from heauen and earth) and brought foorth, in certaine choyse places, corne in abundance.

Corne of old time growing in Island.

The fift section.

Munsterus. Krantzius. The King of Denmarke and Norway sendeth euery yeere a Lieutenant into the Countrey.

IN the yeere of our Lord eight hundred fortie and fiue Harald *Hærfagre* (which is to say, golden haires or faire clockes) was borne. Who afterward in the yeere eight hundred fiftie and eight, being chosen king of Norway, when he was growen to age, and full strength, changed the forme of the Norwagian gouernment. For whereas before it was deuided into petie Principalities (which they called *Fylki*, and the petie kings that gouerned them, *Fylkis konga*) he reduced it by force of armes vnto a Monarchie. But when some inhabitants of the countrie, being of mightie, and descended of good parentages, could not well brooke this hard dealing, they chose rather to be banished their countrey, then not to shake off the yoke of tyranny. Whereupon they in the yeere aboue named eight hundred seuentie and foure, transported colonies into Island, being before discouered by some men and found out, but vnpeopled as yet: And so being the first founders of our nation, they called themselues Islanders, which name their posteritie retaineth vnto this day. And therefore the Islanders liued a long time, namely, three hundred eightie and fiue yeeres, more or lesse, acknowledging no submission to any other Nation. Although Haquinus that crowned King of Norway, who reigned longest of any Norwagian king, namely, aboue sixtie fiue yeares, did oftentimes attempt by Ambassadours to make the Islanders become tributaries vnto him, notwithstanding at all times they constantly withstoode him, till at length about the yeere of our Lord 1260. they performed homage vnto him. And after

The occasion of the first inhabiting of Island by the people of Norway.

Haquinus coronatus.

ward continued alwayes in their promised loyaltie, being subiects to the king of Norway. But now at this day, since the Empire of the Norwagians was translated by Margaret Queene of Denmarke, Suedeland, and Norway vnto the Danes, they doe honour as their soueraigne Lord and King the most gracious king of Denmarke.

The sixt section.

All things are common among them except their wiues.

Krantzius. Munsterus.

HEre Krantzius in the first place beginneth with such a gybe. There be many notable things in their manners, &c. Moreouer, your wit being too hastie in affirming things vnknowen, doth here also diminish your credite. The experience as well of all things as of persons and times proueth your ouer greedie desire of noueltie, of fame and vaine-glorie, and argueth your great negligence in maintaining the truth. O worthy writers.

But whether the aforesayde things bee true or no, wee call the lawes of our Countrey to witnesse, which the Islanders from the beginning haue vsed all one with the Norwayes: of the King and his subiects: of the state of iustice, and of law-cases which come to be decided there: of inheritances: of adoptions, marriages, theft, extortions, lending, bargaines, and the rest: all which, to what purpose should they be entoyned vnto them with whom all things are common? We call to witnesse so many broyles and contentions in our courts, and places of iudgement in Island concerning goods mooueable, and immooueable: we call to witnesse our kings, now of Denmarke, aforetime of Norway, who by so many billes of supplication out of Island in old time, and of late haue beene often interrupted, for the setting through of controuersies concerning possessions. Wee call Krantzius himselfe to witnesse against himselfe, whose words in the first section were these, Before the receiuing of Christian faith the Islanders liuing according to the lawe of nature did not much differ from our lawe, &c. If by the lawe of nature, then doubtelesse by that lawe of iustice, which giueth to euery man his owne: If by the lawe of iustice, then certainely distinctions of properties and possessions must needes haue taken place in our Nation: and although this very lawe is often transgressed, and that haynously euen in the Church: notwithstanding both the Church, and also heathen men doe acknowledge it to be most iust and good.

The seuenth section.

They make all one reckoning of their whelpes, and of their children: except that of the poorer sort you shall easier obtaine their sonne then their shalke.

ALthough in the beginning of this Treatise I thought that Munster and other men of great name in those things which they haue left written concerning Island, were not to bee charged with slander, yet whether that fauour may here be shewed by any man whatsoeuer (be he neuer so fauourable, and neuer so sincere) I doe not sufficiently conceiue. For what should moue such great men, following the despighefull lyes, and fables of mariners, to defame and staine our nation with so horrible and so shamefull a reproch? Surely nothing else but a careles licentiousnesse to deride and contemne a poore and vnknowen Nation, and such other like vices.

But, be it knowen to all men that this vntrueth doth not so much hurt to the Islanders, as to the authors themselues. For in heaping vp this, and a great number of others into their Volumes, they cause their credite in other places also to be suspected: And hereby they gaine thus much (as Aristotle sayth) that when they speake trueth no man will beleeue them without suspition.

But attend a while (Reader) and consider with me the grauitie and wisedome of these great Authors: that we may not let passe such a notable commendation of Island. Krantzius and Munster haue hetherto taught, that the Islanders are Christians. Also: that before the receiuing of Christian faith they liued according to the lawe of nature. Also: that the Islanders liued after a law not much differing from the lawe of the Germanes. Also, that they liued in holy simplicitie.

Attend I say (good Reader) and consider, what markes of Christianitie, of the law of nature, of the Germanes law, of holy simplicitie, these authors require, and what markes they shew and describe in the Islanders. There was one of the sayd markes before: namely, that the Islanders place hell vp the prison of the damned, within the gulfe and bottome of mount Hecla: concerning which, reade the first section of this part, and the seuenth section of the former. The seconde marke is, that with the Anabaptists they take away distinctions of properties

and possessions: in the section next going before. The third and most excellent is this: those singular & naturall affections, that loue and tender care, and that fatherly and godly minde of the Islanders towards their children, namely that they make the same accompt of them, or lesse then they doe of their dogges. What? Will Munster and Krantzius after this fashion picture out vnto vs the law of Christ, the lawe of nature, the lawe of the Germanes, and holy simplicitie? O rare and excellent picture, though not altogether matching the skill of Apelles: O sharpe and wonderfull inuention, if authenticall: O knowledge more then humane, though not at all diuine.

But wee Islanders (albeit the farthest of all nations and inhabiting a frozen clime) require farre other notes of Christianitie. For we haue the commaundement of God, that euery man should loue his neighbour as himselfe. Nowe there is none (I suppose) that doeth not loue or esteeme more of himselfe then of his dogge. And if there ought to bee so great fauour, so great estimation, so great loue vnto our neighbour, then how great affection doe wee owe vnto our children? The most neare and inseparable loue of whom, besides that nature hath most friendly setled in our mindes, the loue of God also commandeth vs to haue speciall regard in trayning them vp (Exod. 12, 24. Ephes. 6, 4.) namely, that there may be in holy marriage certaine seminaries of Gods Church, and exercises of all pietie and honestie: according to the excellent saying of the Poet.

God will haue each family,
a litle Church to be.
Also Of humane life or mans societie,
a Schole or College is holy matrimonie.

That it may be manifest, that among Christians their sonnes are more to be accompted of and regarded, then their dogges: and if any doe no otherwise esteeme of them, that they are no Christians.

But this naturall affection towarde our most deare ofspring is plainely seene in the brethen themselues: that whomsoeuer you totally depriue of this, you denie them also to bee men. The mothers of Carthage testifie this to be true, when as in the third Punic warre the most choyse and gallant young men in all the Citie were sent as pledges into Sicila, whom they followed vnto the shippes with most miserable weeping and lamentation, and some of them being with griefe separated from their deare sonnes, when they sawe the sayles hoysed, and the shippes departing out of the hauen, for very anguish cast themselues headlong into the water: as Sabellicus witnesseth. Egæus doth testifie this, who when hee sawe the shippe of his sonne Theseus, returning out of Creete with blacke sayles, thinking that his sonne had perished, ended his life in the next waters: Sabell. lib. 3. cap. 4. Gordianus the elder, Proconsul of Affrica, doth testifie this, who likewise, vpon rumors of the death of his sonne, hanged himselfe. Campoful. lib. 5. cap. 7. Also Iocasta the daughter of Creon, Auctolia daughter of Simon, Anius King of the Thuscans, Orodes King of the Parthians, and an infinite number of others. Concerning whom reade Plutarch Star. lib. 2. and other authors &c. To this may be adued that sentence, Loue descendeth, &c. So that you see, it is no lesse proper to a man entirely to loue his children, then for a bird to flie: that if our writers at any time haue confessed the Islanders to be men (much lesse to be Christians) they must, will they nill they, ascribe vnto them this loue and affection towardes their children: If not, they doe not only take from them the title and dignitie of men, but also they debase them vnder euery brute beast which euen by the instinct of nature are bound with exceeding great loue, and tender affection towards their young ones.

I will not adde against this shamelesse vntruth most notable examples of our owne countrymen: I will omit our lawes of man-stealing, more ancient then the Islanders themselues, being receiued from the Norwagians, and are extant in our booke of lawes vnder the title Manhelge cap. 5. Whosoeuer selleth a freeman (any man much more a sonne) vnto strangers &c.

Now if any man be driuen to that hard fortune, that he must needs commit his owne sonne to the hands of some inhabitant or stranger, being vrged thereunto by famine, or any other extreame necessity, that he may not be constrained to see him hunger-starued for want of sustenance, but keepeth his dogge still for his owne eating, this man is not to be sayd, that he esteemeth equally or more basely of his sonne then of his dogge: whether Islanders or any other countrymen do the same.

The occasion of this slander.

The Germane or the Danish mariners might perhaps find amongst vs certaine beggars laden with children (for we haue here a great number of them) who in iesting maner for they are wont

giuen to trifling talke, might say: Giue me this, or sell me that: and when the stranger should aske, What will you giue me for it? the begger might answere; I haue ten or foureteene children, I will giue you some one or more of them, &c. For this rabble of beggers vseth thus sondry of these beggers, releaseth them of one sonne, and doth for Gods sake by some meanes prouide for him in another countrey: doth the begger therefore (who together with his sonne being readie to die for hunger and pouerty, yeeldeth and committeth his sonne into the hands of a mercifull man) make lesse account of his sonne then of his dogge? Such works of loue and mercie haue bene performed by many, aswell Islanders themselues as strangers: one of which number was that honourable man Accilius Iulius, being sent by the most gracious King of Denmarke into Island in the yere of our Lord 1552, who, as I haue heard, tooke, and carried with him into Denmarke fiftene poore boyes: where afterward it was reported vnto me, that by his good meanes euery one of them being bound to a seuerall trade, proued good and thriftie men.

What if some man be driuen to that passe, that he doth not onely sell his sonne, but not finding a chapman, his owne selfe killeth and eateth him? Examples of this kinde be common, namely of the vnwilling and forced cruelty of parents towards their children, not being pricked on through hate, or want of naturall affection, but being compelled thereunto by vrgent necessity. Shall any man hereupon ground a generall reproch against a whole nation? We reade that in the siege of Samaria, two mothers slew their sonnes, and eat them sodden: 4. King. chap. 6. We reade in the siege of Ierusalem, how lamentable the voice of that distressed mother was, being about to kill her tender childe: My sweet babe, quoth she (for I will report Eusebius owne words, concerning this matter, though very common, that the affection of a mother may appeare) borne to miserie and mishap, for whom should I conueniently reserue thee in this tumult of famine, of warre, and sedition? If we be subdued to the gouernment of the Romans, we shall weare out our vnhappy dayes vnder the yoke of slauery. But I thinke famine will preuent captiuity. Besides, there is a rout of seditious rebels much more intollerable then either of the former miseries. Come on therefore, my sonne, be thou meat vnto thy mother, a fury to these rebels, and a byword in the common life of men, which one thing onely is wanting to make vp the calamities of the Iewes. These sayings being ended, she killeth her sonne, roasting and eating one halfe, and reseruing the other, &c. *Eusebius lib. 3. cap. 6.* Now, what man will not beleeue that this vnhappy mother would full gladly haue passed ouer this her sonne into the possession of some maister or chapman, if she could haue happened vpon any such, with whom she thought he might haue beene preserued? That famine is well knowen which oppressed Calagurium, a city of Spaine, when in olde time Caeius Pompeius layed siege thereunto (Valerius lib. 7. cap. 7.) the citizens whereof conuerted their wiues and children into meat for the satisfying of their extreame hunger, whom doubtlesse they would with all their hearts haue solde for other victuals. That famine also is well knowen which in the yere of our Lord 851 (Vincent. lib. 25. cap. 26.) afflicted Germany, insomuch that the father was glad to deuoure his owne sonne. It is well knowen after the death of the Emperour Henry the seuenth, in a famine continuing three whole yeres, how the parents would deuoure their children, and the children their parents, and that especially in Polonia and Bohemia. And that we may not onely allege ancient examples: it is reported that there was such a grieuous dearth of corne in the yeeres 1586, and 1587, throughout Hungary, that some being compelled for want of food were faine to sell their children vnto the most bloudy and barbarous enemy of Christians, and so to enthrall them to the perpetuall yoke of Turkish slauery: and some are said to haue taken their children, whom they could no longer sustaine, and with cruell mercy to haue cast them into Danubius, and drowned them. But should these stories do the like make any man so mad as to affirme that this or that nation accustometh to kill their children for their owne food, and to sell them willingly vnto the Turks, or to drowne and strangle them willingly in the water? I cannot thinke it. So neither (because beggers in Island being enforced through extreame and biting necessitie, do willingly part with their sonnes) is this crime generally to be imputed vnto the whole nation, and that by way of disgrace, by any meanes. Except it be such an one who hath taken his leaue of all modestie, plaine dealing, humanity, and mirth.

But I could wish that the loue of dogges in Islanders might be more sparingly reprehended of those people, whose matrons, and specially their noble women, take so great delight in dogs, that they carry them in their bosomes throughout the open streetes: I will not say in Churches: which fashion Cæsar blamed in certaine strangers, whom he saw at Rome carrying about young dogs and whelpes in their armes, asking them this question: Whether women in their countrey brought forth children or no? signifying hereby, that they do greatly offend, who bestow vpon beasts

beasts these naturall affections, wherewith they should be inuited to the loue of mankinde, and specially of their owne offspring: which strange pleasure neuer ouertooke, nor possesse the nation of the Islanders. Wherefore now (Munster and Krantzius) you must finde vs out other marks of Christianity, of the law of nature, of the Germans law, and of holy simplicity.

The eight section.

Krantzius. Munsterus. They honour their Bishop as their King: vnto whose command all the whole people haue respect. Whatsoeuer he prescribeth out of the law, the scriptures, or the customes of other nations, they do full holily obserue.

There was indeed at the beginning, about the time of the reformation of religion great reuerence had vnto the bishop; but neuer so great, that our politique lawes at the bishops command should giue place to outlandish lawes & customes. Neither in the time of Albertus Krantzius, much lesse of Munster (of which two the first deceased in the yere of our Lord 1517, and the second 1552) the bishops of Island had the authority of kings, when as many of the country which were of the richer sort, would not doubt to rebell against them; which thing is too well knowen in our countrey. Yet in the meane time, the bishops being terrible with their authority of excommunication, reduced some vnder their subiection, and others at that time they cruelly persecuted.

Moreouer, albeit at that time the bishop was had in great, yea, in exceeding great reuerence, yet now adayes, the darkenesse of popery being dispelled, the deuill assaulteth men after another sort, and euen here amongst vs, he is not slacke to arme their minds with contempt, and peruerse stubburnnesse against God, and his holy ministery.

The ninth section.

Munsterus. They liue there for the most part vpon fishes, because of their great want of corne, which is brought in from the port townes of other countreys: who cary home fishes from thence with great gaine. Also *Munster* sayth, they do there vse stockefish in stead of bread, which groweth not in that countrey.

Consider (friendly reader) how Munster is delighted to harpe vpon one string, that when he can write nothing of an vnknowen nation which may cary any shew with it, he is faine either to bring in falshood, or often to repeat the same things, & so to become tedious vnto his reader. Before he sayd a little before, that the Islanders liue vpon fish. His words aboue recited were these: Island conteineth many people liuing onely with the food of cattell, and sometimes by taking of fishes. And that I may omit the rest in which some trifle might be noted: whereas he saieth that bread groweth not in Island: it is most true: which I thinke is common there with to Germany also, because bread groweth not there neither, except it be in Munsters field where naturall vineger also doth maruellously encrease. But these topes, by the liberty of rethoricke forsooth, shall be out of danger. Howbeit, vnto these reproches, which strangers do gather from the meats and drinks of the Islanders, we will hereafter briefly answere, Sect. 15.

The tenth section.

Munsterus. Krantzius. The inhabitants do celebrate the actes of their ancestours, and of their times, with songs, and they graue them in rocks and promontories, that they may not decay with posterity, but onely by the defect of nature.

Frisius. There be diuers found amongst them that be minstrels, and can play vpon the lute, who with their delectable musicke do ensnare and take both fowles and fishes.

The Islanders preserue in writing the acts of their ancestors. We denie not but that some worthy actes of our forefathers be reserued in the songes and poemes of our countreymen, as also in prose: but that the same things haue been engraued by vs, or by our ancestours, in rocks or promontories, we may in no case acknowledge. That praise to be due vnto vs, nor yet the other of minstrels, and taking of birds and fishes. For we holde it to be the part of an honest and ingenuous mind, as to refute false crimes, so not to challenge vndeserued praise vnto himselfe, nor to accept it being offered.

The eleuenth section.

But now, let this be the end of our controuersie with the authours aforesayd, being otherwise men of excellent learning, and of great renoume, who notwithstanding so inconsiderately haue entermedled these things in their writings. And now the better part of my labour is finished.

By

But yet there remaines that viperous Germane vrgood, the mother whereof would haue it come to light, as it were at a second birth, without name, that it might so much the more freely wound the fame of the Islanders with venemous sting.

Moreouer, although I be not afrayd to encounter with this beast, yet would I haue all men to know with what minde I vndertake this enterprise, namely, not that I meane to contend with his pestiferous rancour, by reproches, and railing speeches (for as it is in the common prouerbe:

I know, that if I striue with dung most vile,
However it be, my selfe I shall defile)

but that I may satisfie all honest and well affected men, euen strangers themselues, who shall hereafter reade or heare, or haue heretofore heard that Germane pasquill, least they also should thinke that we vniustly sustaine so monstrous a disgrace: and also that I may from henceforth, if it be possible, restraine others (who vse those venemous Germaine rimes to the vpbrayding of our nation, and from hence borrow their scoffes, & reprochfull taunts to the debasing of vs Islanders) from that libertie of backbiting.

Therefore, that I may not be tedious to the reader with long circumstances, I will come to the rehearsing of those things which that railing Germane hath heaped vp in his leud pasquill: whom also I could bring in, repeating his friendly verses of the Islanders, within the compasse of this my booke, but that I doe foresee that the sayd slanderous libell being stuffed with so many and diuers reproches, might breed offence to all honest men, and deterre them from reading it, with the filthinesse thereof.

I will therefore repeat the principall matters (omitting those things which he hath common with others, or, that heretofore haue beene examined) but farre more modestly then he, least (as I sayd) I cause good and learned mens eares to tingle at his leud and vnseemely rimes: they that are desirous to see or heare him, let them enquire at the Stationers. It is no part of our meaning (I say) to defile these papers with his stinking slanders, or with the filthy sinke of his reproches.

First therefore, this our goodly Germane Historiographer obiecteth that there be many Pastours in *Island*, which preach not to their people once in two yeres, as it is read in the former edition of this pasquill, which notwithstanding the latter edition doth refute: saying that the sayd Pastours vse to preach but fiue times in an whole yeere: which two, how well they agree together, let the reader be iudge, seeing it is manifest that the author himselfe, presently after the first edition, had scarse seene Island. So oftentimes one lie betrayeth another, according to that saying: Trueth agreeth vnto trueth; but falshood agreeth neither to trueth nor to falshood. The first obiection or reproch.

But sith it is our part not to dissemble the trueth in any place, we will not denie that holy sermons, about the time wherein this sycophant liued in Island, namely in the yere 1554, were seldomer in vse then they are at this day, namely, the darkenesse of popery being scarsely at that time dispelled. Which also is to be vnderstood concerning the Psalmes of Dauid mumbled by the common people in Latine, as he calleth vs in the teeth: for the Papists grounding all the hope of their saluation in the Masse, did little regard the sermon, or doctrine. But after we were freed from that mist, it hath bene (God be thanked) farre otherwise with vs: although we cannot altogether exclude the dulnesse, slouth, and preposterous care of certeine of our Pastours. Which, whether it agreeth to any of their countreymen or no, let other nations iudge.

The twelfth section.

Secondly, the trifler shamefully reproacheth, that adulteries and whoredomes are not onely publique, and common vices amongst Islanders: but that they are not accounted by them for vices. The second reproch.

ALthough indeed these most filthy abominations, euen in our common wealth, be not altogether vnusuall: notwithstanding, since all men know that they are farre more common in other nations, where be greater multitudes of people, he did vnderseruedly, and maliciously note the Islanders rather with this reproch, then other people and nations, who are more infamous with this crime then our countreymen.

And albeit I wish with all mine heart that vices and enormities were much lesse wincked at in our countrey, then we see they are, yet notwithstanding this iugler, by reason of his naturall inclination to backbiting, hath added this in his last reproch: namely, that these vices by the Islanders are not accounted for vice. For, in what common wealth dare the impudent companion affirme this to be true? What? in that common wealth which hath sworne to obserue the lawes contained in our Statutebooke vnder the title of Manhelge chap. 28, whereby it is enacted, that whosoeuer committeth adultery with another mans wife the second time, his goods being confiscate,

fitcate, he shall be punished with death: Or in that common wealth, which not long since hath inflicted the penalty of 80 dollers vpon a seruant committing adultery with his masters wife: Or in that common wealth which hath decreed, that if he doth not pay, nor lay in sureties at the day appointed, he shalbe banished the countrey: Or in that common wealth the politike lawes whereof doe streighely command that whosoeuer be according to law found in adultery with another mans wife, by her husband, if he escape, he shall vndergoe the punishment of manslaughter: Or in that common wealth, the politike lawes whereof do also enioyne a man that is taken in carnall copulation with the mother, daughter, or sister, by the sonne, father, or brother, to redeme his life with the one halfe of that which he ought to haue payed, if he had shed the innocent blood of the sayd party: Or in that common wealth the politike lawes whereof haue noted and condemned adultery vnder the name of a most heinous offence: and do straightly command that he which is taken the third time in that beastly act shalbe punished with death:

You see therefore (friendly readers) what an iniurious Notary we haue, affirming that adultery and whoredome in Island deserueth not the name of sinne and wickednesse: for although some officers let slip this or that vice vnpunished, yet ought not the whole nation, nor the lawes, nor all good and godly men, in that regard, to be accused or euill spoken of.

The thirteenth section.

The third reproch. The third reproch is, whereby he doth brand the Islanders with the marke of deceit and trechery toward the Germans.

DOubtles the author of this libell was some vagabond huckster or pedler, and had gone particularly into many corners of Island to vtter his trumpery wares, which he also testifieth of himselfe in his worthy times, that he had trauailed thorow the greatest part of Island, whereupon when he had played the coulming mate with others (for often times deceit and lying are ioyned together, and he hath sufficiently proued himselfe to be a liar, by this triall of his wit) peraduenture himselfe was beguiled by them whom he before time had defrauded.

From hence proceedeth this slander against our whole Nation: dissembling in the meane time with what honestie certaine Germans, making yerely voyages into Island, deale with our men. But seeing by this complaint I haue not determined to reproch others, but to lay open the vndeserued reproches of others against our nation, I wo here of purpose surceasse.

The foureteenth section.

The 4,5,6,& 7 reproches. Fourthly, he sayth that in bankets none of the ghests vse to rise from the table: but that the good wife of the house reacheth to euery one a chamber-pot, so oft as need requireth. Moreouer, he noteth much vnmanerlinesse of eating and drinking at bankets.

Fiftly, he obiecteth customes of lying in bed, and of dining: namely that ten persons, more or lesse, men and women lie altogether in the same bed, and that they eat their meat lying in bed: and that in the meane time they do nothing but play at dice or at tables.

Sixtly, he reporteth that they wash their hands and their faces in pisse.

Seuenthly, he despightfully abaseth our solemnizings of marriages, spousals, birth-dayes, and our customes at burials.

THese, and a number of such like reproches hath this impure slanderer spued forth against an innocent nation, yea and that nation which hath deserued right well of him and his countrimen. Which are of the same kind with these, in so much that we altogether disdeigne to make answere vnto them. For, that we may graunt (which notwithstanding we will in no case yeelde vnto) that this worthy Germane notarie obserued some such matter among base companions, and the very of-scouring of the common people, with whom he was much more conuersant then with good and honest persons (for he had liued, as his times testifie, somewhat long vpon the coast of Island, whither a confused rout of the meanest common people, in fishing time do yerely resort, who being naught al well through their owne leudnesse, as by the wicked behauiour of outlandish mariners, often times doe leade a bad and dishonest life) notwithstanding we are in this place more manifestly wronged through the knauery of this one varlet, and desperate sycophant by his defaming of the whole nation (as others also vsually do) then that it should needs any refutation at all. Of which thing strangers themselues, who are not a little conuersant in our Iland, may be most sufficient witnesses.

I could also gather together many such filthy, vnmannerly, and baudie fashions noted by others euen in his own countrey. But I detest this dogged eloquence, neither take I any pleasure to

to be witty in the disgracing of others: and yet I will not therwith suffer such a milke-soppe as to be daunted with light words. Onely, let all honest and good men consider, what disposition it argueth, for one to object against a whole nation certaine misdemeanours committed by some one or other particular man. If any man should trauell throughout all the cities and townes of Germanie or any other nation, and heaping together the offences, and most leud maners, the robberies, manslaughters, murthers, whoredomes, adulteries, incests, riots, extortions, and other prophane, and filthy acts, should affirme them to be common to all Germans, or otherwise to any other whole nation, and should exaggerate all these things with notorious lies, is he to be accounted one that spends his time in a good argument? But what maruaile is it, though a varlet, and that I may giue him his true title, a filthy hogge, that rimer (I say) hath bewrayed his nature and disposition in such like reproches? For it is well knowen that swine, when they enter into most pleasant gardens, do not plucke lillies, or roses, or any other most beautifull and sweet flowers; but thrusting their snouts into the ground, doe tumble and tosse vp and downe whatsoeuer durt and dung they can finde, vntill they haue rooted vp most vncleane things, namely such as are best agreeable to their nature, wherewith they greedily glut themselues: Euen so this hogguish Rimer lightly passeth ouer the best and most commendable things of our Common wealth, but as for the worst, and those which haue beene committed by none, or by very few, namely, such things as best fit his humour and disposition (that he might indeed shew himselfe to be the same which we haue termed him) those things (I say) hath he scraped vp together: whereupon hereafter by my consent, for his maners and disposition let him enioy the name of a swine.

The fifteenth section.

WEe will heere rehearse the ninth reproch, which that slanderous hogge hath drawen from the maner of liuing, and specially from the meat and drinke of the Ilanders, and that not in one or a few words, but in a large inuective: namely, that they eate olde and vnsauoury meates, and that, without the vse of bread. Also, that they eate diuers kinds of fishes which are vnknowen to strangers: and that they mingle water and whey together for drinke. All which this venemous pasquill, with eloquent railing and wittie slaunder hath set out at the full. The ninth reproch.

Albeit we doe scarse vouchsafe to stand longer about answering of him, yet in regard of others, who at this day partly woonder at the matter, and partly obiect it to our nation, we thought good to adde some few things in this place.

First therefore we will diuide this our nation into two parts: into beggers, and those that striue both themselues, and, amongst others, beggers also. As touching all kinds of meats wherewith beggers and other poore men satisfie their hunger, it is no ealie matter to rehearse and erame them: neither, because extreame necessity hath at some times compelled them to eate this or that, therefore is it meet to prescribe certeine kindes and number of meats to the rest of the nation. For we haue also a law among the canons apostolicall, which forbiddeth to eat things strangled: in the obseruing of which canons, antiquity hath seemed to be very deuout.

Moreouer, we will make a distinction of times also, that it may seeme no strange accident in the time of famine, though many things are, and haue bene vsed by a great number of men to satisfie their hunger, which at other times are scarse meat for dogges. As very lately in the yeere 1590 we heard concerning the citizens of Paris, being enuironed with the most streight siege of Hennie the fourth, King of Nauarre, suffering (as Petrus Lindebergius speaketh) the famine of Saguntum; insomuch that they did not onely eate their horses, but also taking the flesh of dead men, and beating their bones to powder in a morter, they mingled therewith a handfull or two of meale, esteeming it dainties. And it is well knowen also of other nations, who in the like vrgent necessities haue liued by eating of mise, cats and dogs. In like maner sometimes are we Ilanders constrained to doe, not being besieged by our enemies (although hitherto we haue abstained from mans flesh, yea, and to our knowledge, from dogs, mise, and cats) for whereas we prouide things necessary for food out of the land and sea, & no sustenance, or very little, is brought vnto vs by strangers: so often as God withholdeth his gifts of land and sea, then must follow and ensue a dreadfull scarsity of victuals, whereupon the inhabitants are sometimes vexed with grieuous famine. And therefore it is likely that they amongst vs which vsed to liue from hand to mouth, and had not some prouision of former yeeres remaining, haue beene driuen to great extremities, so often as need hath enforced them thereunto. But whether this thing ought woorthily to minister occasion to a publique and perpetuall reproch against the Ilanders, more then other nations, I referre it to the iudgement of indifferent and honest minded.

Moreouer,

Moreouer, whereas diuers vse to obiect concerning the proper & accustomed fare of our country, especially of flesh, fish, butter being long time kept without salt: also concerning white-meats, want of corne, drinking of water, and such like: in most places of Island (for there be many of our countrimen also, who, after the maner of the Danes and Germans so farre foorth as ought in a meane to suffice chast and temperate minds, although we haue not any great varietie of sauce, being destitute of Apothecaries shops, are of ability to furnish their table, and to liue moderately) we confesse it to be euen so: namely that the foresaid kinds of victuals are vsed in most places without the seasoning of salt. And I will further adde, that the very same meats, which certaine strangers abhorre so much as to name, yet strangers themselues, when they are among vs do vse to eat them with delight. For albeit for the most part we haue no corne, nor meale, nor yet salt the prouocation of gluttony, for the seasoning of our victuals, is common to vs all: yet notwithstanding almighty God of his goodnesse hath taught our men also the way, how they should handle, and keepe in store those things which belong to the sustentation of life, to the end it may appeare, that God in nourishing and sustaining of vs Islanders, is not tyed to bread and salt.

Want of salt in Island.

The Islanders meanes of preserning their meates without salt.

But whereas strangers boast that all their victuals are more pleasant and wholesome: yet we denie that to be a sufficient reason, why they should vpbraid vs in regard of ours: neither do we thinke God to be a debter vnto our dainty mouthes; but rather we giue him thanks with our whole hearts, that he vouchsafeth without this delicate and nice fare, which is esteemed to be so pleasant and wholesome, to grant euen vnto the men of our countrey many yeeres, and a good age as also constant health, and flourishing strength of body; all which we account to be signes of wholesome and conuenient nourishment, and of a perfect constitution. Besides, our wits are not altogether so grosse and barren, as the philosophers seeme to alligne vnto this our aier, and these nourishments, which perhaps many of our countreymen could much rather verifie in deeds then in words, if (as the Poet sayth) enuious pouerty did not holde vs downe.

But here the iudgement of the common people, as often in other matters, doth too plainly deceiue (I except all good and well experienced men) some of them which would seeme to be wise: namely, that whatsoeuer their vse doth not admit, or that they haue not seene, nor had triall of beforetime, they presently condemne. As for example, he that neuer saw the sea will not be perswaded that there is a mediterrane sea: so doe they measure all things by their owne experience and conceit, as though there were nothing good and profitable, but that onely where with they maintaine their liues. But we are not growen to that pitch of folly, that because we haue heard of certaine people of Aethiopia, which are fed with locusts, being therefore called by Diodorus, Acridophagi, and of a certaine nation of India also, whom Clitarchus & Megastenes haue named Mandri, as Agatarchides witnesseth, or of others that liue vpon frogs or sea-crabs, or round thymps, which thing is at this day commonly knowen, that (I say) we should therefore presume to make them a laughing stocke to the common people, because we are not accustomed to such sustenance.

The sixteenth section.

The tenth reproch.

TEnthly, that vnciuill braule casteth our men in the teeth with their good hospitality. They do not (sayth he) carry about mony with them in their purses, neither is it any shame to be entertained in a strange place, and to haue meat and drinke bestowed of free cost. For if they had any thing which they might impart with others, they would very gladly. Moreouer, he maketh mention of certeine churches or holy chappels (as of a base thing) which many of the Islanders haue built in their owne houses: & that first of all in the morning, they haue recourse thither, to make their prayers, neither do they suffer any man before they haue done their deuotion, to interrupt them. These be the things which he hath set downe as some notable disgrace vnto the Islanders. And no maruell:

For filthy swine detest all cleanly ones,
And hogs vncleane regard not precious stones.

Which I feare, least it may be too truely affirmed of this slanderer, as it is manifest out of these two last obiections.

Howbeit, sithens he himselfe is a most sufficient witnesse of his owne vertues, we will refer the reader, who is desirous to know more of him vnto his booke of rimes against Island, which we haue now examined in our former sections: at whose railing & filthy speeches we haue bene abhorred on his behalfe: insomuch that those things which he with satyrical, satyrical: nay sathanicall biting and reuiling of our nation, hath not blushed to write, are irksome for vs to repeat: so great & abominable is his insolency, & his reproches so heinous. Good God! whosoeuer shall view the cart lode of Islanders (for we haue mentioned the least part thereof, because I was loth to lose my labour, or, as the wise man sayth, to answere a foole according to his foolishnesse, whereas in his rime

rumes there is not one word without a reproch) will be not iudge the authour of this pasquill to haue bene a most lewde man, yea the very drosse of mankinde, without pietie, without humanitie?

But here I haue iust occasion to doubt whether the authour of these reuilings hath bene the more iniurious to Islanders, or the printer thereof Ioachimus Leo (and whatsoeuer else they be whom their editions dare neither professe their owne name, nor the name of their Citie) which Leo hath nowe twise, if not oftner, published the saide pamphlet at Hamburg. Doe you suffer this to go vnpunished, O ye counsell and commons of Hamburg? What? Haue you determined with vs, and your transporting home of all our commodities, of our beeues and muttons, and of an incredible deale of butter and fishes, hath bene vnto your Citie in steed of a storehouse? In times past also, certaine Cities of England and of Holland haue reaped the commodities of this Ile: Moreouer, there hath bene ancient traffique of Denmarke, Breme, and Lubeck with the Islanders. But they neuer gained by any of their chapmen such commendations, and such thanks, as are conteined in this libell: It hath in deede, in your Citie (I say) bene bred, brought foorth, nourished, if not the thirde time published: which hath armed other people, vnto whom the name of Island was other wise scarce knowne, to the disdaine and contempt of this our Nation: and this iniurie offered by a Citizen of yours, hath Island sustained these 30. yeeres and more, and doeth as yet sustaine. But many such accidents often come to passe without the knowledge of the magistrate, neither do we doubt but that good men are grieued at such infamous libels, and do take diligent heed that they be not published: for such editions are contrary to the lawe of nature: Doe not that to another which thou wouldest not haue done vnto thy selfe: and to the lawes Emperial of infamous libels: wherein is enioyned a most grieuous penaltie vnto those, who inuent, write, vtter, or cause such libels to be bought or sold, or do not presently vpon the finding thereof teare them in pieces.

The common duties of Island.

The ancient traffique of England with Island.

Lawes against libels.

But now time bids vs to sound a retreat: and to returne home vnto thee Island (our most deare mother) whom neither pouertie, nor colde, nor any other such inconueniences shall make irksome vnto vs, so long as thou ceasest not to giue heartie and willing entertainment vnto Christ: whom, first we doe earnestly exhort thee to the serious and ardent affection, and loue of God, and of the heauenly knowledge reuealed vnto vs in Christ: that thou wouldest preferre this before all things, being enflamed with desire of doctrine, and of the worde: that thou wouldest not lightly esteeme, contemne or hate the holy ministerie and ministers, but reuerence, cherish, and loue them. Accompting those that practise the contrary as wicked and prophane: and managing all thine affaires both priuate and publique, according to the prescript rule of pietie and honestie, that vnto this, thy states and orders Ecclesiasticall and politique may in all things be conformed: and so neither kinde of life relying thy selfe vpon that Iewell and line of equitie and iustice, and abhorring others, who vpon stubbernesse and impietie swerue therefrom. That thou wouldest also inflict iust punishments vpon offenders: All which we doubt not but the Magistrate will haue respect vnto. But especially that thou admittest none to be Magistrates, but men of approued sidelitie and honestie, and such as may adioyne vnto these vertues others hereto belonging, by which meanes inconueniences may fitly be preuented. For if this matter be well handled, namely that they which are the best of all good men be chosen to beare publique authoritie, wicked and vnfit men being altogether reiected; the condition of the subiects shalbe most prosperous: the liues and manners of all men shal proue by so much the more commendable: godlinesse also and honestie shal become the more glorious. But on the contrary, if pastours of Churches be not answerable to their function, either in life or doctrine; if all men without respect or difference be admitted to the gouernment of the common wealth, who aspire thereunto by their owne rashnesse, ambition, or a-uarice, and desire of honour, yea though they be suspected or conuicted of crimes and dishonestie, and the protectours or vniust fauourers of such persons as are suspected and conuicted; then what (alas) thy state, oh Island? What will be thy outward shew or condition? Doubtlesse most miserable. Neither shalt thou by any other meanes more suddenly approch to thy ruine and destruction, then if thou committest thy selfe to the gouernment of such men, who to the vttermost of their power, although they be of thine owne blood, dayly seeke thine ouerthrow for their owne priuate aduantage and secret malice. Wherefore (to be short) let these be to aduertise my deare Country, how behouefull it is that the matters aforesaid be put in practise.

But whilest I am speaking these things vnto thee (my Countrey) oh that my deepe and fruitfull sighes, which I fetch in the former speach, might pierce the eares of our Kings most excellent Maiestie, before whom, on thy behalfe I doe bewaile the publique miseries, which in this thy state yet especially doe arise, because wee are so farre distant from the seate and royall presence of our King, that many therefore take more libertie, and promise more securitie of offending vnto

themſelues. But we will commit all theſe matters to the moſt iuſt Iudge of heauen and earth who beholdeth all things in equitie.

Nowe it remaineth (my beloued Countrey) that thou wouldeſt take in good part theſe my labours employed in thy ſeruice, and accept them with that fauourable and courteous minde which I haue expected. And although they be not of ſuch worth as I could wiſh, yet ſith a willing minde is worth all, I would not therefore giue ouer becauſe I miſtruſted my ſelfe as one inſufficient to contend for thine innocencie, for thy reputation, and thine honour, my deare Countrey. But rather whatſoeuer it be (if it be ought) and how mickle-ſoeuer which for my ſlender abilitie I was able to affoord in thy defence, I thought good not to ſuppreſſe it: for I eſteeme not thoſe men worthy of commendation, who deſpairing

To ouergrow the limmes of *Lyco* ſtoute,
Neglect to cure their bodies of the goute.

And in very deed, it doeth no whit repent me of my labour, if this little treatiſe ſhall tend neither to thine, nor to mine owne diſgrace. But if it ſhall any thing auaile to thine honour or defence, I will thinke my trauaile right well beſtowed. Yea, if by this my ſlender attempt I may but onely excite other of thy children, and my native Countreymen, being farre my ſuperiours both in learning and induſtrie to take thy cauſe in hand, either nowe or hereafter, what reaſon is there why any man ſhould ſay that it is not worth my labour? Nowe, if they addreſſe themſelues to write, howſoeuer my fame ſhalbe obſcured, yet will I comfort my ſelfe with their excellencie, who are like to impaire my credite: for albeit a man ought to haue ſpeciall regard of his name and fame, yet is he to haue more of his Countrey, whoſe dignitie being ſafe and ſound, we alſo muſt needes eſteeme our ſelues to be in ſafetie.

Written at *Holen Hialtedale* in *Iſland*, the yeere of our Lord 1592, the 17. of the Kalends of May.

A letter written by the graue and learned *Gudbrandus Thorlacius* Biſhop of *Holen* in *Iſland*, concerning the ancient ſtate of *Iſland* and *Groenland*, &c.

Reuerendiſſimo viro, eruditione & virtute conſpicuo, D. Hugoni Branham, Eccleſiæ *Hareuicenſis* in *Anglia* paſtori vigilantiſſimo, fratri & ſymmyſtæ obſeruando.

MIrabar equidem (vt conjicis, reuerende domine paſtor) primo literarum tuarum intuitu, ignotum me, ab ignoto, ſcriptis ſalutari. Cæterùm, cum vlterius progrederer, comperi me, ſi non aliter, certè nomine tenùs, tibi (quæ tua eſt humanitas) innotuiſſe: Simulq; quòd te nominis Iſlandorum ſtudioſum cognouerim, ex animo gauiſus ſum. Vndè etiam faciam, vt tua pietas, tuúmque nomen, de Euangelio Ieſu Chriſti nobis congratulantis, déque gente noſtra tàm benignè támque honorificè ſentientis & ſcribentis, apud nos ignotum eſſe deſinat.

Commentarius breuis de Iſlandia: per Arngrimum Ionam Iſlandum edit. tus, 1593.

Quòd verò ad antiquitatis monimẽta attinet, quæ hic extare creduntur, mihil ſanè eſt (præter illa, quorum in Commentario iſto de Iſlandia, quem vidiſſe te ſcribis, fit mentio) de hac noſtra inſula lectu ſcriptuue dignum, quod cum humanitate tua communicem. De vicinis itidem terris pauca, præter hiſtoriam Regum Noruegiæ, ſeu veriùs eiuſdem hiſtoriæ fragmenta; quę alibi deſcripta ſunt: ſunt tamen talia, quæ Krantzius non attigerit, aut eorum certè pauca. De vicina quoque Gronlandia, id veterum opinione habemus, eam magno circuitu ab extrema Noruegia, vbi ‖ Biarmlandia nuncupatur, & à qua haud vaſto interuallo ſita ſit, circum quam Iſlandiam exporrigi. *Illic noſtrates aliquando commercia exercuiſſe, & eam terram tempore Pontificiorum ſuos Epiſcopos habuiſſe annales noſtri teſtantur.* Cętera nobis incognita. At hodie ſunt, veſtris Britannis (quos ego propè maris dominos appellarim) quotannis eſſe in Gronlandia negotiationes: de qua re, ſi me certiorem feceris, non erit iniucundum. Etiam velim quicunque noua erunt de rebus veſtratium aut vicinorum regnorum, ea non omittas.

‖ Biarmia.

Gronlandia olim ſuos habuit Epiſcopos.

Vale fœliciter (reuerende Dom. paſtor) Deo, muſis, & commiſſo gregi quàm diutiſſimè perſtes, Amen. Ex Iſlandia in feſto viſitationis D. Mariæ Anno 1595.

Human. tuę ſtudioſus Gudbrandus Thorlacius Epiſcopus Holenſis in Iſlandia.

T

The ſame in Engliſh.

To the reuerend, learned, and vertuous, Maſter *Hugh Branham* miniſter of the Church of *Harewich* in *England*, his brother and felow-paſtour, &c.

I Much marueiled (euen as your ſelfe, reuerend ſir, coniectured that I would) at the firſt ſighte of your letters, that being a ſtranger I ſhould be ſaluted in writing by one altogether vnknowen vnto mee. Howbeit, reading a litle further, I found my ſelfe, if not otherwiſe, yet by name at leaſt (which proceedeth of your courteſie) knowen vnto you: And alſo, for that I ſawe you deſirous of the credite and honeſt reporte of vs Iſlanders, I greatly reioyced. Wherefore I my ſelfe will be a meane, that your vertue and good name (becauſe you congratulate with vs for the Goſpel of Chriſt here publiſhed, and doe thinke and write ſo louingly and honourably of our nation) may ceaſe hereafter to be vnknowen amongſt vs.

As touching the monuments of antiquitie which are here thought to be extant, there is, in my poore, nothing (except thoſe particulars, whereof mention is made in the Commentary of Iſland, which you write vnto me that you haue ſeene) worthy to be read or written, which I may communicate with you. And as concerning our neighbour Countreys we haue litle to ſhewe, beſides the hiſtory of the Kings of Norway, (or rather ſome fragments of the ſame hiſtory) which others haue otherwiſe deſcribed: howbeit they are all in a maner ſuch things as Crantzius neuer mentioned: vnleſſe it be ſome few relations. Moreouer, as touching Gronland, we holde this from the opinion of our auncetours; that, from the extreeme part of Norway, which is called Biarmlandia, and from whence the ſaide Gronland is not farre diſtant, it fetcheth about the ſouthen coaſt of Iſland with an huge circuit in maner of an halfe Moone. Our Chronicles likewiſe doe teſtifie that our owne countreymen in times paſt reſorted thither for traffique, and alſo that the very ſame countrey of Gronland had certaine Biſhops in the dayes of Poperie. Pope then this we cannot auouch. But now it is reported that your Engliſhmen (whom I may almoſt call the lordes of the Ocean ſea) make yeerely voyages vnto Gronland: concerning which matter if you pleaſe to giue me further aduertiſement, you ſhall doe me an eſpecial fauour. Moreouer, whatſoeuer newes you heare concerning the affaires of England or of other Countreys thereabout, I pray you make vs acquainted therewith. Thus (reuerend ſir) wiſhing you long life, for the ſeruice of God, for the increaſe of learning, and the benefit of the people committed to your charge, I bid you fare wel. From Iſland vpon the feaſt of the viſitation of the bleſſed Virgine Mary, Anno Dom. 1595.

This is the chiefe Commentarie of Ionas Arngrimus immediatly going before.

‖ Biarmia.

Gronland in olde time had Chriſtian Biſhops.

Yours *Gudbrandus Thorlacius* Biſhop of *Hola* in *Iſland*.

The miraculous victory atchieued by the *Engliſh* Fleete,

vnder the diſcreet and happy conduct of the right honourable, right prudent, and valiant lord, the L. *Charles Howard*, L. high Admirall of England, &c. Vpon the *Spaniſh* huge *Armada* ſent in the yeere 1588. for the inuaſion of *England*, together with the wofull and miſerable ſucceſſe of the ſaid *Armada* afterward, vpon the coaſts of *Norway*, of the *Scottiſh* Weſterne Iſles, of *Ireland*, of *Spaine*, of *France*, and of *England*, &c. Recorded in Latine by *Emanuel van Meteran* in the 15. booke of his hiſtory of the low Countreys.

HAuing in part declared the ſtrange and wonderfull euents of the yeere eighteene eight, which hath bene ſo long time foretold by ancient prophecies; we will now make relation of the moſt notable and great enterpriſe of all others which were in the foreſaid yeere atchieued, in order as it was done. Which exploit (although in very deed it was not performed in any part of the low Countreys) was intended for their ruine and deſtruction. And it was the expedition which the Spaniſh king, hauing a long time determined the ſame in his minde, and hauing conſulted thereabout with the Pope, ſet foorth and vndertooke againſt England and the low Countreys. To the end that he might ſubdue the Realme of England, and reduce it vnto his catholique Religion, and by that meanes might be ſufficiently reuenged for the diſgrace, contempt and diſhonour, which hee (hauing 34. yeeres before enforced them vnto the Popes obedience) had endured of the Engliſh nation, and for diuers other iniuries which had taken deepe impreſſion in his thoughts. And alſo for that hee deemed this to bee the readie and direct courſe, whereby hee might recouer his hereditarie poſſeſſion of the low Countreys, hauing reſtrained the inhabitants from ſayling vpon the coaſt of England.

Which verily, vpon moſt weighty arguments and eudent reaſons, was thought would vndoubtedly haue come to paſſe, conſidering the great aboundance and ſtoze of all things neceſſary wherewith thoſe men were furniſhed, which had the managing of that action committed vnto them. But now let vs deſcribe the matter moze particularly.

The preparation of the Spaniſh King to ſubdue England and the lowe Countreys.

The Spaniſh King hauing with ſmall fruite and commoditie, foꝛ aboue twentie yeeres together, waged warre againſt the Netherlanders, after deliberation with his counſellers thereabout, thought it moſt conuenient to aſſault them once againe by Sea, which had bene attempted ſundꝛy times heretofoꝛe, but not with foꝛces ſufficient. Unto the which expedition it ſtoode him nowe in hand to ioyne great puiſſance, as hauing the Engliſh people his profeſſed enemies, whoſe Iſland is ſo ſituate, that it may either greatly helpe oꝛ hinder all ſuch as ſaile into thoſe parts. Foꝛ which cauſe hee thought good firſt of all to inuade England, being perſwaded by his Secretary Eſcouedo, and by diuers other well experienced Spaniards and Dutchmen, and by many Engliſh fugitiues, that the conqueſt of that Iland was leſſe difficult then the conqueſt of Holland and Zeland. Moꝛeouer the Spaniards were of opinion, that it would bee farre moze behoueful foꝛ their King to conquere England and the lowe Countreys all at once, then to be conſtrained continually to maintaine a warlike Nauie to defend his Eaſt and Weſt Indie Fleetes, from the Engliſh Drake, and from ſuch like valiant enemies.

And foꝛ the ſame purpoſe the king Catholique had giuen commandement long befoꝛe in Italy and Spaine, that a great quantitie of timber ſhould be felled foꝛ the building of ſhippes: and had beſides made great preparation of things and furniture requiſite foꝛ ſuch an erpedition; as namely in founding of braſen Oꝛdinance, in ſtoꝛing vp of come and victuals, in trayning of men to vſe warlike weapons, in leauying and muſtering of ſouldiers: inſomuch that about the beginning of the yeere 1588. he had finiſhed ſuch a mightie Nauie, and bꝛought it into Lisbon hauen, as neuer the like had befoꝛe that time ſailed vpon the Ocean ſea.

A very large and particular deſcription of this Nauie was put in print and publiſhed by the Spaniards; wherein were ſet downe the number, names, and burthens of the ſhippes, the number of Mariners and ſouldiers throughout the whole Fleete; likewiſe the quantitie of their Oꝛdinance, of their armour, of bullets, of match, of gun-poulder, of victuals, and of all their Nauall furniture was in the ſaide deſcription particularized. Unto all theſe were added the names of the Gouernours, Captaines, Noblemen and gentlemen voluntaries, of whom there was ſo great a multitude, that ſcarce was there any family of accompt, oꝛ any one principall man throughout all Spaine, that had not a bꝛother, ſonne oꝛ kinſeman in that Fleete: who all of them were in good hope to purchaſe vnto themſelues in that Nauie (as they termed it) inuincible, endleſſe glory and renowne, and to poſſeſſe themſelues of great Seigniozies and riches in England, and in the lowe Countreys. But becauſe the ſaid deſcription was tranſlated and publiſhed out of Spaniſh into diuers other languages, we will here onely make an abꝛidgement oꝛ briefe rehearſall thereof.

The number and qualitie of the ſhips in the Spaniſh Fleete, with the ſouldiers, Mariners, and pieces of Oꝛdinance.

Portugal furniſhed and ſet foozth vnder the conduct of the duke of Medina Sidonia generall of the Fleete, ten Galeons, two Zabꝛaes, 1300. Mariners, 3300. ſouldiers, 300. great pieces, with all requiſite furniture.

Biſcay, vnder the conduct of Iohn Martines de Ricalde Admiral of the whole Fleete, ſet foꝛth tenne Galeons, 4. Pataches, 700. mariners, 2000. ſouldiers, 250. great pieces, &c.

Guipuſco, vnder the conduct of Michael de Oquendo, tenne Galeons, 4. Pataches, 700. mariners, 2000. ſouldiers, 310. great pieces.

Italy with the Leuant Illands, vnder Martine de Vertendona, 10. Galeons, 800. mariners, 2000. ſouldiers, 310. great pieces, &c.

Caſtile, vnder Diego Flores de Valdez, 14. Galeons, two Pataches, 1700. mariners, 2400. ſouldiers, and 380. great pieces, &c.

Andaluzia, vnder the conduct of Petro de Valdez, 10. Galeons, one Patache, 800. mariners, 2400. ſouldiers, 280. great pieces, &c.

Item, vnder the conduct of Iohn Lopez de Medina, 23. great Flemiſh hulkes, with 700. mariners, 3200. ſouldiers, and 400. great pieces.

Item, vnder Hugo de Moncada, foure Gallialles containing 1200. gally-ſlaues, 460. mariners, 870. ſouldiers, 200. great pieces, &c.

Item, vnder Diego de Mandrana, foure Gallies of Portugall, with 888. gally-ſlaues, 360. mariners, 20. great pieces, and other requiſite furniture.

Item, vnder Anthonie de Mendoza, 22. Pataches and Zabꝛaes, with 574. mariners, 468. ſouldiers, and 193. great pieces.

Beſides the ſhips aboꝛementioned there were 20. caruels rowed with oares, being appointed to perfoꝛme neceſſary ſeruices vnto the greater ſhips: inſomuch that all the ſhips apperteyning

to this Nauie amounted vnto the ſumme of 150. eche one being ſufficiently prouided of furniture and victuals.

The number of Mariners in the ſaide Fleete were aboue 8000. of ſlaues 2088. of ſouldiers 20000. (beſides noblemen and gentlemen voluntaries) of great caſt pieces 2650. The foreſaid ſhips were of an huge and incredible capacitie and receipt. For the whole Fleete was large enough to containe the burthen of 60. thouſand tunnes.

The Galeons were 64. in number, being of an huge bigneſſe, and very ſtately built, being of marueilous force alſo, and ſo high, that they reſembled great caſtles, moſt fit to defend themſelues and to withſtand any aſſaule, but in giuing any other ſhips the encounter farre inferiour vnto the Engliſh and Dutch ſhips, which can with great dexteritie weild and turne themſelues at all aſſayes. The vpperworke of the ſaid Galeons was of thickneſſe and ſtrength ſufficient to beare off muſket-ſhot. The lower worke and the timbers thereof were out of meaſure ſtrong, being framed of plankes and ribs foure or fiue foote in thickneſſe, inſomuch that no bullets could pierce them, but ſuch as were diſcharged hard at hand: which afterward prooued true, for a great number of bullets were founde to ſticke faſt within the maſſie ſubſtance of thoſe thicke plankes. Great and well pitched Cables were twined about the maſts of their ſhippes, to ſtrengthen them againſt the battery of ſhot.

A deſcription of the Galeons.

The Gallialles were of ſuch bigneſſe, that they contained within them chambers, chapels, turrets, pulpits, and other commodities of great houſes. The Gallialles were rowed with great oares, there being in eche one of them 300. ſlaues for the ſame purpoſe, and were able to do great ſeruice with the force of their Ordinance. All theſe together with the reſidue aforenamed were furniſhed and beautified with trumpets, ſtreamers, banners, warlike enſignes, and other ſuch like ornaments.

A deſcription of the Gallialles.

Their pieces of braſen ordinance were 1600. and of yron a 1000.

The bullets thereto belonging were 120. thouſand.

Item of gun-poulder 5600. quintals. Of matche 1200. quintals.

Of muſkets and kaleiuers 7000. Of halebeards and partiſans 10000.

Moreouer they had great ſtore of canons, double-canons, culuerings and field-pieces for land ſeruices.

The great Ordinance, bullets, gun-powder, and other furniture.

Likewiſe they were prouided of all inſtruments neceſſary on land to conueigh and tranſport their furniture from place to place; as namely of carts, wheeles, wagons, &c. Alſo they had ſpades, mattocks and baſkets to ſet pioners on worke. They had in like ſore great ſtore of mules and aſſes, and whatſoeuer elſe was requiſite for a land-armie. They were ſo well ſtored of biſcuit, that for the ſpace of a yeere, they might allow eche perſon in the whole Fleete halfe a quintall euery moneth, whereof the whole ſumme amounteth vnto an hundreth thouſand quintals.

Their proviſion of victuals and other things neceſſary.

Likewiſe of wine they had 147. thouſand pipes, ſufficient alſo for halfe a yeeres expedition. Of bacon 6500. quintals. Of cheeſe three thouſand quintals. Beſides fiſh, rice, beanes, peaſe, oyle, vineger, &c.

Moreouer they had 12000. pipes of freſh-water, and all other neceſſary proviſion, as namely candles, lanternes, lampes, cables, hempe, ore-hides and lead to ſtop holes that ſhould be made with the battery of gunſhot. To be ſhort, they brought all things expedient either for a Fleete by ſea, or for an armie by land.

This Nauie (as Diego Pimentelli afterward confeſſed) was eſteemed by the King himſelfe to containe 32000. perſons, and to coſt him euery day 30. thouſand ducates.

There were in the ſaid Nauie fiue terzaes of Spaniards, (which terzaes the Frenchmen call regiments) vnder the commaund of fiue gouernours termed by the Spaniards, Maeſtres of the ſame, and amongſt the reſt there were many olde and expert ſouldiers choſen out of the garriſons of Sicilie, Naples, and Terçera. Their Captaines or Colonels were Diego Pimentelli, Don Francisco de Toledo, Don Alonço de Luçon, Don Nicolas de Iſla, Don Auguſtin de Mexia; and had eche of them 12. companies vnder their conduct. Beſides the which companies there were many bands alſo of Caſtillians and Portugals, euery one of which had their peculiar gouernours, captaines, officers, colours and weapons.

A Spaniſh terza conſiſteth of 3200. ſouldiers.

It was not lawfull for any man, vnder grieuous penaltie, to cary any women or harlots in the Fleete: for which cauſe the women hired certaine ſhippes, wherein they ſailed after the Nauie: one of the which being vtterly by tempeſt arriued vpon the coaſt of France.

The Generall of this mightie Nauie, was Don Alonſo Perez de Guzman duke of Medina Sidonia, Lord of S. Lucar, and knight of the golden Fleece: by reaſon that the Marques of ſanta Cruz appointed for the ſame dignitie, deceaſed before the time.

Iohn Martines de Ricalde was Admirall of the Fleete.

Francis Bouadilla was chiefe Marshall: who all of them had their officers fit and requisite for the guiding and managing of such a multitude. Likewise Martin Alorcon was appointed Vicar generall of the Inquisition, being accompanied with more then a hundreth Monkes, to wit, Iesuites, Capuchines, and friers mendicant. Besides whom also there were Phisitians, Chirurgians, Apothecaries, and whatsoeuer else perteined vnto the hospitall.

Ouer and besides the forenamed gouernours and officers being men of chiefe note, there were 124. very noble and worthy Gentlemen, which went voluntarily of their owne costs and charges, to the ende they might see fashions, learne experience, and attaine vnto glory. Amongst whom was the prince of Ascoli, Alonzo de Leiua, the marques de Pennafiel, the marques de Ganes, the marques de Barlango, count de Paredes, count de Yeluas, and diuers other marqueses and earles of the honourable families of Mendoza, of Toledo, of Pachieco, of Cordoua, of Guzman, of Manricques, and a great number of others.

The preparation of the duke of Parma to aide the Spaniards.

While the Spaniards were furnishing this their Nauie, the duke of Parma, at the direction of king Philip, made great preparation in the low Countreys, to giue aid & assistance vnto the Spaniards; building ships for the same purpose, and sending for Pilots and ship-wrights out of Italy.

In Flanders hee caused certaine deepe chanels to be made, and among the rest the chanell of Ypre commonly called Yper-lee, employing some thousands of workemen about that seruice: to the end that by the said chanel he might transport ships from Antwerp and Ghendt to Bruges, where hee had assembled aboue a hundreth small ships called hopes being well stored with victuals, which hopes hee was determined to haue brought into the sea by the way of Sluys, or else to haue conueyed them by the saide Yper-lee being now of greater depth, into any port of Flanders whatsoeuer.

In the riuer of Waten he caused 70. ships with flat bottomes to be built, euery one of which should serue to carry 30. horses, hauing eche of them bridges likewise for the horses to come on boord, or to goe forth on land. Of the same fashion he had prouided 200. other vessels at Neuport, but not so great. And at Dunkerk hee procured 28. ships of warre, such as were there to be had, and caused a sufficient number of Mariners to be leuied at Hamburg, Breme, Emden, and at other places. Hee put in the ballast of the said ships, great store of beames of thicke planks, being hollow and beset with yron pikes beneath, but on eche side full of claspes and hookes, to ioyne them together.

Hee had likewise at Greueling prouided 20. thousand of calke, which in a short space might be compact and ioyned together with nailes and cords, and reduced into the forme of a bridge. To be short, whatsoeuer things were requisite for the making of bridges, and for the barring and stopping vp of hauens mouthes with stakes, posts, and other meanes, he commanded to be made ready. Moreouer not farre from Neiuport hauen, he had caused a great pile of wooden fagots to be layd, and other furniture to be brought for the rearing vp of a mount. The most part of his ships contained two ouens a piece to bake bread in, with a great number of sadles, bridles, and such other like apparell for horses. They had horses likewise, which after their landing should serue to conuey, and draw engines, field-pieces, and other warlike prouisions.

Neere vnto Neiuport he had assembled an armie, ouer the which he had ordained Camillo de Monte to be Camp-master. This army consisted of 30. bands or enlignes of Italians, of tenne bands of Wallons, eight of Scots, and eight of Burgundians, all which together amount vnto 56. bands, euery band containing a hundreth persons. Neere vnto Dixmud there were mustered 80. bands of Dutch men, fortie of Spaniards, fiue of high Germans, and seuen bands of Englishfugitiues, vnder the conduct of sir William Stanlie an Englishknight.

In the suburbes of Cortreight there were 4000. horsemen together with their horses in readinesse: and at Waten 900. horses, with the troupe of the Marques del Gwasto Captaine generall of the horsemen.

Vnto this famous expedition and presupposed victorie, many potentates, princes, and honorable personages hied themselues: out of Spaine the prince of Melito called the duke of Pastrana and taken to be the sonne of one Ruygomes de Silua, but in very deed accompted among the number of king Philips base sonnes. Also the Marques of Burgraue, one of the sonnes of Archduke Ferdinand and Philippa Welsera. Vespasian Gonsaga of the family of Mantua, being for the nalry a man of great renowne, and heretofore Vice-roy in Spaine. Item Iohn Medices base sonne vnto the duke of Florence. And Amadas of Sauoy, the duke of Sauoy his base sonne, with many others of inferiour degrees.

The Popes furtherance to the conquest of England, and of the low Countries.

Likewise Pope Sixtus quintus for the setting forth of the foresaid expedition, as they vse to doe against Turkes & infidels, published a Cruzado, with most ample indulgences which were purchased in great numbers. These vaine buls the Englisth and Dutchmen deriding, sayd that the deuil

all paſſages lay in ambuſh like a thiefe, no whit regarding ſuch letters of ſafe conduct. Some there be which affirme that the Pope had beſtowed the realme of England with the title of *Defenſor fidei*, vpon the king of Spaine, giuing him charge to inuade it vpon this condition, that hee ſhould enioy the conquered realm, as a vaſſal and tributarie, in that regard, vnto the ſea of Rome. To this purpoſe the ſaid Pope proffered a million of gold, the one halfe thereof to be paied in ready money, and the other halfe when the realme of England or any famous port thereof were ſubdued. And for the greater furtherance of the whole buſineſſe, he diſpatched one D. Allen an Engliſh man (whom hee had made Cardinall for the ſame ende and purpoſe) into the Low countries, vnto whom he committed the adminiſtration of all matters eccleſiaſticall throughout England. This Allen being enraged againſt his owne native countrey, cauſed the Popes bull to be tranſlated into Engliſh, meaning vpon the arriual of the Spaniſh fleete, to haue it ſo publiſhed in England. By which Bull the excommunications of the two former Popes were confirmed, and the Queenes moſt ſacred Maieſtie was by them moſt vniuſtly depriued of all princely titles and dignities, her ſubiects being enioined to performe obedience vnto the duke of Parma, and vnto the Popes Legate.

But that all matters might be performed with greater ſecrecie, and that the whole expedition might ſeeme rather to be intended againſt the Low countries, then againſt England, and that the Engliſh people might be perſwaded that all was but bare words & threatnings, and that nought would come to effect, there was a ſolemne meeting appointed at Borborch in Flanders for a treatie of peace betweene her maieſtie and the Spaniſh king.

A treatie of peace, to the end that England and the vnited prouinces might be ſecure of inuaſion.

Againſt which treatie the vnited prouinces making open proteſtation, vſed all meanes poſſible to hinder it, alleaging that it was more requiſite to conſult how the enemie now preſſing vpon them might be repelled from off their frontiers. Howbeit ſome there were in England that greatly vrged and proſecuted this league, ſaying, that it would be very commodious vnto the ſtate of the realme, as well in regard of traffique and nauigation, as for the auoiding of great expenſes to maintaine the warres, affirming alſo, that at the ſame time peace might eaſily and vpon reaſonable conditions be obtained of the Spaniard. Others thought by this meanes to diuert ſome other way, or to keepe backe the nauy now comming vpon them, and ſo to eſcape the danger of that tempeſt. Howſoeuer it was, the duke of Parma by theſe wiles enchanted and dazeled the eyes of many Engliſh & Dutch men that were deſirous of peace: whereupon it came to paſſe, that England and the vnited prouinces prepared in deed ſome defence to withſtand that dreadfull expedition, but nothing in compariſon of the great danger which was to be feared, albeit the conſtant report of the whole expedition had continued rife among them for a long time before. Howbeit they gaue eare vnto the relation of certaine that ſayd, that this nauie was prouided to conduct and waft ouer the Indian Fleets: which ſeemed the more probable becauſe the Spaniards were deemed not to be men of ſo ſmall diſcretion as to aduenture thoſe huge and monſtrous ſhips vpon the ſhallow and dangerous chanel of England.

At length when as the French king about the end of May ſignified vnto her Maieſtie in plaine termes that ſhe ſhould ſtand vpon her guard, becauſe he was now moſt certainly enformed, that there was ſo dangerous an inuaſion imminent vpon her realme, that he feared much leaſt all her land and ſea-forces would be ſufficient to withſtand it, &c. then began the Queens Maieſtie more carefully to gather her forces together, & to furniſh her own ſhips of warre, & the principall ſhips of her ſubiects with ſouldiers, weapons, and other neceſſary prouiſion. The greateſt and ſtrongeſt ſhips of the whole nauy ſhe ſent vnto Plimmouth vnder the conduct of the right honorable Lord Charles Howard, lord high Admirall of England, &c. Vnder whom the renoumed Knight Sir Francis Drake was appointed Vice-admiral. The number of theſe ſhips was about an hundreth. The leſſer ſhips being 30. or 40. in number, and vnder the conduct of the lord Henry Seimer were commanded to lie betweene Douer and Caleis.

Her Maieſties warlike prepa-ration by ſea.

On land likewiſe throughout the whole realme, ſouldiers were muſtered and trained in all places, and were committed vnto the moſt reſolute and faithfull captaines. And whereas it was commonly giuen out that the Spaniard hauing once vnited himſelfe vnto the duke of Parma, ment to inuade by the riuer of Thames, there was at Tilburie in Eſſex ouer-againſt Graueſend, a mightie army encamped, and on both ſides of the riuer fortifications were erected, according to the preſcription of Frederike Genebelli an Italian enginier. Likewiſe there were certaine ſhips brought to make a bridge, though it were very late firſt. Vnto the ſaid army came in proper perſon the Queens moſt royall Maieſtie, repreſenting Tomyris that Scythian warlike princeſſe, or rather diuine Pallas her ſelfe. Alſo there were other ſuch armies leuied in England.

Her Maieſties land-forces.

The principall catholique Recuſants (leaſt they ſhould ſtirre vp any tumult in the time of the Spaniſh inuaſion) were ſent to remaine at certaine conuenient places, as namely in the Iſle of

Ely

Ely and at Wisbich. And some of them were sent vnto other places, to wit, vnto sundry bishops and noblemen, where they were kept from endangering the state of the common wealth, and of her sacred Maiestie, who of her most gracious clemencie gaue expresse commandement, that they should be intreated with all humanitie and friendship.

The preparation of the vnited prouinces.

The prouinces of Holland and Zeland, &c. giuing credite vnto their intelligence out of Spain, made preparation to defend themselues: but because the Spanish ships were described vnto them to be so huge, they relied partly vpon the shallow and dangerous seas all along their coasts. Wherefore they stood most in doubt of the duke of Parma his small and flat-bottomed ships. Howbeit they had all their ships of warre to the number of 90. and aboue, in a readinesse for all assayes: the greater part whereof were of a small burthen, as being more meete to saile vpon their riuers and shallow seas: and with these ships they besieged all the hauens in Flanders, beginning at the mouth of Scheld, or from the towne of Lillo, and holding on to Greueling and almost vnto Caleis, & fortified all their sea-townes with strong garrisons.

Against the Spanish fleets arriuall, they had prouided 25. or 30. good ships, committing the gouernment of them vnto Admirall Jonck, whom they commanded to ioine himselfe vnto the lord Henry Seymer, lying betweene Douer and Cales. And when as the foresaid ships, (whereof the greater part besieged the hauen of Dunkerke) were driuen by tempest into Zeland, Iustin of Nassau the Admiral of Zeland supplied that squadron with 35. ships being of no great burthen, but excellently furnished with gunnes, mariners and souldiers in great abundance, and especially with 1200. braue Musquetiers, hauing bene accustomed vnto sea-fights, and being chosen out of all their companies for the same purpose: and so the said Iustin of Nassau kept such diligent ward in that Station that the duke of Parma could not issue forth with his nauy into the sea out of any part of Flanders.

The Spanish fleete set saile vpon the 19. of May.

In the meane while the Spanish Armada set saile out of the hauen of Lisbon vpon the 19. of May, *An. Dom.* 1588. vnder the conduct of the duke of Medina Sidonia, directing their course for the Baie of Corunna, *alias* the Groine in Gallicia, where they tooke in souldiers and warlike prouision, this port being in Spaine the neerest vnto England. As they were sailing along, there arose such a mightie tempest, that the whole Fleete was dispersed, so that when the duke was returned vnto his company, he could not descry aboue 80. ships in all, whereunto the residue by little and little ioyned themselues, except eight which had their masts blowen ouer-board. One of the foure gallies of Portingal escaped very hardly, retiring her selfe into the hauen. The other three were vpon the coast of Baion in France, by the assistance and courage of one Dauid Gwin an English captiue (whom the French and Turkish slaues aided in the same enterprise) vtterly vanquished and vanquished: one of the three being first ouercome, which conquered the two other, with the slaughter of their gouernours and souldiers, and among the rest of Don Diego de Mandrana with sundry others: and so those slaues arriuing in France with the three Gallies, set themselues at libertie.

They set saile from the Groine vpon the 11. of July.

The nauy hauing refreshed themselues at the Groine, & receiuing daily commandement from the king to hasten their iourney, hoised vp sailes the 11. day of July, and so holding on their course till the 19. of the same moneth, they came then vnto the mouth of the narow seas of English channel. From whence (striking their sailes in the meane season) they dispatched certaine of their small ships vnto the duke of Parma. At the same time the Spanish Fleete was descried by an English pinnasse, captaine whereof was M. Thomas Fleming, after they had bene aduertised of the Spaniards expedition by their scoutes and espials, which hauing ranged along the coast of Spaine, were lately returned home into Plimmouth for a new supply of victuals and other necessaries, who considering the foresayd tempest, were of opinion that the nauy being of late dispersed and tossed vp and downe the maine Ocean, was by no means able to performe their intended voiage.

The Spaniards come within kenning of England.

Captaine Fleming.

Moreouer, the L. Charles Howard L. high admiral of England had receiued letters from the court, signifying vnto him that her Maiestie was aduertised that the Spanish Fleete would not come forth, nor was to be any longer expected for, and therefore, that vpon her Maiesties commandement he must send backe foure of her tallest and strongest ships vnto Chattam.

The L. Admirals shot warning vpon the 19. of July.

The lord high Admiral of England being thus on the sudden, namely vpon the 19. of July about foure of the clocke in the afternoone, enformed by the pinasse of captaine Fleming aforesaid, of the Spaniards approch, with all speed and diligence possible he warped his ships, and caused his mariners and souldiers (the greater part of whom was absent for the cause aforesayd) to come on board, and that with great trouble and difficultie, insomuch that the lord Admiral himselfe was faine to lie without in the road with fire ships one ly all that night, after the which many others came forth of the hauen.

The 20. of July.

The very next day being the 20. of July about high noone, was the Spanish Fleete descried by the English, which with a Southwest wind came sailing along, and passed

paſſed by Plimmouth: in which regard (according to the iudgement of many ſkilfull nauigators) they greatly ouerſhot themſelues, whereas it had bene more commodious for them to haue ſtaied themſelues there, conſidering that the Engliſhmen being as yet vnprouided, greatly relied vpon their owne forces, and knew not the eſtate of the Spaniſh nauy. Moreouer, this was the moſt conuenient port of all others, where they might with greater ſecuritie haue bene aduertiſed of the Engliſh forces, and how the commons of the land ſtood affected, and might haue ſtirred vp ſome mutinie, ſo that hither they ſhould haue bent all their puiſſance, and from hence the duke of Parma might more eaſily haue conueied his ſhips.

But this they were prohibited to doe by the king and his counſell, and were expreſſely commanded to vnite themſelues vnto the ſouldiers and ſhips of the ſaid duke of Parma, and ſo to bring their purpoſe to effect. Which was thought to be the moſt eaſie and direct courſe, for that they imagined that the Engliſh and Dutch men would be vtterly daunted and diſmaied thereat, and would each man of them retire vnto his owne Prouince and Porte for the defence thereof, and tranſporting the armie of the duke vnder the protection of their huge nauy, they might inuade England.

It is reported that the chiefe commanders in the nauy, and thoſe which were more ſkilfull in nauigation, to wit, Iohn Martines de Ricalde, Diego Flores de Valdez, and diuers others found fault that they were bound vnto ſo ſtrict directions and inſtructions, becauſe that in ſuch a caſe many particular accidents ought to concurre and to be reſpected at one and the ſame inſtant, that is to ſay, the opportunities of the wind, weather, time, tide, and ebbe, wherein they might ſaile from Flanders to England. Oftentimes alſo the darkeneſſe and light, the ſituation of places, the depths and ſhoulds were to be conſidered: all which eſpecially depended vpon the conueniencie of the windes, and were by ſo much the more dangerous.

But it ſeemeth that they were enioined by their commiſſion to ancre neere vnto, or about Calleis, whither the duke of Parma with his ſhips and all his warrelike prouiſion was to reſort, and while the Engliſh and Spaniſh great ſhips were in the midſt of their conflict, to paſſe by, and to land his ſouldiers vpon the Downes.

The Spaniſh captiues reported that they were determined firſt to haue entred the riuer of Thames, and thereupon to haue paſſed with ſmall ſhips vp to London, ſuppoſing that they might eaſily winne that rich and flouriſhing Citie being but meanely fortified and inhabited with Citizens not accuſtomed to the warres, who durſt not withſtand their firſt encounter, hoping moreouer to finde many rebels againſt her Maieſtie and popiſh catholiques, or ſome fauourers of the Scottiſh queene (which was not long before moſt iuſtly beheaded) who might be inſtruments of ſeditiõ.

Thus often aduertiſing the duke of Parma of their approch, the 20. of July they paſſed by Plimmouth, which the Engliſh ſhips purſuing and getting the wind of them, gaue them the chaſe and the encounter, and ſo both Fleets frankly exchanged their bullets.

The day following which was the 21. of July, the Engliſh ſhips approched within muſquet ſhot of the Spaniſh: at what time the lorde Charles Howard moſt hotly and valiantly diſcharged his Ordnance vpon the Spaniſh Vice-admirall. The Spaniards then well perceiuing the nimbleneſſe of the Engliſh ſhips in diſcharging vpon the enimie on all ſides, gathered themſelues cloſe into the forme of an halfe moone, and ſlackened their ſailes, leaſt they ſhould outgoe any of their companie. And while they were proceeding on in this maner, one of their great Gallaſſes was ſo furiouſly battered with ſhot, that the whole nauy was faine to come vp roundabout together for the ſafegard thereof: whereby it came to paſſe that the principall Galleon of Sidon (wherein Don Pedro de Valdez, Vaſques de Silua, Alonzo de Sayas, and other noble men were embarqued) falling foule of another ſhippe, had her fore-maſt broken, and by that meanes was not able to keepe way with the Spaniſh Fleete, neither would the ſayde Fleete ſtay to ſuccour it, but left the diſtreſſed Galeon behind. The lord Admirall of England when he ſaw this ſhip of Valdez, I thought he had bene voyd of Partiners and Souldiers, taking with him as many ſhippes as he could, paſſed by it, that he might not looſe ſight of the Spaniſh Fleet that night. For ſir Francis Drake (who was not withſtanding appointed to beare out his lanterne that night) was gliding of chaſe vnto fiue great Hulkes which had ſeparated themſelues from the Spaniſh Fleete: but finding them to be Eaſterlings, he diſmiſſed them. The lord Admirall all that night following the Spaniſh lanterne in ſtead of the Engliſh, found himſelfe in the morning to be in the midſt of his enimies Fleete, but when he perceiued it, hee cleanly conueyed himſelfe out of that great danger.

The 21. of July.

The day following, which was the two and twentie of July, Sir Francis Drake eſpied Valdez his ſhippe, whereunto hee ſent forth his pinnaſſe, and being aduertiſed that Valdez himſelfe

The 22. of July.

ſelfe was there, and 450. perſons with him, he ſent him word that he ſhould yeeld himſelfe. Valdez for his honors ſake cauſed certaine conditions to be propounded vnto Drake: who anſwered Valdez that he was not now at laiſure to make any long parle, but if he would yeeld himſelfe, he ſhould find him friendly and tractable: howbeit if he had reſolued to die in fight, he ſhould proone Drake to be no baſtard.

Upon which anſwere Valdez and his company vnderſtanding that they were fallen into the hands of fortunate Drake, being mooued with the renoume and celebritie of his name, with one conſent yeelded themſelues, and found him very fauourable vnto them. Then Valdez with 40. or 50. noblemen and gentlemen pertaining vnto him, came on board ſir Francis Drakes ſhip. The reſidue of his company were caried vnto Plimmouth, where they were detained a yere & an halfe for their ranſome.

Don Pedro de Valdez with his ſhip & company taken.

Valdez comming vnto Drake and humbly kiſſing his hand proteſted vnto him, that he and his had reſolued to die in battell, had they not by good fortune fallen into his power, whom they knew to be right curteous and gentle, and whom they had heard by generall report to bee moſt fauourable vnto his vanquiſhed foe: inſomuch that he ſayd it was to bee doubted whether his enimies had more cauſe to admire and loue him for his great, valiant, and proſperous exploites, or to dread him for his ſingular felicitie and wiſedom, which euer attended vpon him in the warres, and by the which hee had attained vnto ſo great honour. With that Drake embraced him and gaue him very honourable entertainement, feeding him at his owne table, and lodging him in his cabbin.

Here Valdez began to recount vnto Drake the forces of all the Spaniſh Fleet, and how foure mightie Gallies were ſeparated by tempeſt from them: and alſo how they were determined firſt to haue put into Plimmouth hauen, not expecting to bee repelled thence by the Engliſh ſhips which they thought could by no meanes withſtand their impregnable forces, perſwading themſelues that by means of their huge Fleete, they were become lords and commaunders of the maine Ocean. For which cauſe they marueled much how the Engliſh men in their ſmall ſhips durſt approch within muſket ſhot of the Spaniards mightie wooden caſtles, gathering the wind of them with many other ſuch like attempts.

Immediately after, Valdez and his company, being a man of principal authoritie in the Spaniſh Fleete, and being deſcended of one and the ſame familie with that Valdez, which in the yeere 1574. beſieged Leiden in Holland, were ſent captiues into England. There were in the ſame ſhip 55. thouſand ducates in ready money of the Spaniſh kings gold, which the ſouldiers merily ſhared among themſelues.

The ſame day was ſet on fire one of their greateſt ſhippes, being Admirall of the ſquadron of Guipuſco, and being the ſhippe of Michael de Oquendo Vice-admirall of the whole Fleete, which contained great ſtore of gunnepowder and other warrelike prouiſion. The vpper part onely of this ſhippe was burnt, and all the perſons therein contained (except a very few) were conſumed with fire. And thereupon it was taken by the Engliſh, and brought into England with a number of miſerable burnt and ſkorched Spaniards. Howbeit the gunpowder (to the great admiration of all men) remained whole and vnconſumed.

A great Biſcaine ſhip taken by the Engliſh.

In the meane ſeaſon the lord Admirall of England in his ſhip called the Arke-royall, all that night purſued the Spaniards ſo neere, that in the morning hee was almoſt left alone in the enimies Fleete, and it was foure of the clocke at afternoone before the reſidue of the Engliſh Fleet could ouertake him.

At the ſame time Hugo de Moncada gouernour of the foure Galliaſſes, made humble ſute vnto the Duke of Medina that he might be licenced to encounter the Admirall of England: which libertie the duke thought not good to permit vnto him, becauſe hee was loth to exceed the limits of his commiſſion and charge.

The 23. of July.

Upon Tueſday which was the three and twentie of July, the nauy being come ouer againſt Portland, the wind began to turne Northerly, inſomuch that the Spaniards had a fortunate and fit gale to inuade the Engliſh. But the Engliſhmen hauing leſſer and nimbler ſhips, recouered againe the vantage of the winde from the Spaniards, whereat the Spaniards ſeemed to bee more incenſed to fight then before. But when the Engliſh Fleete had continually and without intermiſſion from morning to night, beaten and battered them with all their ſhot both great and ſmall: the Spaniardes vniting themſelues, gathered their whole Fleete cloſe together into a roundell, ſo that it was apparant that they ment not as yet to inuade others, but onely to defend themſelues and to make haſt vnto the place preſcribed vnto them, which was neere vnto Dunkerk, that they might ioine forces with the duke of Parma, who was determined to haue proceeded ſecretly with his ſmall ſhippes vnder the ſhadow and

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and protection of the great ones, and ſo had intended circumſpectly to performe the whole expedition.

This was the moſt furious and bloodie skirmiſh of all, in which the lord Admirall of England continued fighting amidſt his enemies Fleete, and ſeeing one of his Captaines afarre off, hee ſpake vnto him in theſe words: Oh George what doeſt thou? Wilt thou nowe frustrate my hope and opinion conceiued of thee? Wilt thou forſake mee nowe? With which words hee being enflamed, approched forthwith, encountered the enemie, and did the part of a moſt valiant Captaine. His name was George Fenner, a man that had bene conuerſant in many Sea-fights.

In this conflict there was a certaine great Venetian ship with other ſmall ships ſurpriſed and taken by the Engliſh.

11 great Venetian ſhip and other ſmall ſhips taken by the Engliſh.

The Engliſh naule in the meane while increaſed, whereunto out of all Hauens of the Realme reſorted ſhips and men: for they all with one accord came flocking thither as vnto a ſet field, where immortall fame and glory was to be attained, and faithfull ſeruice to bee performed vnto their prince and countrey.

In which number there were many great and honourable perſonages, as namely, the Erles of Oxford, of Northumberland, of Cumberland, &c. with many Knights and Gentlemen: to wit, Sir Thomas Cecill, Sir Robert Cecill, Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir William Hatton, Sir Horatio Palauicini, Sir Henry Brooke, Sir Robert Carew, Sir Charles Blunt, Maſter Ambroſe Willoughbie, Maſter Henry Nowell, Maſter Thomas Gerard, Maſter Henry Dudley, Maſter Edward Darcie, Maſter Arthur Gorge, Maſter Thomas Woodhouſe, Maſter William Haruie, &c. And ſo it came to paſſe that the number of the Engliſh ſhippes amounted vnto an hundreth: which when they were come before Douer, were increaſed to an hundred and thirtie, being notwithſtanding of no proportionable bigneſſe to encounter with the Spaniards, except two or three and twentie of the Queenes greater ſhippes, which onely, by reaſon of their preſence, bred an opinion in the Spaniardes minds concerning the power of the Engliſh Fleet: the mariners and ſouldiers whereof were eſteemed to be twelue thouſand.

The foure and twentie of July when as the ſea was calme, and no winde ſtirring, the fight was onely betweene the foure great Galleaſſes and the Engliſh ſhippes, which being rowed with Oares, had great vauntage of the ſayde Engliſh ſhippes, which notwithſtanding for all that would not bee forced to yeeld, but diſcharged their chaine-ſhot to cut aſunder their Cables and Towage of the Galleaſſes, with many other ſuch Stratagemes. They were nowe conſtrained to ſend their men on land for a newe ſupplie of Gunne-powder, whereof they were in great ſkarcitie, by reaſon they had ſo frankely ſpent the greater part in the former conflictes. The 24. of July.

The ſame day, a Counſell being aſſembled, it was decreed that the Engliſh Fleete ſhould bee deuided into foure ſquadrons: the principall whereof was committed vnto the lord Admirall: the ſecond, to Sir Francis Drake: the third, to Captaine Hawkins: the fourth, to Captaine Frobiſher.

The Spaniards in their ſailing obſerued very diligent and good order, ſayling three and foure, and ſometimes more ſhips in a ranke, and following cloſe vp one after another, and the ſtronger and greater ſhips protecting the leſſer.

The fiue and twentie of July when the Spaniardes were come ouer-againſt the Iſle of Wight, the lord Admirall of England being accompanied with his beſt ſhips, (namely the Lion, Captaine whereof was the lord Thomas Howard: The Elizabeth Ionas vnder the commandement of Sir Robert Southwel ſonne in lawe vnto the lord Admirall: the Beare vnder the lord Sheffield nephew vnto the lord Admirall: the Victorie vnder Captaine Barker: and the Galeon Leiceſter vnder the forenamed Captaine George Fenner) with great valour and dreadfull thundering of ſhot, encountered the Spaniſh Admiral being in the very midſt of all his Fleet. Which when the Spaniard perceiued, being aſſiſted with his ſtrongeſt ſhips, he came forth and entered a terrible combate with the Engliſh: for they beſtowed each on other the broad ſides, and mutually diſcharged all their Ordinance, being within one hundred, or an hundred and twentie yards one of another. The 25. of July.

At length the Spaniardes hoiſed vp their ſayles, and againe gathered themſelues vp cloſe into the forme of a roundel. In the meane while Captaine Frobiſher had engaged himſelfe into a moſt dangerous conflict. Whereupon the lord Admirall comming to ſuccour him, found that hee had valiantly and diſcreetly behaued himſelfe, and that hee had wiſely and in good time

giuen

ouer the ſlyde, becauſe that after ſo great a batterie he had ſuſtained no damage.

The 26. of July. For which cauſe the day following, being the fire and twentie of July, the lord Admirall rewarded him with the order of knighthood, together with the lord Thomas Howard, the lord Sheffield, M. Iohn Hawkins and others.

The ſame day the lord Admirall receiued intelligence from Newhauen in France, by certaine of his Pinnaſſes, that all things were quiet in France, and that there was no preparation of ſending aide vnto the Spaniards, which was greatly feared from the Guiſian faction, and from the Leaguers: but there was a falſe rumour ſpread all about, that the Spaniards had conquered England.

The 27. of July. The Spaniards ancre before Calais. The ſeuen and twentie of July, the Spaniards about the ſunne-ſetting were come ouer-againſt Douer, and rode at ancre within the ſight of Calais, intending to hold on for Dunkerk, expecting there to ioyne with the duke of Parma his forces, without which they were able to doe little or nothing.

Likewiſe the Engliſh Fleete following vp hard vpon them, ancred iuſt by them within culuering-ſhot. And here the lord Henry Seymer ioyned himſelfe vnto the lord Admiral with his fleete of 30. ſhips which road before the mouth of Thames.

As the Spaniſh naule there fore lay at ancre, the duke of Medina ſent certaine meſſengers vnto the duke of Parma, with whom vpon that occaſion many Noblemen and Gentlemen were to refreſh themſelues on land: and amongſt the reſt the prince of Aſcoli, being accounted the kings baſe ſonne, and a very proper and towardly young gentleman, to his great good, went on ſhore, who was by ſo much the more fortunate, in that hee had not oppoſitunitie to returne on boord the ſame ſhip, out of which he was departed, becauſe that in returning home it was caſt away vpon the Iriſh coaſt, with all the perſons contained therein.

The duke of Parma being aduertiſed of the Spaniſh Fleetes arriuall vpon the coaſt of England, made all the haſte hee could to bee preſent himſelfe in this expedition for the performance of his charge: vainely perſwading himſelfe that nowe by the meanes of Cardinall Allen, he ſhould be crowned king of England, and for that cauſe hee had reſigned the gouernement of the Lowe countries vnto Count Manſfeld the elder. And hauing made his vowes vnto S. Mary of Hall in Henault (whom he went to viſite for his blind deuotions ſake) hee returned toward Bruges the 28. of July.

The 28. of July. The 29. of July. The nert day trauelling to Dunkerk hee heard the thundering Ordinance of either Fleet: and the ſame euening being come to Dixmud, hee was giuen to vnderſtand the hard ſucceſſe of the Spaniſh Fleete.

The 30. of July. Vpon Tueſday which was the thirtieth of July, about high noone, hee came to Dunkerk, when as all the Spaniſh Fleete was now paſſed by: neither durſt any of his ſhips in the meane ſpace come forth to aſſiſt the ſayd Spaniſh Fleete for feare of flue and thirtie warrelike ſhips of Holland and Zeland, which there kept watch and warde vnder the conduct of the Admirall Iuſtin of Naſſau.

The foreſayd flue and thirtie ſhippes were furniſhed with moſt cunning mariners and olde expert ſouldiers, amongſt the which were twelue hundred Muſketiers, whom the States had choſen out of all their gariſons, and whom they knew to haue bene heretofore experienced in ſea-fights.

This naule was giuen eſpecially in charge not to ſuffer any ſhippe to come out of the Hauen, nor to permit any Zabraes, Pataches or other ſmall veſſels of the Spaniſh Fleete (which were more likely to aide the Dunkerkers) to enter thereinto, for the greater ſhips were not to be feared by reaſon of the ſhallow ſea in that place. Howbeit the prince of Parma his forces being as yet vnready, were not come on boord his ſhippes, onely the Engliſh Fugitiues being ſeuen hundred in number vnder the conduct of Sir William Stanley, came in ſit time to haue bene embarked, becauſe they hoped to giue the firſt aſſaulte againſt England. The reſidue ſhewed themſelues vnwilling and loath to depart, becauſe they ſawe but a few mariners, who were by conſtraint drawne into this expedition, and alſo becauſe they had very bare proviſion of bread, drinke, and other neceſſary victuals.

Moreouer, the ſhippes of Holland and Zeland ſtood continually in their ſight, threatening ſhot and powder, and many inconueniences vnto them: for feare of which ſhippes, the Mariners and Sea-men ſecretly withdrew themſelues both day and night, leaſt that the duke of Parma his ſouldiers ſhould compell them by maine force to goe on boord, and ſo breake through the Hollanders Fleete, which all of them iudged to bee impoſſible by reaſon of the ſtraightneſſe of the Hauen.

But

But it ſeemeth that the Duke of Parma and the Spaniards grounded vpon a vaine and pre-
ſumptuous expectation, that all the ſhips of England and of the Low countreys would at the firſt
ſight of the Spaniſh and Dunkerk Fleete haue betaken themſelues to flight, peſtering them ſea
roome, and endeuouring onely to defend themſelues, their hauens, and ſea coaſts from inuaſion.
Wherefore their intent and purpoſe was, that the Duke of Parma in his ſmall and flat-bot-
tomed ſhippes, ſhould as it were vnder the ſhadow and wings of the Spaniſh fleet, conuey ouer all
his troupes, armoure, and warlike proviſion, and with their forces ſo vnited, ſhould inuade Eng-
land; or while the Engliſh fleet were buſied in fight againſt the Spaniſh, ſhould enter vpon any
part of the coaſt, which he thought to be moſt conuenient. Which inuaſion (as the captiues after-
ward confeſſed) the Duke of Parma thought firſt to haue attempted by the riuer of Thames; vp-
on the bankes whereof hauing at his firſt arriuall landed twenty or thirty thouſand of his prin-
cipall ſouldiers, he ſuppoſed that he might eaſily haue woonne the Citie of London; both be-
cauſe his ſmall ſhippes ſhould haue followed and aſſiſted his land-forces, and alſo for that the Ci-
tie it-ſelfe was but meanely fortified and eaſie to ouercome, by reaſon of the Citizens delicacie
and diſcontinuance from the warres, who with continuall and conſtant labour might be vanqui-
ſhed, if they yeelded not at the firſt aſſault. They were in good hope alſo to haue mette with
ſome rebels againſt her Maieſtie, and ſuch as were diſcontented with the preſent ſtate, as Pa-
piſts, and others. Likewiſe they looked for ayde from the fauourers of the Scottiſh Queene,
who was not long before put to death; all which they thought would haue ſtirred vp ſeditions
and factions.

The Spaniards vaine ſuppoſition concerning their own fleete.

Whenas therefore the Spaniſh fleet rode at anker before Caleis, to the end they might con-
ſult with the Duke of Parma what was beſt to be done according to the Kings commandement,
and the preſent eſtate of their affaires, and had now (as we will afterward declare) purpoſed vp-
on ſeuerall practiſe; the L. Admirall of England being admoniſhed by her Maieſties letters from
the Court, thought it moſt expedient either to driue the Spaniſh fleet from that place, or at leaſt-
wiſe to giue them the encounter: and for that cauſe (according to her Maieſties preſcription) he
tooke forthwith eight of his woorſt & baſeſt ſhips which came next to hand, & diſburthening them
of all things which ſeemed to be of any value, filled them with gun-powder, pitch, brimſtone, and
with other combuſtible and fiery matter; and charging all their ordinance with powder, bullets,
and ſtones, he ſent the ſayd ſhips vpon the 28 of July being Sunday, about two of the clocke af-
termidnight, with the winde and tide againſt the Spaniſh fleet: which when they had proceeded
a good ſpace, being forſaken of the Pilots, and ſet on fire, were directly carried vpon the King
of Spaines Naute; which fire in the dead of the night put the Spaniards into ſuch a perplexity
and horrour (for they feared leſt they were like vnto thoſe terrible ſhips, which Frederic Ienebelli
fiue yeares before, at the ſiege of Antwerpe, had furniſhed with gun-powder, ſtones, and dread-
full engines, for the diſſolution of the Duke of Parma his bridge, built vpon the riuer of Scheld)
that cutting their cables whereon their ankers were faſtened, and hoiſing vp their ſailes, they he-
tooke themſelues very confuſedly vnto the maine ſea.

The 28 of July.

In this ſudden confuſion, the principall and greateſt of the foure galliaſſes falling fowle of an-
other ſhip, loſt her rudder: for which cauſe when ſhe could not be guided any longer, ſhe was by the
force of the tide caſt into a certaine ſhowld vpon the ſhore of Caleis, where ſhe was immediatly aſ-
ſailed by diuers Engliſh pinaſſes, hoyes, and drumblers.

The galliaſſe of Hugo de Moncada caſt vpon the ſhowlde before Caleis.

And as they lay battering of her with their ordinance, and durſt not boord her, the L. Admi-
rall ſent thither his long boat with an hundreth choiſe ſouldiers vnder the command of Captaine
Amias Preſton. Vpon whoſe approch their fellowes being more emboldened, did offer to boord
the galliaſſe: againſt whom the gouernour thereof and Captaine of all the foure galliaſſes, Hu-
go de Moncada, ſtoutly oppoſed himſelfe, fighting vp ſo much the more valiantly, in that he
hoped preſently to be ſuccoured by the Duke of Parma. In the meane ſeaſon, Moncada, after
he had endured the conflict a good while, being hitte on the head with a bullet, fell downe ſtarke
dead, and a great number of Spaniards alſo were ſlaine in his company. The greater part of
the reſidue leaping ouer-boord into the ſea, to ſaue themſelues by ſwimming, were moſt of them
drowned. Howbeit there eſcaped among others Don Anthonio de Mantiques, a principall offi-
cer in the Spaniſh fleet (called by them their Veador generall) together with a few Spaniards
beſides: which Anthonio was the firſt man that carried certaine newes of the ſucceſſe of their
fleet into Spaine.

Sir. Amias Preſton valiantly boordeth the galliaſſe.

This huge and monſtrous galliaſſe, wherein were contained three hundred ſlaues to lug at the
oares, and foure hundred ſouldiers, was in the ſpace of three houres rifled in the ſame place; and
there were found amongſt diuers other commodities 50000 ducats of the Spaniſh kings treaſure.

At length when the Hlaues were releaſed out of their fetters, the Engliſh men would haue ſet the ſayd ſhip on fire, which Monſieur Gourdon the gouernor of Caleis, for feare of the damage which might thereupon enſue to the Towne and Hauen, would not permit them to do, but drawe them from thence with his great ordinance.

The great fight before Greueling the 29 of July.

Upon the 29 of July in the morning, the Spaniſh Fleet after the foreſayd tumult, hauing arranged themſelues againe into order, were, within ſight of Greueling moſt brauely and furiouſly encountered by the Engliſh; where they once againe got the winde of the Spaniards: who ſuffered themſelues to be depriued of the commodity of the place in Caleis rode, and of the aduantage of the winde neere vnto Dunkerk, rather then they would change their array or ſeparate their forces now conioyned and vnited together, ſtanding onely vpon their defence.

And albeit there were many excellent and warlike ſhips in the Engliſh fleet, yet ſcarſe were there 22 or 23 among them all which matched 90 of the Spaniſh ſhips in bigneſſe, or could conueniently aſſault them. Wherefore the Engliſh ſhippes vſing their prerogatiue of nimble ſtirrage, whereby they could turne and wield themſelues with the winde which way they liſted, came often times very neere vpon the Spaniards, and charged them ſo fore, that now and then they were but a pikes length aſunder: & ſo continually giuing them one braue ſide after another, they diſcharged all their ſhot both great and ſmall vpon them, ſpending one whole day from morning till night in that violent kinde of conflict, vntill ſuch time as powder and bullets failed them. In regard of which want they thought it conuenient not to purſue the Spaniards any longer, becauſe they had many great vantages of the Engliſh, namely for the extraordinary bigneſſe of their ſhips, and alſo for that they were ſo neerely conioyned, and kept together in ſo good array, that they could by no meanes be fought withall one to one. The Engliſh thought therefore, that they had right well acquited themſelues, in chaſing the Spaniards firſt from Caleis, and then from Dunkerk, and by that meanes to haue hindered them from ioyning with the Duke of Parma his forces, and getting the winde of them, to haue driuen them from their owne coaſts.

The Spaniards that day ſuſtained great loſſe and damage hauing many of their ſhippes ſhot thorow and thorow, and they diſcharged likewiſe great ſtore of ordinance againſt the Engliſh: who indeed ſuſtained ſome hinderance, but not comparable to the Spaniards loſſe: for they loſt not any one ſhippe or perſon of account. For very diligent inquiſition being made, the Engliſh men all that time wherein the Spaniſh Nauy ſayled vpon their ſeas, are not found to haue wanted aboue one hundreth of their people: albeit Sir Francis Drakes ſhippe was pierced with ſhot aboue fortie times, and his very cabben was twiſe ſhot thorow, and about the concluſion of the fight, the bedde of a certaine gentleman lying weary thereupon, was taken quite from vnder him with the force of a bullet. Likewiſe, as the Earle of Northumberland and Sir Charles Blunt were at dinner vpon a time, the bullet of a demi-culuering brake thorow the middeſt of their cabbin, touched their feet, and ſtrooke downe two of the ſtanders by, with many ſuch accidents befalling the Engliſh ſhippes, which it were tedious to rehearſe. Whereupon it is moſt apparent, that God miraculouſly preſerued the Engliſh nation. For the L. Admirall wrote vnto her Maieſtie that in all humane reaſon, and according to the iudgement of all men (euery circumſtance being duly conſidered) the Engliſh men were not of any ſuch force, whereby they might, without a miracle, dare once to approch within ſight of the Spaniſh Fleet: inſomuch that they freely aſcribed all the honour of their victory vnto God, who had confounded the enemy, and had brought his counſels to none effect.

Three Spaniſh ſhippes ſincke in the fight.

The ſame day the Spaniſh ſhips were ſo battered with Engliſh ſhot, that that very night and the day following, two or three of them ſuncke right downe: and among the reſt a certaine great ſhip of Biſcay, which Captaine Croſſe aſſaulted, which periſhed euen in the time of the conflict, ſo that very few therein eſcaped drowning; who reported that the gouernours of the ſame ſhippe flew one another vpon the occaſion following: one of them which would haue perſwaded the ſhippe was ſuddenly ſlaine; the brother of the ſlaine party in reuenge of his death ſlew the murtherer, and in the meane while the ſhip ſuncke.

Two galeons taken and caried into Zeland.

The ſame night two Portugall galeons of the burthen of ſeuen or eight hundreth tunnes a piece, to wit, the Saint Philip and the Saint Matthew, were forſaken of the Spaniſh Fleet, for they were ſo torne with ſhotte, that the water entered into them on all ſides. In the galeon of Saint Philip was Francis de Toledo, brother vnto the Count de Orgas, being Colonell ouer two and thirty bands: beſides other gentlemen; who ſeeing their maſt broken with ſhotte, they ſhaped their courſe, as well as they could, for the coaſt of Flanders: whither when they could not attaine, the principall men in the ſhip committing themſelues to their ſkiffe, arriued at the next towne, which was Oſtend; and the ſhip it ſelfe being left behinde with the reſidue of their company, was taken by the Vliſhingers.

In

In the other galeon, called the S. Matthew, was embarked Don Diego Pimentell another camp-maſter and colonell of 32 bands, being brother vnto the marques of Tannares, with many other gentlemen and captaines. Their ſhip was not very great, but exceeding ſtrong, for of a great number of bullets which had battered her, there were ſcarſe 20 wherewith ſhe was pierced or hurt: her vpper worke was of force ſufficient to beare off a muſket ſhot: this ſhippe was ſhot thorow and pierced in the ſlighe before Greueling; inſomuch that the leakage of the water could not be ſtopped: whereupon the duke of Medina ſent his great ſkiffe vnto the gouernour thereof, that he might ſaue himſelfe and the principall perſons that were in his ſhip: which he, vpon a hault courage, refuſed to do: wherefore the Duke charged him to ſaile next vnto himſelfe: which the night following he could not performe, by reaſon of the great abundance of water which entered his ſhip on all ſides; for the auoiding wherof, and to ſaue his ſhip from ſincking, he cauſed 50 men continually to labor at the pumpe, though it were to ſmall purpoſe. And ſeeing himſelfe thus forſaken & ſeparated from his admirall, he endeuored what he could to attaine vnto the coaſt of Flanders: where, being eſpied by 40 or 5 men of warre, which had their ſtation aſſigned them vpon the ſame coaſt, he was admonished to yeeld himſelfe vnto them, Which he refuſing to do, was ſtrongly aſſaulted by them altogether, and his ſhip being pierced with many bullets, was brought into farre worſe caſe then before, and 40 of his ſouldiers were ſlaine. By which extremity he was enforced at length to yeeld himſelfe vnto Peter Banderdues & other captaines, which brought him and his ſhip into Zeland; and that other ſhip alſo laſt before mentioned: which both of them, immediately after the greater and better part of their goods were vnladen, ſuncke right downe.

For the memory of this exploit, the ſaid captaine Banderdues cauſed the banner of one of their ſhippes to be ſet vp in the great Church of Leiden in Holland, which is of ſo great a length, that being faſtened to the very roofe, it reached downe to the ground.

About the ſame time another ſmall ſhip being by neceſſity driuen vpon the coaſt of Flanders, about Blankenberg, was caſt away vpon the ſands, the people therein being ſaued. Thus almighty God would haue the Spaniards huge ſhips to be preſented, not onely to the view of the Engliſh, but alſo of the Zelanders; that at the ſight of them they might acknowledge of what ſmall ability they had beene to reſiſt ſuch impregnable forces, had not God endued them with courage, prouidence, and fortitude, yea, and fought for them in many places with his owne arme.

8 ſmall ſhippes caſt away about Blankenberg.

The 29 of July the Spaniſh fleet being encountered by the Engliſh (as is afore ſayd) and lying cloſe together vnder their fighting ſailes, with a Southweſt winde ſailed paſt Dunkerk, the Engliſh ſhips ſtil following the chaſe. Of which the day following when the Spaniards had got ſeaſonable, they cut their maine ſailes; whereby they ſufficiently declared that they meant no longer to fight but to flie. For which cauſe the L. Admirall of England diſpatched the L. Henrie Seymer with his ſquadron of ſmall ſhips vnto the coaſt of Flanders, where, with the helpe of the Dutch ſhips, he might ſtop the prince of Parma his paſſage, if perhaps he ſhould attempt to iſſue forth with his armie. And he himſelfe in the meane ſpace purſued the Spaniſh fleet vntill the ſecond of Auguſt, becauſe he thought they had ſet ſaile for Scotland. And albeit he followed them very neere, yet did he not aſſault them any more, for want of powder and bullets. But vpon the fourth of Auguſt, the winde ariſing, when as the Spaniards had ſpread all their ſailes, betaking themſelues wholly to flight, and leauing Scotland on the left hand, trended toward Norway, (whereby they ſufficiently declared that their whole intent was to ſaue themſelues by flight, attempting for that purpoſe, with their battered and crazed ſhips, the moſt dangerous nauigation of the Northren ſeas) the Engliſh ſeeing that they were now proceeded vnto the latitude of 57 degrees, and being vnwilling to participate that danger whereinto the Spaniards plunged themſelues, and becauſe they wanted things neceſſary, and eſpecially powder & ſhot, returned backe for England; leauing behinde them certaine pinaſſes onely, which they enioyned to follow the Spaniards aloofe, and to obſerue their courſe. And ſo it came to paſſe that the fourth of Auguſt, with great danger and induſtry, the Engliſh arriued at Harwich: for they had bene toſſed vp and nine with a mighty tempeſt for the ſpace of two or three dayes together, which it is likely did great hurt vnto the Spaniſh fleet, being (as I ſayd before) ſo maimed and battered. The Engliſh now going on thore, prouided themſelues foorthwith of victuals, gunne-powder, and other things expedient, that they might be ready at all aſſayes to entertaine the Spaniſh fleet, if it chanced any more to returne. But being afterward more certainely informed of the Spaniards courſe, they thought it beſt to leaue them vnto thoſe boiſterous and vncouth Northren ſeas, and not there to haunt after them.

The diſhonorable flight of the Spaniſh army: and the prudent aduice of the L. Admirall.

The Engliſh returne home from the purſuite of the Spaniards the 4 of Auguſt.

The Spaniards ſeeing now that they wanted fourre or fiue thouſand of their people and hauing diuers maimed and ſicke perſons, and likewiſe hauing loſt 1002 12 of their principall ſhips, they conſulted among themſelues, what they were beſt to doe, being now eſcaped out of the hands of

The Spaniards consult to sayle round about Scotland and Ireland, and so to returne home.

the English, because their victuals failed them in like sort, and they began also to want cables, cordage, ankers, masts, sailes, and other naual furniture, and vtterly despaired of the Duke of Parma his assistance (who verily hoping and vndoubtedly expecting the returne of the Spanish Fleet, was continually occupied about his great preparation, commanding abundance of ankers to be made, & other necessary furniture for a Nauy to be prouided) they thought it good at length, so soone as the winde should serue them, to fetch a compasse about Scotland and Ireland, and so to returne for Spaine.

For they well vnderstood, that commandement was giuen throughout all Scotland, that they should not haue any succour or assistance there. Neither yet could they in Norway supply their wants. Wherefore, hauing taken certaine Scottish and other fisherboats, they brought the men on board their owne ships, to the end they might be their guides and Pilots. Fearing also least their fresh water should faile them, they cast all their horses and mules ouer-board: and so touching no where vpon the coast of Scotland, but being carried with a fresh gale betweene the Orcades and Faar-Iles, they proceeded farre Northward, euen vnto 61 degrees of latitude, being distant from any land at the least 40 leagues. Heere the Duke of Medina generall of the Fleet commanded all his followers to shape their course for Biscay: and he himselfe with twenty or fiue and twenty of his ships which were best prouided of fresh water and other necessaries, holding on his course ouer the maine Ocean, returned safely home. The residue of his ships being about fortie in number, and committed vnto his Vice-admirall, fell neerer with the coast of Ireland, intending their course for Cape Clare, because they hoped there to get fresh water, and to refresh themselues on land. But after they were driuen with many contrary windes, at length, vpon the second of September, they were cast by a tempest arising from the Southwest vpon diuers parts of Ireland, where many of their ships perished. And amongst others, the shippe of Michael de Oquendo, which was one of the great Galliasses: and two great ships of Venice also, namely, la Rata and Belanzara, with other 36 or 38 ships more, which perished in sundry tempests, together with most of the persons contained in them.

The shippes wracke of the Spaniardes vpon the Irish coast.

Likewise some of the Spanish ships were the second time carried with a strong West winde into the chanell of England, whereof some were taken by the English vpon their coast, and others by the men of Rochel vpon the coast of France.

Moreouer, there arriued at Newhauen in Normandy, being by tempest inforced so to do, one of the foure great Galliasses, where they found the ships with the Spanish women which followed the Fleet at their setting forth. Two ships also were cast away vpon the coast of Norway, one of them being of a great burthen; howbeit all the persons in the said great ship were saued: insomuch that of 134 ships, which set saile out of Portugall, there returned home 53 onely small and great: namely of the foure galliasses but one, and but one of the foure gallies. Of the 91 great galleons and hulks there were missing 58, and 33 returned: of the pataches and zabras 17 were missing, and 18 returned home. In briefe, there were missing 81 ships, in which number were galliasses, gallies, galeons, and other vessels both great and small. And amongst the 53 ships remaining, those also are reckoned which returned home before they came into the English chanell. Two galeons of those which were returned, were by misfortune burnt as they rode in the hauen; and such like mishaps did many others vndergo. Of 30000 persons which went in this expedition, there perished (according to the number and proportion of the ships) the greater and better part; and many of them which came home, by reason of the toiles and inconueniences which they sustained in this voyage, died not long after their arriuall. The Duke of Medina immediatly vpon his returne was deposed from his authority, commanded to his priuate house, and forbidden to repaire vnto the Court; where he could hardly satisfie or yeeld a reason vnto his malicious enemies and backbiters. Many honourable personages and men of great renowme ceased soone after their returne; as namely Iohn Martines de Ricalde, with diuers others. A great part also of the Spanish Nobility and Gentry employed in this expedition perished either by fight, diseases, or drowning, before their arriual; & among the rest Thomas Perenot of Granduell a Dutchman, being earle of Cantebroi, and some vnto Cardinall Granduell his brother.

Of 134 ships of the Spanish fleet, there returned home but 53.

Vpon the coast of Zeland Don Diego de Pimentell, brother vnto the Marques de Tamarare, and kinseman vnto the earle of Beneuentum & Calua, and Colonell ouer 32 bands with many other in the same ship was taken and detained as prisoner in Zeland.

Into England (as we said before) Don Pedro de Valdez, a man of singular experience, and greatly honoured in his countrey, was led captiue, being accompanied with Don Vasquez de Silua, Don Alonzo de Sayas, and others.

Likewise vpon the Scottish Westerne Iles of Lewis, and Ila, and about Cape Cantyre vpon the maine land, there were cast away certaine Spanish shippes, out of which were saued di-

uers

uers Captaines and Gentlemen, and almost foure hundred souldiers, who for the most part, after their shipwracke, were brought vnto Edenborough in Scotland, and being miserably needy and naked, were there clothed at the liberality of the King and the Parthants, and afterward were secretly shipped for Spaine; but the Scotish fleet wherein they passed touching at Yarmouth on the coast of Norfolke, were there stayed for a time vntill the Councels pleasure was knowen; who in regard of their manifolde miseries, though they were enemies, winckt at their passage.

Vpon the Irish coast many of their Noblemen and Gentlemen were drowned; and diuers slaine by the barbarous and wilde Irish. Howbeit there was brought prisoner out of Ireland, Don Alonzo de Luçon, Colonell of two and thirtie bandes, commonly called a terza of Naples; together with Rodorigo de Lasso, and two others of the family of Cordoua, who were committed vnto the custodie of Sir Horatio Palauicini, that Monsieur de Teligny the sonne of Monsieur de la Noüe (who being taken in fight neere Antwerpe, was detained prisoner in the Castle of Turney) might be raunsomed for them by way of exchange. To conclude, there was no famous nor worthy family in all Spaine, which in this expedition lost not a sonne, a brother, or a kinsman.

For the perpetuall memorie of this matter, the Zelanders caused newe coine of Siluer and Newe coines stamped for the memorie of the Spaniards ouerthrow.
brasse to be stampted: which on the one side contained the armes of Zeland, with this inscription: GLORY TO GOD ONELY: and on the other side, the pictures of certeine great ships, with these words: THE SPANISH FLEET: and in the circumference about the ships: IT CAME, WENT, AND WAS. Anno 1588. That is to say, the Spanish fleet came, went, and was vanquished this yere; for which, glory be giuen to God onely.

Likewise they coined another kinde of money; vpon the one side whereof was represented a ship fleeting, and a ship sincking: on the other side foure men making prayers and giuing thanks vnto God vpon their knees; with this sentence: Man purposeth; God disposeth, 1588. Also, for the lasting memory of the same matter, they haue stamped in Holland diuers such like coines, according to the custome of the ancient Romans.

While this woonderfull and puissant Nauie was sayling along the English coastes, and all men did now plainely see and heare that which before they would not be perswaded of, all people throughout England prostrated themselues with humble prayers and supplications vnto God: but especially the outlandish Churches (who had greatest cause to feare, and against whom by name, the Spaniards had threatened most grieuous torments) enioyned to their people continuall fastings and supplications, that they might turne away Gods wrath and fury now imminent vpon them for their sinnes: knowing right well, that prayer was the onely refuge against all enemies, calamities, and necessities, and that it was the onely solace and relieke for mankinde, being vexed with affliction and misery. Likewise such solemne dayes of supplication were obserued throughout the vnited Prouinces. The people of England and of the vnited prouinces, pray, fast, and giue thanks vnto God.

Also a while after the Spanish Fleet was departed, there was in England, by the commandement of her Maiestie, and in the vnited Prouinces, by the direction of the States, a solemne festiuall day publikely appointed, wherein all persons were enioyned to resort vnto the Church, and there to render thanks and praises vnto God: and the Preachers were commanded to exhort the people thereunto. The foresayd solemnity was obserued vpon the 29 of Nouember; which day was wholly spent in fasting, prayer, and giuing of thanks.

Likewise, the Queenes Maiestie herselfe, imitating the ancient Romans, rode into London in triumph, in regard of her owne and her subiects glorious deliuerance. For being attended vpon very solemnely by all the principall estates and officers of her Realme, she was carried throughout the foresayd City of London in a triumphant chariot, and in robes of triumph, from her Palace vnto the Cathedrall Church of Saint Paul, out of the which the ensignes and colours of the vanquished Spaniards hung displayed. And all the Citizens of London in their Liueries stood on either side the streete, by their seuerall Companies, with their ensignes and banners: and the streets were hanged on both sides with Blew cloth, which, together with the foresayd banners, yeelded a very stately and gallant prospect. Her Maiestie being entered into the Church, together with her Clergie and Nobles gaue thanks vnto God, and caused a publike Sermon to be preached before her at Pauls crosse; wherein none other argument was handled, but that praise, honour, and glory might be rendered vnto God, and that Gods name might be extolled by thanksgiuing. And with her owne princely voice she most Christianly exhorted the people to doe the same: whereupon the people with a loud acclamation wished her a most long and happy life, to the confusion of her foes.

Thus the magnificent, huge, and mighty fleet of the Spaniards (which themſelues termed in all places inuincible) ſuch as ſayled not vpon the Ocean ſea many hundreth yeeres before, in the yeere 1588 vaniſhed into ſmoake; to the great confuſion and diſcouragement of the authours thereof. In regard of which her Maieſties happy ſucceſſe all her neighbours and friends congratulated with her, and many verſes were penned to the honour of her Maieſty by learned men, whereof ſome which came to our hands we will here annexe.

AD SERENISSIMAM ELIZABETHAM ANGLIÆ REGINAM THEODOR. BEZA.

(***)

Si Trauerat innumeris Hiſpanus nauibus æquor,
Regnis iuncturus ſceptra Brixanna ſuis.
Tanti huius, rogitas, quæ motus cauſa? ſuperbos
Impulit Ambitio, vexit Auaritia.
Quàm bene te ambitio merſit vaniſſima ventus?
Et tumidos tumidæ, vos ſuperaſtis aquæ!
Quàm bene totius raptores orbis auaros,
Hauſit inexhauſti iuſta vorago maris!
At tu, cui venti, cui totum militat æquor,
Regina, ô mundi totius vna, decus,
Sic regnare Deo perge, ambitione remota,
Prodiga ſic opibus perge iuuare pios,
Vt te Angli longùm, longùm Anglis ipſa fruatis,
Quàm dilecta bonis, tam metuenda malis.

The ſame in Engliſh.

The Spaniſh Fleet did ſaile in narrow Seas,
And bend her ſhips againſt the Engliſh ſhore,
With ſo great rage as nothing could appeaſe,
Two with ſuch ſtrength as neuer ſeene before:
And all to ioyne the kingdome of that lande
Vnto the kingdomes that he had in hande.
Now if you aſke what ſet this king on fire,
To practiſe warre when he of peace did treat,
It was his Pride, and neuer quenche deſire,
To ſpoile that Iſlands wealth, by peace made great:
His Pride which farre aboue the heauens did ſwell,
And his deſire as vnſatisfi'd as hell.
But well haue winds his proud blaſts ouerblowen,
And ſwelling waues clapt his ſwelling heart,
Well hath the Sea with greedie gulfe vnknowen,
Deuoured the deuourer to his ſmart:
And made his ſhips a prey vnto the ſame,
That meant to prey vpon anothers lande.
And now, O Queene, aboue all others bleſt,
For whom both winds and waues are preſt to fight,
Go rule your owne, ſo ſuccour friends oppreſt,
(As farre from pride, as ready to do right)
That England you, you England long enioy,
His ſafe your friends delight, then foes annoy.

A briefe

riefe and true report of the Honorable voyage vnto adiz, 1596. of the ouerthrow of the kings Fleet, and of the winning, sacking, and burning of the Citie, with all other accidents of moment, thereunto appertaining.

Fter that the two most Noble and Renowmed Lords Generals: The L. Robert Earle of Essex, and the L. Charles Howard L. High Admirall of England, were come vnto Plymmouth (which was about the beginning of May last, 1596.) being there accompanied with diuers other noble Peeres, as the Earle of Sussex, the L. Thomas Howard, the L. Harbert, the L. Warden Sir Walter Raleigh: the L. Marshall Sir Francis Vere: the L. Burk, Don Christopher young Prince of Portingall, young Coune ck of Nassaw, and the Admirall of the Hollanders, Sir Iohn Vanderfoord: besides ma- most worthy Knights and Gentlemen of great worth attending vpon this most hono- tion: It pleased them, there to make their abode for the time of that moneth, as well for furnishing and victualing of her Maiesties Royall Navie: as also for the expecting other ships, which were to come from diuers places of the Realme, and were as yet wan- king that place as it should seeme the Rendeuous for all the whole Fleete, thereto com- y full number of all such companies both for sea and land: as was in their noble and deepe es thought meete and agreed vpon.

he time of this their abode there, there was a most carefull and diligent care had for the ice of God, dayly and reuerently to be frequented: and also for other good and ciuill or- inable discipline to be obserued, to the exceeding great comfort and reioycing of all the e godly and well disposed.

n that it might the better appeare, that there was small hope of pardon to be expected ement, if they did at any time neglect their duties, about due obseruation of matters of : Their orders, lawes, and decrees being once published: about the 8. or 9. of the nth, there were two offenders executed a little without the towne, in a very sayre plea- e, called the Ho: the one for beginning of a mutiny in his company, the other for run- y from his Colours.

bout the same time in the Dutch Regiment, an other for murthering of one of his com- , about a quarrell betweene themselues, rising as it was supposed, vpon their drinke, per of Partiall lard, presently eyed to the parties so murthered, and forthwith both of cast into the sea.

ame, about the 28. of the same moneth, a certaine Lieutenant (whose name I will for- me by bounds of Dyamant publikely in all the streetes disgraced, or rather after a sore dis- and cashiered: by bearing any farther Office at that time, for the taking of money by way ption, of certaine yeelt souldiers in the Countrey, and for placing of others in their , more vnfit for seruice, and of lesse sufficiency and ability. This seuere executing of iu- he very deuil shewed such a deepe terror in the hearts of the whole armie, that it seemed all occasion of the like disorder for euer afterwards to be attempted.

ore before their departure fro Plymmouth, it pleased their Lordships to publish in print, be written to all the world, especially to such as whom it concerned, and that both in the French, Dutch, English and Spanish tongue, what were the true, iust, and vrgent cau- at this time prouoked her Maiestie, to vndertake the preparing and setting forth of this Nauie, answering thereunto a full declaration, what was their good will and pleasure e done and performed of all them that meant not to incurre their graue priuate displea- or else were willing to auoyde her Maisties future indignation and displeasure.

ause now, at the same instant, their graue most prudent and godly orders, which they in for the honest cariage of euery particular person in their progresse and voiage, were ritten to all men, and published in sundry writings, with diuers great punishments, set appointed for the wilfull offenders and breakers of the same.

there, all things being in very good order and well appointed, the most holy name of omnipotent God being most religiously and deuoutly called vpon, and his blessed and fauor- raine being diuers times most reuerently and publikely entreated: Their two most Generals, with all their honorable Assistants, and most famous worthy Knights, Gentle- Captaines, Leaders, and very willing and expert Souldiers, and Mariners, being fur- with 150. good sayle of shippes or thereabout: In the name of the most High gouerning God,

God, and with all true and faithful obedience, to her sacred Maiesty, to the infinite good and quillitie of our Countrey, and to the perpetuall glory, and triumphant renowme of the memory of their honorable names to all posterity, the first day of June embarked themselves weighed Ancre, and hoysed vp sayle, and put to sea onward their iourney from the Sou Plymmouth.

The winde, at the first setting forth, seemed very fauourable: but yet in the euening ing very scant, and all that night falling more and more against vs, and we hauing sayled ther then to a certaine place called Dodman head: we were constrained the next day, to m returne to the road of Plymmouth againe, and there in the Sounds to lie at ancre [illegible]

About this time, and in this very place, by good fortune there came to my handes a p Englisſh, touching this present Action, and made by her Maiestie, as it was voyced: T seemed to me to be most excellent, aswell for the matter, as also for the manner, and for certaine diuers good motiues which then presently came to my minde, and wherefore in his more conuenient time and place, I will make farther mention, I presumed at the instant to translate it into Latine.

The Prayer is thus.

MOst Omnipotent maker and guide of all our worlds masse, that onely searchest domest the bottome of all our hearts conceits, and in them seest the true originals of actions intended: thou that by thy foresight doest truely discerne, how no malice of reuenge quittance of iniury, nor desire of bloodshed, nor greedinesse of lucre hath bred the resolu our now set out Army, but a heedfull care, & warie watch, that no neglect of foes, nor security of harme might breed either daunger to vs, or glory to them: these being the grounds with them doest enspire the mind, we humbly beseech thee with bended knees, prosper the and with best forewindes guide the iourney, speed the victory, and make the returne the ament of thy glory, the tryumph of their fame, and surety to the Realme, with the lest the Englisſh blood. To these deuout petitions Lord giue thou thy blessed grant.

My homely translation is thus.

SVmmè præpotens Deus, immensæ huius totius nostri mundi molis fabricator & Rec solus perscrutaris intimos cordis nostri sensus, & ad fundum vsq; nostrarum cogitat explorando penetras, ac in eis, quid verè, & ex animo cogitemus, & quæ sine actionum rum rationes, ac fundamenta, cognoscis: Tu, qui ea, quæ in te est, ab omni æternitate entia, vides, quòd nec aliqua vlciscendi malitiosa cupiditas, nec iniuriarum referen desiderium, nec sanguinis effundendi sitis, nec alicuius lucri, quæstusue auidus ad classem præparandam, & emittendam nos commouerit: sed potiùs, quòd prouida cura, solersque vigilantia huc nos impulerit: ne vel inimicorum nostrorum neglectu tus nostri firmitatis nimium secura cogitatio, aut illis gloriam & honorem, aut nobis & periculum pariat: Cum, inquam, hæc sine nostri, quicquid attentatur, negotii fund cumque tu hunc nobis animum, mentemq; inieceris, vt illud aggrediemur: eam bus a te humillimè petimus, vt velis hoc nostrum inceptum secundissimè fortunare, iter prosperrimis flatibus dirigere, celerem & expeditã victoriam nobis concedere, talem nostris militibus elargiri, qualis & nomini tuo incrementum gloriæ, & illis disque triumphum, & Regno nostro firmam tranquillitatem possit apportare: idque nimo Anglorum sanguinis dispendio. His nostris religiosis petitionibus concede, D sacrosanctam & annuentem voluntatem tuam.

After that we had anchored at Plymmouth that night, as I haue said, the third of Ju early in the morning, hauing a reasonable fresh gale of winde, we set sayle, and kept a againe, and the ninth of the same moneth comming something neere to the Ilands manner in the same altitude, or not much differing, which were about xliii. degrees, and more, yet bearing so, as it was impossible to bee deferred from the land: There the Lords to call a select Councell, which was alwayes done by hanging out of a flag armes of England, and shooting off of a great warning peece. Of this select or priuie were no more then these: The two Lords Generall, the Lord Thomas Howard, th Warden Sir Walter Raleigh, the Lord Marcia[illegible] Sir Francis Vere, Sir George C ster of the Ordinance, Sir Conyers Clifford, and Sir Anthony Ashley, Clarks of the

Co

ell. And when it pleaſed the Lords Generall to call a common Counſell (as often times
upon weighty matters beſt knowen to their honours) then they would cauſe an other
flagge to be hanged out, which was the Redroſſe of S. George, and was very eaſie to
erued from the other that appertained onely to the ſelect Counſell, and ſo often as this
of Saint George was hanged out, then came all the Maſters and Captaines of all the
whoſe opinions were to be demaunded, in ſuch matters as appertayned vnto this ſayd ſe-
counſell: It was preſently concluded, that our courſe in ſayling ſhould forthwith be al-
and that we ſhould beare more into the Weſt, for ſome purpoſes to them beſt knowen.
at very inſtant many letters of inſtructions were addreſſed and ſent to euery particu-
er and Captaine of the Ships: What the contentes of thoſe letters of inſtructions were
not as yet knowne vnto any, neither was it held meet to be enquired or knowen of any of
vnder the titles and ſuperſcriptions of euery mans perticuler letter theſe words were
n. Open not theſe letters on pain of your liues, vnleſs we chance to be ſcattered by tempeſt,
that caſe open them, and execute the contents thereof: but if by miſhap you fall into your e-
hands, then in any caſe caſt them into the ſea, ſealed as they are. It ſhould ſeeme that theſe
did containe in them the principall place and meaning of this entended action, which was
by their deepe forreſights kept ſo ſecret, as no man to my knowledge either did, or could
as inſpect it, more then themſelues, who had the onely managing thereof. A conceite in
gentes of greateſt moment in the world, to effect any matter of importance. I meane, to
theſe two vertues, Fidem, & Taciturnitatem: ſo much commended by the old writers.
ever was euer any great deſignement, in this our age, and memorie, diſcreetly, faithfully,
rily caried, I aſſure my ſelfe it was this, and though it were but in reſpect of that poynt
er thy ſuch faithfull ſecrecie, it deſerueth immortall praiſe.
this while, our ſhips, God be thanked, kept in a moſt excellent good order, being deuided
ſquadrons: that is to ſay, The Earle of Eſſex, the Lord Admirall, the Lord Thomas
d, the Lord Warden Sir Walter Raleigh, and the Admirall of the Hollanders. All
nights, albeit they did euery day ſeparate themſelues of purpoſe, by the diſtance of
leagues, as well to looke out for ſuch ſhippes as were happily vnder ſayle, as alſo for
more procuring of ſea-roome: yet alwayes commonly eyther that day, or the next day,
e euening, they came all together, with friendly ſalutations and gratulations one to an
which they terme by the name of Hayling: a ceremonie done ſolemnly, and in verie
ner, with ſound of Trumpets and noyſe of cheerefull voyces: and in ſuch ſort per-
as was no ſmall encouragement one to the other, beſide a true report of all ſuch acci-
as had happened in their ſquadrons.
ere, as I ſayde, our iourney was moſt proſperous, and all our ſhippes in very good
ge then that the Mary Roſe, by ſome miſchance, either ſprang or ſpent her fore-
ſt two dayes after Sir Robert Croſſe had in a manner the like miſchance.
e being thus betweene the Worth cape, and cape S. Vincent, and yet keeping ſuch a
a looke, that by no meanes, thoſe from the ſhoare might be able to deſcrie vs: The
Iane, a French Barke, and a Fleming comming from the coaſt of Barbarie were
in by ſome of our companie: but they were both of them very honourably and well
the Lords Generall: and ſo after a fewe dayes carrying, were peaceably ſent a-
whether they had conferred with them about ſuch matters, as was thought good in their
le wiſedomes.
eventh of the ſame moneth, Sir Richard Leuſſon Knight, aſſiſted with Sir Chri-
Blunt, fought with three Hamburgers, and in that fight ſlewe two of them, and
ent, and in the ende brought them all three in: and this was the very firſt hanſell
overdoen (as it were) of any matter of importance, or eyther worthy obſeruation
done in the way outward of this honorable voyage, and was ſo well perfourmed of
worthy Gentlemen, as euery man highly commended them for their great valure, and
n, and no leſſe reioyced at this their fortunate ſucceſſe.
next day after, Sir Richard Weſton meeting with a Fleming, who refuſed to vale
ſayle, which the like good courage and reſolution, attempted to bring him in. The fight
as very hot betweene them, for a good ſpace: in the end the Swan, wherein the ſayd Sir
Weſton was, had her foreyarde ſtrooken off: and hauing them before in fight the one ſide of her
Ordinance, while ſhe prepared to caſt about, and to beſtow on him the other ſide, in the
time the Fleming taking this opportunity, did get almoſt quite a league from him: and
ſame made his eſcape. And yet the next day after, the ſayd Fleming being in a mo
of the very mouth of the Riuer by to Lisbone, was taken, and brought in by S. Dorrell,

being

being Captaine of the Iohn and Francis of London. Thus by deuiding their squad
spreading the whole sea ouer a mighty way, there could not so much as the least pinnac
she was espied and brought in.

The 13. 14. and 15. dayes, certaine little straggling Caruels were taken by certaine
Fleete, and in one of them a young beggarly Fryer vtterly vnlearned, with a great p
letters for Lisbon: the poore wretches were maruellously well vsed by the Lord
rall, and that Caruel, and the like still as they were taken were commaunded to giue t
tendance, and their Honors did vnderstand what they might of these poore men, of the
Spaine for that present.

About this time and in this place it was, that first in all my life time I did see the
shes, who when they are hardly pinched and chased by the Bonitoes and other great
then to auoyde the daunger, they presently mount vp, and forsake the water, and betake
selues to the benefite of their winges and make their flight, which commonly is not
or three score, or there about, and then they are constrayned to fall downe into the water
and it is the Mariners opinion that they can fly no longer then their wings be wet. T
selfe is about the bignesse of a Mackrell or a great white Hearing, and much of the
and making, with two large wings shaped of nature very cunningly, and hard
beholde, in all the world much like to our Gentlewomens Murth Fans, that are
per, or parchment, or like, or other stuffe, which will with certaine sleights easily
fold themselues together. One of these flying fishes was presented to my L.
man, and newly taken in his L. returne from Cadiz, and then I had good leasure and
tie to view it.

The 18. day early in the morning wee tooke an Irish man, and he came directly
diz, hauing beene there but the day before at twelue of the clocke at high noone. C
ing examined, told truely that there was now great store of shipping at Cadiz, and
xviii. or xix. gallies in a readinesse, and that among those ships there were diuers of the
hell: and namely, that the Philip of Spaine was amongst them, but what their enter
could not tell. This man was commanded also to giue his attendance.

The 20. of June being Sunday, we came before Cadiz very early in the morning,
this time as yet, the whole Nauy had not lost either by sicknesse or by any other meanes of
fore from to my knowledge: as for the Dutch company, I am not able precisely to say
particularly, for that they were no part of our charge to be looked vnto, but were a regi
ment of themselues, and by themselues to be prouided for, either for their diet, or for the
tention of their healths by phisicke.

Thus then I say, being all in good plight and strong, the 20. of June wee came to
and there very early in the morning presented our selues before the Towne, ryding
league or something lesse, from it. The sea at that instant went maruelous high, and the
was exceeding large. Notwithstanding, a Counsell being called, our Lords Generall
with attempted with all expedition to land some certaine companies of their men at the
side of the Towne, by certaine long boats, light horsemen, pynnesses, and barges
purpose, but could not compasse it, and in the attempting thereof, they chanced to sinke
their Barges, with some foure score good souldiers well appointed in armor, and yet by
and great care, the men were all saued excepting viii. And therefore they were constr
off their landing till an other more conuenient time.

That morning very timely, there lighted a very faire doue vpon the maine yard of the
mirals ship, and there she sate very quietly for the space of 3. or 4. houres, being nothing
all that while, euery man gazed and looked much vpon her, and spake their minds and
yet all concluding by no meanes to disquiet her: I for my part, tooke it for a very good
bording, as in truetie (God be thanked) there fell out nothing in the end to the contrary.
at our very first comming to Cadiz this chanced, so likewise on the very last day of our
from the same towne, another Doue presented her selfe in the selfe same order into the
and presently grew wonderfull tame and familiar to vs all, and did so still keepe
euen till our arriuall here in England.

We no sooner presented our selues, but presently a goodly sort of tall Spanish ships
of the mouth of the Bay of Cadiz, the Gallies accompanying them in such good order, and
ced as all of them might well succour eachother, and there withall keepe themselues very
their towne, the castle, and the forts, for their better guard and defence, abiding there still,
pecting our further determination. All that day passed
or nothing could be done, more then that about the eue

…ntinuous sent one from the other in warlike maner, by discharging certain great peeces, but to …knowledge no hurt done at all, or else very little.

A carefull and diligent watch was had all that night thorough out the whole armie, and on …nday morning being the 21. day, the winde and weather being become moderate and fa…rable, betweene five and six of the clocke in the morning, our ships in the name of almigh…God, and in defence of the honour of England, without any further delay, with all speed, cou…ge, and alacritie, did set upon the Spanish ships, being then under sayle, and making out of the …uth of the Bay of Cadiz, vp toward Puente de Suaço on Granada side, being in number lix. …ships, with xii. or xx. Gallies attending vpon them, sorted in such good order, and reasonable …stance as they might still annoy vs, and alwayes relieue themselues interchangeably: hauing …ise the Castle, Forts, and Towne, continually to assist them and theirs, and alwayes rea…to play vpon vs and ours.

In most mens opinions it seemed that the enemy had a wonderful aduantage of vs, all circum…stances being well weighed, but especially the straightnesse of the place, and the naturall forme …situation of the Bay it selfe, being rightly considered, For albeit the very Bay it selfe is very …ge and exceeding beautifull, so that from Cadiz to Port S. Mary, is some vi. or vii. English …ers water or there abouts, yet be there many rockes, shelues, sands and shallowes in it, so that …very channell & place for sea roome, is not aboue 2. or 3. miles, yea and in some places, not so …ch, for the ships of any great burthen, to make way in, but that they must either be set on ground …e constrained to run fowle one on another. All this not withstanding, with great and inuin…ble courage, the Lords generall presently set vpon them, and sorting out some such conuenient …der, as to their honorable wisedomes seemed fittest for that times seruice, they were driuen to …me other course then before had beene by them entended. Whereforе vpon a graue con…sultation had by a select Counsell, what great dangers might ensue vpon so mightie a disaduan…tage as appeared in all probability, if it were not by good and sound iudgement preuented, & ther…vpon in their singular wisedomes foreseeing that some great stratageme might be practised by …e ships of honor in so narrow a place, thus with al expedition they concluded that the Vice…roy, courage, & wisedome, ioyned with such an honorable kind of sweet courtesie, bountie, and …ndnesse, as is not able by me & my weakenes to be expressed, hath wonne him all the faithfull lo…e of as many as euer haue had any maner of dealing with him) This L. Thomas, I say, …with high regard, for many his exceeding singular great vertues, right fortitude & great reso…ution in all matters of importance) in the Warspighe associated with diuers most famous wor…thies, namely, Sir Francis Vere the L. Marshall in the Rainbow, Sir George Cary Vice-Ad…miral of the Mary rose, Sir Robert Southwell in the Lyon, gentlemen for all laudable …vertues, and for perfect courage & discretion in all military actions, of as great praise & good …name as any gentlemen of their degree whosoeuer, hauing with them some of the ships of London, …with some of the Dutch squadron of reasonable burthen, should leade the dance, & giue the onset, …that the two most noble Lords generall with some others of their companies, should in their …ancient time & order, second the maine battell. The fight being begunne and growen very …hot, the L. Generall the Earle of Essex, (whose infinite princely vertues, with triumphant fame, …ought to be immortalized) being on Port S. Mary side, vpon a sudden & vnlooked for of others, …hath himselfe among the foremost into the maine battell. The other most honorable L. Generall …for his singular vertues in all respects are of such an excellencie & perfection, as neither can my …or any part increase them, nor any mans enuy any whit blemish or diminish the) vnderstan…ding that the most noble Earle to be in fight among them, & perceiuing by the sp. of his ship, the Arke …royall, that for lacke of water, it was not possible, that he might put any neerer, without farther …danger, called presently for his Pynnesse, and in the same Pynnesse put himselfe, and his honorable …sonne, William Howard that now is, aboord the Honor de la mer, & there remained in the fight …vntill the battell was ended. The fight was very terrible, and most hideous to the beholder by the …reason of the continuall discharging of those roaring thundering great peeces, on all sides, and so continued …very hot still about one or two of the clocke in the afternoone: about which time the Philip, whom …the Lord Admirall, & the Vice-Admirall were presently setting for themselues as they were able, and swimming and running a shoare with all the …men that they could possibly, & left her, at the very same instant themselues fired their ship, …and presently thereupon a great Argosie, with an other mighty great ship, fired them…selues in the like maner. Immediatly hereupon, the residue of the ships, ran themselues on ground,

as

as farre from vs as they could, and thereby purchased their owne safety, or rather breathing space for the time. Of them all two faire ships only were boorded and taken by our men with most part of their furniture in them, the one called S. Matthy, a ship by estimation of some vii. hundred tunne, and the other S. Andrew, being a ship of not much lesser burthen. The Gallies, seeing this suddaine great victorious ouerthrow, made all the hast they could toward the Bridge called Puente de Suaço, and there showed themselues in such sort as our shippes could not by any meanes possible come nigh them for lacke of water.

The Spanish ships in all were lix. & as is sayd, all tall ships & very richly furnished and well appointed, whereof some of them were bound for the Indies, and other fraighted and furnished for Lisbon, as themselues affirme: and had we not come that very time that we did, (which for my part, I do not attribute so much vnto meere chance, as to some secret deepe misgiue and foreknowledge of the two most worthy Lords generall, who no doubt spared for no cost or labour for true intelligence) we had certainely mist of them all.

Of what great wealth and riches these ships were, that I leaue to other mens iudgement to report, but sure I am, that themselues offered two millions and a halfe of ducats for the ransome of the goods and riches that were in them: which offer of theirs, albeit it was accepted of the Lords Generall, and should haue beene receiued, yet we were defeated of it, as hereafter shall be more at large declared.

What maner of fight this was, & with what courage performed, and with what terror in the holder continued, where so many thundering tearing peeces were for so long a time discharged, I leaue it to the Reader to thinke & imagine. Yet such was the great mercy & goodnes of our loue God, that in all this cruell terrible fight, in the end, there were not either slaine or hurt in any maner of meanes (excepting one mischance that happened, whereof I will by & by make mention) many aboue the number of 100. of our men: notwithstanding diuers of our shippes were many times shot thorow and thorow: yea and some of them no lesse then two and twentie times, as was enformed by credible report of the Captaines and Maisters themselues. I know not any other hurt done, sauing onely that Sir Robert Southwell, who alwayes shewed himself a most valiant resolute knight in all this action, making a litle too much haste with his Pinnesse boorded the Philip, had there his said Pinnesse burnt with the Philip at the same instant, and by good care and diligence his men were saued.

One other mischance (as I said) there happened, and it was thus: One of the *Flemings* boats, who had, in all the conflict before, caried himself very well and valiantly, about ten of clocke while the fight continued sharpest, chanced by great negligence and misfortune, to be fired and blowen vp by his owne powder, who could not haue any fewer in him, then one hundred fighting men by all supposall, and so in the very twinckling of an eye, both shippe and men were all cast away, excepting vii. or viii. which by very good fortune, and great care and diligence some of the other ships were saued.

Immediatly vpon this notable victory without any farther stay in all the world, the Lord high Earle of Essex put to shore, and landed about 3000. shot, & pikemen: of the which number the one halfe was presently dispatched to the bridge Puente de Suaço, vnder the conduct of three most famous worthy knights, Sir Christopher Blunt, Sir Coniers Clifford, & Sir Thomas Gerard: with the other halfe, being about fifteene hundred, the most noble Earle himselfe, being accompanied with diuers other honorable Lords, namely the Earle of Southampton, the Lord Harbert, the Lord Burk, Count Lodouick of Nassaw, the Lord Marshall Sir Francis Vere, with many other worthy Knights, and men of great regard, who all in that dayes seruice did most valiantly behaue themselues, with all expedition possible marched on foote towards the towne of Cadiz, which was about three English miles march. That time of the day very hot and faint, and the way was all of dry deepe flying sand in a manner, and besides very vneuen, and by that meanes so tiresome and painefull as might be. The enemy had reasonable companie both of horse and footemen, stoode in a readinesse some good while without the towne to welcome vs, and to encounter the Lorde Generall. But the valorous Earle with his valiant Troopes, rather running in deede in good order, then marching hastened on them with such vnspeakeable courage and celeritie, as within one houres space or lesse, the horsemen were all discomfited and put to flight, their leader being stroken from his horse at the very first encounter, whereat the footemen being wonderfully dismayed and astonished at the vnexspected manner of the Englishmens kinde of such fierce and rough fight, recouered themselues with all the speede possible that they could, to recouer their entrance into the Towne againe, which being done by them, with farre swifter legges then marueilous courage, our men were enforced to skale the walles: which thing in very deede, although it

without great danger and difficulty to be performed: Yet such was the inuincible resolution, and the wonderfull dexterity of the English, that in one halfe houre or thereabout, the enemie was repulsed, and the towne wall possessed, by the noble Earle himselfe, being in all this action, either the very first man or els in a maner ioined with the first.

The towne walles being then possessed, and the English Ensigne being there displayed vpon them, with all speede possible they proceeded on to march through the towne, making still their way with sworde and shot so well as they could, being still fought withall at euery turne.

Immediately vpon this most famous entrie, the noble Earle, (according to their resolutions, as I take it, put downe before) was seconded by the noble L. Admirall in person, who was accompanied, with the noble L. Thomas Howard, the most worthy gentleman his sonne, now L. Howard, Sir Robert Southwell, Sir Richard Leuison, and with diuers other gentlemen, his L. followers of good account: his colours being aduanced by that valiant resolute gentleman, (a man beautified with many excellent rare gifts, of good learning and vnderstanding) S. Edward Hobby Knight. And thus he likewise marching with al possible speede on foote, notwithstanding his L. many peres, the intolerable heate for the time, and the ouertiring tedious deepe lanes, with other many impediments: Yet in good time, ioyned himselfe with the Earle and his companies, and gaue them the strongest, and best assistance that he could.

Thus then the two Lords Generall with their companies being ioyned together, and proceeding so farre as the market place, there they were hotly encountered, where and at what time, that worthy famous knight Sir John Winkfield, being sore wounded before on the thigh, at the very entry of the towne, and yet for all that no whit respecting himselfe, being carried away with the care he had to encourage and direct his company, was with the shot of a musket in the head most vnfortunately slaine.

And thus before eight of the clocke that night were these two most noble Lords General, Masters of the market place, the forts, and the whole Towne and all, onely the Castle as yet holding out, from time to time as they could, still annoying them with seuen battering pieces. By this time night began to grow on, and a kind of peace or intermission was obtained by them of the Castle: to whome the Lords Generall had signified: that vnlesse before the next day in the morning they would absolutely render themselues, they should looke for no mercy, but should euery one be put to the sworde: vpon which message they tooke deliberation that night: but in the morning before day breake of day they hanged out their flag of truce, and so without any further composition did yeeld themselues absolutely to their mercy, and deliuered vp the Castle.

Thus yet not withstanding all this, in the night time while they had this respite to pause, and deuise about the peacemaking, there were diuers great and suddaine alarms giuen: which did breed some great outrages and disorder in the towne. Aneuery which alarme, the two Lords Generall shewed themselues maruelous ready & forward, insomuch that at the very first alarme, hauing well furnished with any more defence then their shirts, hose, and dublets, & those too altogether vntied, they were abroad in the streetes themselues, to see the vttermost of it. But for that it is not as yet very well knowen (or at the least not well knowen vnto me) either where, or by whom these alarmes were attempted: I am therefore to intreat, that a bare report, that such a thing was done, may suffice.

These things being done, and this surrender being made, present proclamation was published, that the fury now being past, all men should surcease from all maner of blood and cruell dealing, and that there should no kind of violence or hard vsage be offered to any, either man, woman or child, vpon paine of death: And so permitting the spoyle of so much of the towne as was by them thought meete, to the common souldiers for some certaine dayes, they were continually in counsell about other graue directions, best knowen to their honorable wisedomes.

This honorable and mercifull Edict I am sure was streightly and religiously obserued of the English: But how well it was kept by the Dutch, I will nether affirme, nor yet denie. For there is an implacable hartburning, and there-fore betweene them and the Spaniards there is an implacable hartburning, and therefore soone as the Dutch Squadron was espied in the fight, immediatly thereupon both they of Sanct Lucar and S. Lucar and also some of some other places did not onely arrest all such Dutch ships, as were with them friendly by the way of traffick & Marchandise, and so confiscated their goods, but also imprisoned the Marchants and Owners of the same, and, as the report goeth, did intreat many of them with extreame cruelty thereupon.

In the meane while the very next day being the two and twenty day of June, all the Spanish ships which were left on ground in the Bay of Cadiz, where the great ouerthrow had beene the day before, were by the Spaniards themselues there set on fire, and so from that time forward they neuer left burning of them, till euery one of them, goods and all, as farre as were

know were burne and consumed. This their doing was much marueiled at of vs, and to much the more, for that, as I sayd before, there had bene made some offer for the redemption and sauing of the goods, and it was not to them vnknowen that this their offer was not mislyked, but in all probabilitie should haue bene accepted. The common opinion was, that this was done rather by the appointment of the Duke de Medina Sidonia, or els by expresse commandiment from the higher powers.

Not long after the same time (three dayes as I remember) the gallies that were runne on ground, did quitte themselues also out of that place, and by the bridge of the Iland called Puente de Suaço, made their way round about the same Iland, and so by putting themselues to the maine sea, escaped to a towne called Rota, not farre off, but something vp towards the Towne of Saint Lucars, and there purchased their safety by that meanes.

Thus was this notable victorie, as well by sea as by land, both begunne and in effect performed, within the [illegible] in a manner, of fourteene houres: A thing in truth so strange and admirable, [illegible] will rather bee wondered at then beleeued of posteritie. And if euer [illegible] in any age was comparable to Cæsars Veni, Vidi, Vici, certainely in my poore opinion it was this.

Here it is to be wished (and perchance of some too it is looked for) that euery mans particular worthy acte in this dayes seruice, with the parties names also, should be put downe, that thereby both they and their good deserts might be registred to all posteritie: and for my part I would it were so, and with I were able to doe it. But for that I confesse it is a matter that passeth my power, yea, and [illegible] me it also a thing impossible to be precisely performed by any other, I am to craue pardon for that I rather leaue it out altogether, then presume to doe it maymedy: and in this point I referre the Reader onely to the Booke that is set forth of this iourney, where it is in some parte conueniently touched and specified.

The Towne of it selfe was a very beautifull towne, and a large, as being the chiefe See of the Bishop there, and hauing a goodly Cathedrall Church in it, with a right goodly Abbey, a Nunnery, and an exceeding faire College of the Iesuites, and was by naturall situation, as also by very good fortification, very strong, and tenable enough in all mens opinions of the better iudgement. Their building was all of a kind of hard stone, euen from the very foundation to the top, and euery house was in a manner a kind of a fort or Castle, altogether flat-roofed in the toppe, after the Turkish manner, so that many men together, and that at ease, might walke theron: hauing vpon the house top, great heapes of weighty stoanes piled vp in such good order, as they were ready to be thrown downe by euery woman most easily vpon such as passed by, and the streetes for the most part so exceeding narrow, (I thinke to auoide the intolerable great heat of the Sunne) as but two men or three at the most together, can in any reasonable sorte march thorough them, no streete being broader commonly then I suppose Watlingstreete in London to be.

The towne is altogether without glasse, excepting the Churches, yet with faire couched windowes, and with faire grates of iron to them, and haue very large folding leaues of wainscot, or the like. It hath very fewe Chimnies in it, or almost none at all: it may be some one chimney in some one or other of the lower out roomes of least account, seruing for some necessary vses, either to washin, or the like, or els nowe and then perchance for the dressing of a sicke meate, haunting it should seeme vnto me, alwaies a greater care and respect how to keepe themselues from all kind of great heat, then how to prouide for any store of great coste. It is written by report of them that should best know it, some foure thousand and more of very good able fighting men, and fiue hundred horsemen at the least. No question but that they were well furnished of all things appertaining thereunto, especially so many good ships lying there, and being so well stored with all manner of munition, shot, and powder, as they were.

Whether they had knowledge of our comming or no, I cannot say nothing to it: Themselues giue it out that they vnderstood not of it [illegible] onely by a Caruel the Monday morning before we came. But whether they knew it or no, thus much I dare boldly affirme, that if the English had bene possessed of that or the like [illegible] and had bene but halfe so well prouided as they were, they would haue defended it for [illegible] months at the least against any power whatsoeuer of Christendome. But surely GOD [illegible] mighty GOD, and hath a wonderfull secret [illegible] in all matters, especially of weight and moment. Whether [illegible] were stricken [illegible] by ouerthrow by sea, or whether they were amazed at the inuincible courage of the English which was more then ordinary, caring no more for either small shot or great, then in a manner for so many haile stones, or whether the remorse of a guilty conscience toward the English nation

for want of honorable and diuelish practises, against her Sacred Maiestie, and the Realme, (a matter that easily begetteth a faint heart in a gulley minde) or what other thing there was in it more resolutely performed of the courageous English, nor more shamefully lost of the bragging Spaniard.

Of what wealth this towne should be, I am not able to resolue the asker: for I confesse that in mine owne part, I had not so much good lucke, as to be partaker so much as of one pennie, or should appeare by the great pillage by the common souldiers, and some mariners too, and by the greedy furnitures, that were defaced by the baser people, and thereby vtterly lost and spoyled, as not worth the carying away, and by the ouer great plenty of Wine, Oyle, Almonds, Dates, Raisins, Spices, and other rich grocery wares, that by the intemperate disorder of some of the rather sort were knocke out, and lay trampled vnder feete, in euery common high way: it should appeare that it was of some very mighty great wealth to the first owners, though part was most riotously and intemperately spent and consumed. A disorder in mine opinion very much to be lamented, and if it might be by any good meanes remedied, in my conceit, it were a most honourable deuice.

The Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday following, the Lords Generall spent in counsell, about the disposing of all matters, aswell touching the towne and prisoners, as also concerning all other matters, thought meete of them in their honourable wisedomes, and in all that meane while did shew such honourable bounty and mercy, as is not able to be expressed. For not only the liues of euery one were spared, but also there was an especiall care had, that all the Religious, both women as women, should be well and fauourably intreated, whom freely without any maner of ransome or other molestation, they caused to be safely transported ouer to Port Saint Marie, a towne in a manner as large as Cadiz: but at that time, as the case did stand, certainely knowen to be of as much wealth in the world, and it was some three or seuen miles distant ouer against Cadiz, euen as Paules is against Southwarke, on the other side of the Bay, in a part of Andalusia, subiect to the territory of the Duke de Medina Sidonia.

Moreouer, at the same instant they did appoint that worthy knight Sir Amias Preston, and diuers others in some conuenient Barkes, to transport ouer to the said Towne safely and in proper, a number or moe of the better sort of ancient gentlewomen, and marchants wiues, as were suffered to put vpon themselues, some of them two, yea, some three sutes of apparell, and some conuenient quantitie of many Iewels, Chaines, and other ornaments belonging to their estate and degree. Such was the heroicall liberality, and exceeding great clemencie, of these most honourable Lords Generall, thereby, as it should seeme vnto mee, beating downe that former opinion, which hath bene hitherto commonly spread abroad, and setled among the Spaniards: which is, That the English doe trouble them and their countries, more for pearles and pearle &c. then for any other iust occasion. Whereas by these their honourable actions it is manifest to all the world, that it is onely in respect of a iust reuenge for their most infamous and most dishonourable practises that haue beene from time to time attempted by them against vs and our nation, and also in the defence of the true honour of England: which they haue sought, and dayly doe seeke, by so many slaunder and reproachfull deuices, so much as in them lieth, to deface.

Vpon Saturday being the 26. Sir Iohn Winkfield knight was buried, in honourable and conuenient manner, so farre forth as the circumstances of that time and place could permit. At whose funerals the Maiue discharged a great part of their Ordinance, in such order, as was most meete and conuenient by the Lords Generals commandement.

The twenty seuenth day being Sunday, in the Abbey the diuine seruice was had, and a very graue Sermon was made there by one Master Hopkins, the right honourable Earle of Essex his Preacher, a man of good learning and sweete vtterance, and euen there the same day, somewhat before the sermon was made, these worthie Gentlemen following were knighted by the Generall. And here I am to signifie by the way that two of these were knighted three or foure dayes before, and some three or foure moe were knighted after that time, vpon certaine occasions: but yet I holde it best (and I trust without offence) to recite them all in this place

The names of such noble men and gentlemen, as were knighted at *Cadiz* in Iune 1596 by the two most honourable Lordes Generall.

Iune 21.22. Sir Samuel Bagnol.
Sir Arthur Sauage.
27. The Earle of Sussex.
The Lord Harbert.
The Lord Burk.
Count Lodowick.
Sir William Howard.
Sir George D'Eureux.
Sir Henry Neuel.
Sir Edmund Rich.
Sir Richard Leuen.
Sir Peter Egomort.
Sir Anthonie Ashley.
Sir Henry Leonard.
Sir Richard Leuison.
Sir Horatio Vere.
Sir Arthur Throckmorton.
Sir Miles Corber.
Sir Edward Conway.
Sir Oliuer Lambert.
Sir Anthony Cooke.
Sir Iohn Townesend.
Sir Christopher Heydon.
Sir Francis Popham.
Sir Philip Woodhouse.
Sir Alexander Clifford.
Sir Maurice Barkley.
Sir Charles Blunt.
Sir George Gifford.
Sir Robert Crosse.
Sir Iames Escudamor.
Sir Vrias Leigh.
Sir Iohn Leigh, *alias* Lee.
Sir Richard Weston.
Sir Richard Wainman.
Sir Iames Wootton.
Sir Richard Ruddal.
Sir Robert Mansfield.
Sir William Mounson.
Sir Iohn Bowles.
Sir Edward Bowes.
Sir Humfrey Druel.
Sir Amias Preston.
Sir Robert Remington.
Sir Iohn Buck.
Sir Iohn Morgan.
Sir Iohn Aldridg.
Sir Iohn Asshindon.
Sir Matthew Browne.
Sir Iohn Acton.
Sir Thomas Gates.
Sir Gilly Mericke.
Sir Thomas Smith.
Sir William Pooley.
Sir Thomas Palmer.
Sir Iohn Stafford.
Sir Robert Louel.
Sir Iohn Gylbert.
Sir William Haruie.
Sir Iohn Gray.
Don Christ. prince of Portingal.
Sir Iohn Vanderfoord, Admirall of the Hollanders.
Sir Robert Dudley. 8. August.

I am not curious in placing these gentlemen, but put them downe at a venture. Only I ha obserued, as neere as I could, the iust day and time when they were created. And I trust th the place of it selfe is so worthy and equall, there the bare naming and placing of the parties breede no offence, or make a disparity. The two gentlemen that were last knighted tow their knighthood in the way of our returne from Cadiz: the one of them vpon the sea, not fa from the Bay of the Groyne, at what time our ships stood vpon their staies for a space, while taine Pinnasses were sent to descrie what shipping was at the Groine: The other at Plimmo in the open streete, when the Lords Generall came from the Sermon. The one a man of seruice, and good desert among the Dutch: the other of so many good parts of a worthy ge man, as the like are seldome seene to concurre in any.

I spake in the beginning of her Maiesties prayer, which I presumed (though vnworthy) to t late into Latine: and nowe at this very time, there was some opportunity offered, for m some vse of that translation. For nowe being in Cadiz, attending vpon my most honour good Lord, I talked with certaine of the Religious men, such as I found learned, wher deed there were some, though not very many. I talked also with the Bishop of Cusco th a graue aged comely man, and being of late chosen to that Bishoprick, he was as then u gone to the Indies, had not we then taken him prisoner, and so staied his iourney for that With these men euer as occasion did serue, I did seeke nowe and then to spende some sp and to entertaine time withall, I would breake with them of this our victorie, and of the ries and bad dealings of their Prince and Countrey offered to her Maiestie, whereby she prouoked, and in a manner drawen to this action: though otherwise of her own most ere

princely good nature, she was altogether giuen to peace, and quietnes. And alwayes in some part of our conferences, I would shew them a copie of her Maiesties prayer in Latine, which I had alwaies of purpose ready about me, whereby it might the better appeare vnto them, how vnwillingly, and vpō how great & vrgent occasions her Maiesty was, as it were enforced to vndertake this action: and therewithall I did vse now and then to bestow vpon them a copy of the same in writing. They seemed in all outward shew to allow of my speeches, and to prayse her Maiesties good inclination, and earnestly to wish that there might be a firme concord and peace againe.

It pleased the Lords generall to deale exceeding fauourably with this said Bishop of Cusco: for it was their good pleasure to giue him his free passage without any ransome, and therewithal to let him to vnderstand, that they came not to deale with Church-men, or vnarmed men, or with men of peace, weaklings & children, neither was it any part of their meaning to make such a voyage for gold, siluer, or any other their wealth and riches, &c. But that their only comming was to meet with their dishonorable practises, and manifold iniuries, & to deale with men of warre and valour, for the defence of the true honour of England: and to let them to vnderstand, that whensoeuer they attempted any base-conceited & dishonorable practise to their soueraigne Queene, their Realme, that it should be reuenged to the vttermost, &c.

In this meane space, while the Lords generall continued at Cadiz, there came to them certain poore wretched Turks, to the number of 38, that had bin a long time gally-slaues, and either at the very time of the fight by sea, or els immediately thereupon, taking the opportunity, did them selues make their escape, and did swim to land: perelding themselues to the mercy of their most honorable Lordships. It pleased them with all speed to apparel them, and to furnish them with money, and all other necessaries, and to bestow on them a barke, and a Pilot, to see them freely and safely conueyed into Barbary, willing them to let the countrey vnderstand what was done, and what they had seene. Whereby I doubt not, but as her Maiesty is a most admirable Prince already, ouer all Europe, all Africk, and Asia, and throughout Christendome: so the whole world hereafter shall haue iust cause to admire her infinite princely vertues, and thereby bee prouoked to confesse, that as she hath bin mightily protected from time to time, by the powerful hand of the almighty, so vndoubtedly, that she is to be iudged and accounted of vs, to be his most sacred handmaide, and therefore beloued. And therefore, whatsoeuer wicked deslignement shalbe conspired and plotted against her Maiesty hereafter, shalbe thought to be conspired, plotted, and intended against the almighty himselfe: and for that cause, as I trust, shalbe by the infinite goodnes and mercy of that almighty, wholly frustrate and ouerthrowen.

The 28. day being Sunday, the L. Admiral came aboord the Arke againe, minding there to remaine for a space, as indeed he did, and vpon the aduise of his Physition, to deale something in respect for that his L. found his body something out of frame. At that time it pleased his L. to write certain letters to the Duke of Medina Sidonia, for the deliuerance of English captiues, that were remaining in the gallies. For by this time, it was reported, that the saide Duke was come downe in person with some power, and that he was either at Port S. Mary, or els at Rotta, or there about. His L. did endite the letters himselfe, but his pleasure was, they should be turned into Latine by another: and so to be sent (as indeed they were) in the latine tongue vnto the Duke.

A copie of the Lord Admirals letters to the Duke of *Medina Sidonia.*

Illustrissimo Principi Duci de Medina Sidonia.

Illustrissime Princeps, ex nonnullis quibusdam Hispanis intelligimus, Excellentiam vestram nunc esse apud portum *S. Maria*, Et quoniam in anno Domini 1588. id nobis tunc munus proeo tempore Generalis essem constitutus: Idcirco non opinamur vobis ignotum esse, mittere quoddam, & humanum bellandi genus, tum hic iam in hoc ipso tempore, aduersus hoc loci populum atq; incolas vsurpauerimus: tum etiam sæpiùs antehac quàm humaniter, quàm eos omnes tractauerimus, quos ex vestris iure belli captiuos acceperimus. Ex quonumero omnibus esse testatus, quàm vt à quoquā denegetur. Quocirca, neq; vllo modo nobis venire potest, vt dubitemus, quin parem etiam in vobis humanitatem adhibeatis captiuos simus reperturi. Cùm igitur nobis compertū iam sit, habere vos in vestris galeginæ nostræ sereniſſimæ Dominæ meæ subditis vnum & quinquaginta captiuos: non dubitamus, quin eos omnes sitis relaxaturi, & ad nos missuri: ea lege, ac conditione,

vt eoſdem ex veſtris hic captiuis eiuſdem loci atq; ordinis, melioris etiam fortaſſis notæ, ac conditionis, homuncios, ad vos viciſſim remittamus. Id quod nos facturos data fide ſpondemus, quàm primùm noſtros captiuos ex veſtris manibus acceperimus. Hac in re ſi noſtro deſiderio ac voluntati parùm ſatisfactum erit, aliud profectò tunc poſthac belli genus ingrediemur, aliúmq; bellandi morem cogemur, etiam inuiti, & contra voluntatem proſequi. Ex Regia Anglicana claſſe apud *Cadiz* vltimo Iunij, ſtilo antiquo. 1596. *Carolus Howard.*

These letters were ſent by a Spaniard, and an anſwere was brought from the Duke with all conuenient ſpeed, and as it ſhould ſeeme by the L. Admirals nert anſwere returned to him in writing, which immediatly hereafter foloweth, the Duke de Medina Sidonia his letters were honorable, and with good regard.

A copie of my L. Admirals ſecond letter to the Duke of *Medina Sidonia*.

Illuſtriſſimo Principi Duci de Medina Sidonia.

ILluſtriſſime Princeps, literas ab excellentia veſtra hodiè accepimus: quæ verò noſtra ſ ad illas reſponſio, nobiles illi viri, qui veſtras literas ad nos pertulerunt, plenius declarabu Hoc interim cupimus eſſe penitùs perſuaſum Excellentię veſtrę, nos ſedulò operam daturos, in omni honorificæ benignitatis humanitatiſq; genere, expectationi veſtræ omni ex parte re ſpondeamus. Quod ad Anglicos noſtros captiuos attinet, quos ab Excellentia veſtra huc nos craſtino die miſſum iri expectamus, in ea re pollicemur Excellentiæ veſtræ, quòd plenis nobis veſtræ voluntati ſatisfactum erit: & quòd pro illis captiuis tales nos captiuos vobis mittemus, quales tũ ab ipſo Dom. *Mendoza*, tum ab alijs illuſtrib. viris, qui à Dom. *Porta* in illorum ad nos fuorẽ mittebantur, communi cum conſenſu erant ab ipſis approbati. Si quis alius iam captiuus eſt vel poſthac futurus erit in noſtra poteſtate, pro cuius redemptione nondum plenè conuentum eſt & ſtipulatum de certo pretio perſoluendo: concedimus Excellentiæ veſtrę, vt in hoc etiã caſu vos, veſtro pro arbitrio, de illis quicquid velitis, imperetis. Regia claſſe Anglicana, apud *Cadiz*, 3. die Iulij ſtylo antiquo. 1596.

Carolus Howard.

The next day after, being the 4. of July, the L L. general cauſed the town of Cadiz to be ſet fire, and raſed & defaced ſo much as they could, the faire cathedrall Church, and the religious ſ few only being ſpared, and left vnblemiſhed. And with the town al ſuch proviſion for victuall, ther things, as were ſeruiceable for K. vſe, & yet were not either ſo conuenient for vs in ſ alway or els ſuch as we ſtood no whit at all in need of, were likewiſe at the ſame inſtant conſ with fire. And preſently thereupon, their Lordſhips, with as conuenient ſpeed as they could whole army in ſuch good order and leiſure, as they thought beſt, came aboord.

The next day being the 5. of July, the L L. general with all the armie being vnder ſaile, making for England, & but as yet paſſing the very mouth of the bay of Cadiz, a galley full of Iriſh priſoners, with a flag of truce, met vs from Porta, ſent by the D. of Medina Sidonia, & ſ it ſhould ſeeme, one day later then his promiſe: but yet their flag being either not big enough not well placed in the galley, or not well diſcerned of our men, or by what other miſchance I know not: but thus it was: by one of our ſmalleſt ſhips y ſailed formoſt, aſſoone as the ſaid galley within gunſhot, there was a great peece diſcharged vpon her, & at that inſtant there was one ſlaine outright, and 2. other grieuouſly hurt. The error being eſpied and perceiued, our ſhip ouer immediatly from any farther ſhooting. Aſſoone as the galley came neere vs, my L. ral cauſed a gracious ſalutation to be ſounded with his trumpets, & willed the captains ſuch to come aboord his ſhip: which they did, and then he feaſted them with a very fine and hon banket, as the time and place might ſerue. And then by them vnderſtanding of that vnfo miſchance that had happned by the ſhot of the ſaid ſhip, he was very ſorry for the ſame, and ſ was the merciful prouidence of almighty God, that euen in this miſchance alſo, he vſed h Ip hands ouer the Engliſh. And al the harme that was done did light only vpon the poore the Spaniard himſelfe. When this Lorde had well banqueted them, hee preſently his barge, and did accompany the ſaid galley to the Lorde generall the Earle of Eſſex, w did ride with his ſhip a good diſtance off: and there they being in like maner moſt honorab urs, and interteined, the Spaniſh gentlemẽ deliuered vp their priſoners the Engliſh c of whõ ſome had bin there 6 yers, ſome 8, or tenyers, and ſome 22. yere, and vpward. and them but lately taken in S. Francis Drakes laſt voiage to the Indies. The number of the p deliuered were but 39. and no mo, and were brought in, and deliuered vnto Don Antonio [illegible] and his brother, and by Don Pedro de Cardus, and certaine others. If you demand of me and ſixtie Captaines, there were no moe deliuered then was, I preſuppoſe, (and I ſ it ſeeme to) that at that time the reſidue were farther off in ſome remote places of Sp ſtanced, and ſo by that meanes, not able at this time to bee in a readineſſe, but

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The end o

enough that there is some good order taken for them hereafter, to be reuictualled, and sent ouer into England.

Any man presume here so farre, as to enquire how it chanced, that the Lords generall rested so long at Cadiz, and went no farther, and why Port S. Mary being so faire a towne, and so neere this as that was done? And why that or this left vndone? I will not answere him with our common English prouerbe, as I might, which is: That one foole may aske moe questions in one houre, then ten discrete men can well answere in fiue yeares.

But that graue auncient writer, Cornelius Tacitus, hath a wise, briefe, pithy saying, and it is this: Nemo tenetur inquirere in columnas *Herculis*, sanctiùsq; ac reuerentius habitum est de Deorum credere, quàm scire. Which saying, in my fancy, seemeth marueilous well for this purpose: and so much the rather, for that this Cadiz is that very place, (at least by the common opinion) where those said pillers of Hercules were thought to be placed: and, as some say, remaine yet not farre off to be seene. But to let that passe, the saying beareth this discrete meaning in it, that in a prety kind of mystical maner vttered: That it befitteth not inferiour persons to be too inquisitiue after Princes actions, neither yet to be so sawcy and so malapert, as to presume to dive into their secrets, but rather alwayes to haue a right reuerend conceite and opinion of them, and their doings: and thereon so resting our inward thoughts, to seek to go no further, but to remaine ready alwaies to arme our selues with dutifull minds, and willing obedience, to perform, and put in execution that which in their deepe inlight and heroicall deuisements, they shall command, and the care of the common wealth determine vpon.

This, and much lesse to, might suffice to satisfie any honest minded man. But yet if any will needs be a little farther satisfied, albeit it neede not, yet then, thus much I dare say and auouch vpon my knowledge, the chiefest cause why Port Saint Mary, and the rest were left vntouched, was this: For that it was most certainly knowen, that they were townes not worth the sacking of such a royal companie, in which there was no maner of wealth in the world left, but bare houses of stone, and standing walles, and might well haue serued rather as a stale, to haue entrapped, then as a meanes to haue enriched. And it had bin more then a suspicion, for such an army as this, to haue sought to fight with the aire, and to haue laboured to haue put to paine and charges, yea, and with some eminent danger too, to haue ouerthrowen that, which very little or nothing haue profited, being destroyed: and yet now we, can doe no little thing left, as it is, vntouched.

How much for our tourney to Cadiz: for the accidents that happened by the way, for the burning, and burning of the said towne, for the ouerthrowe of the Spanish Fleet there, and other vp-matters that happened, as appendances to the same, both in the time of our abode there, as also at the very last houre of our comming from thence.

As our returne home, and our entrance into a part of Portugal by the way, with the taking, and burning of the towne of Faraon there, and what else since the Spanish continues there, I minde to leaue it to some other, whose chance shall be to present the action, as my iudgement, and shalbe of more sufficient ability to performe it.

The end of the first volume.